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ABSTRACT

This document consists of a complete run of the thirteen issues of "TEANGA" published since its inception in 1979 through 1993. Typical article topics include: linguistic research approaches and methodology; interlanguage, language transfer, and interference; second language instruction; language testing; language variation; discussion of specific languages and language patterns (Irish, English, English as a Second Language, Esperanto, French, and German); language acquisition; second language learning; speech pathology and therapy; parent role in language learning; child language; language curriculum and curriculum development; language error patterns; bilingualism and multilingualism; bilingual education; medium of instruction; language laboratories; phonology and phonetics; classroom teaching techniques and teaching styles; vocabulary and vocabulary development; native language instruction; reading instruction; translation; gender and language; and learner characteristics and attitudes. Book reviews are included in some issues. (MSE)

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Réamhrá

Is breá linn a fhógairt go bhfuil an chéad fhoilseachán ó Chumann na Teangeolaíochta Feidhmí ar fáil. Tá súil againn go gcuirfidh na daoine atá ag plé le múineadh agus foghlaim teanga go ginearálta suim ann. Tá na hailt atá san fhoilseachán seo bunaithe ar léachtaí a tugadh ag an chéad seimineár bliantúil a bhí ag an Chumann i mí Mhárta, 1978, i gColáiste na Tríonóide. Is é cuspóir Chumann na Teangeolaíochta Feidhmí suim agus taighde sa Teangeolaíocht Fheidhmeach a chur chun cinn ar cibé bealach ina dtig a leithéid a dhéanamh. Thig le céimí ar bith a bhfuil dlúthbhaint aige le nó atá ag déanamh taighde go lánaimseartha sa Teangeolaíocht Fheidhmeach iarratas ar bhallraíocht sa Chumann a lorg. Is ball de Chumann Idirnáisiúnta na Teangeolaíochta Feidhmí (AILA) an cumann againn féin. Dá bharr sin, bíonn baint mhór ag an Chumann le cumainn as tíortha eile agus bíonn malartú eolais ar siúl go rialta idir na cumainn go léir, an Cumann Idirnáisiúnta san áireamh.

An tEagarthóir

Introduction

We are glad to announce that the first publication from the Irish Association for Applied Linguistics (IRAAL) is available. We hope that all those involved in the teaching and acquisition of language generally will have a special interest in the publication. The contents are based on the proceedings of the 1st Annual seminar organised by the Association in March 1978, in Trinity College, Dublin. The objectives of IRAAL are to promote interest and research in Applied Linguistics at every level. Any graduate who is actively engaged in or researching in Applied Linguistics may apply for membership of the Association. IRAAL is also a member of the parent body (AILA) and, therefore, the association is in contact with similar associations in other countries and there is a regular exchange of information between the various associations, including AILA.

The Editor

Buíochas

Is mian le Cumann na Teangeolaíochta Feidhmí a mhórbhuíochas a chur in iúl do dhaoine agus do Institiúidí áirithe a chuidigh linn i leagan amach an tSeimineáir i mí Mhárta 1978 agus le hullmhú an fhoilseacháin seo. Cuirimid ár mbuíochas in iúl sa chéad áit do *Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann* a thug deontas dúinn le clóscríobh agus foilsiú **Teanga** a chur i gcrích.

Ba mhaith linn ár mbuíochas a ghabháil le húdaráis Choláiste na Tríonóide as cead a thabhairt dúinn an coláiste a úsáid mar láthair an tseimineáir. Tá ár mbuíochas tuillte chomh maith ag na hOllúna Barbara Wright agus Francis Higman ón gColáiste céanna a rinne comhoibriú linn agus a chuidigh ar gach slí le reachtáil an tseimineáir.

Ghabhaimid buíochas chomh maith leis na clóscríobhaithe a rinne jab breá ar chlóscríobh na lámhscríbhinní eagsúla.

Tá ar mbuíochas ar deireadh ag dul don eagarthóir, an Dr. Dónall P. Ó Baoill a chaith dua agus am le hullmhúchán agus le heagarthóireacht na lámhscríbhinní sa dóigh go mbeidís reidh le haghaidh an tseimineáir a bheas ar siúl i mí Mhárta 1979.

Clíona Mhic Mhathúna
(Uachtarán)

Acknowledgement

IRAAL wishes to acknowledge its indebtedness to various people and institutions who helped us with the running of our seminar in March 1978 and with the preparation of this publication. Firstly, we would like to thank *Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann* for offering us a grant towards the typing and publication of **Teanga**.

Secondly, we would like to thank the authorities of Trinity College Dublin, for making the College available to us for the seminar. To Prof. Barbara Wright and Prof. Francis Higman of that College are due our gratitude for their co-operation and help in ensuring that everything was in order for the seminar.

Thirdly, our typists are to be congratulated for their excellent typing of the various manuscripts.

Lastly, we wish to express our gratitude to the editor, Dr. Dónall P. Ó Baoill, who has worked hard in preparing and editing the manuscripts so that they will be available for our 1979 seminar in March.

Clíona Mhic Mhathúna
(President)

SECTION 1

MAIN LECTURES

THE STUDY OF INTERLANGUAGE

Dónall P. Ó Baoill
Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann, Dublin

I would like to begin by reading to you a quotation by the famous linguist Noam Chomsky, from a lecture he gave at the North-Eastern Conference, in 1966. The relevance of this quotation will become obvious, I hope, as I go through the lecture. Chomsky said: "I am frankly sceptical about the significance, for the teaching of language, of such insights and understandings as have been attained in linguistics and psychology. It is possible, even likely, that principles of psychology and of linguistics and research in these disciplines may supply insights useful to the language teacher, but this must be demonstrated and cannot be presumed. It is the language teacher himself who must validate or refute any specific proposal".

Now of course many things have happened since then. People who were working in applied linguistics, and teaching, were looking very much at linguistics to get insights into what might be suitable for, or applicable to their teaching. But they soon got very tired of this, because what was going on in linguistics was changing very rapidly, and a lot of the things they had been expecting were not forthcoming. What happened then, was that a group of people decided that they were going to start doing their own work on the speech of the learner, the learner's language. That is what I will be talking about here, what I call the study of Interlanguage, that is the study of the language of the learner at any stage of his learning career, and the problems associated with such learning.

There are three competing theories or descriptions of the learner's language, that we must deal with:-

1. Contrastive Analysis (CA);
2. Error Analysis (EA);
3. Interlanguage (IL).

Those theories are of course inter-related. They have developed in different ways, and at different times, and I shall try, in the course of the lecture, to describe to you how they have developed, why they have developed, and whether any one of the theories is an improvement on what came before.

There are five different ways in which these theories can differ:-

(i) In the theoretical assumptions behind each;
(ii) The methodologies which they use;
(iii) The nature and scope of the data which they collect;
(iv) The kind of insights about learner's language that we can get from them;
and (v) Their implications for practical classroom teaching.

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The crucial point here is how the theory and methodology of *Interlanguage* differs from *Contrastive Analysis*, and from *Error Analysis*, and whether or not the difference amounts to an improvement.

Contrastive Analysis is mainly an American invention, in that it was pursued mostly in American Universities, especially in the Univesity of Michigan, under Lado; there are five characteristics that we can associate with C.A.:-

(a) That the main cause, or perhaps the sole cause of all the problems that learners have, can be attributed to their Native Language, henceforth (NL);

(b) That the difficulties of learning are due to the differences between the NL and the Target Language, henceforth (TL), that is, the language which the learner is trying to master;

(c) The greater the differences, the more acute the learning problem;

(d) That a comparison between the languages beforehand is necessary to predict the difficulties;

and (e) That one has to look at what the languages have in common, and subtract that from the total of the two languages, in order to see what difficulties the student or learner will have to master.

This theory is by far the "best worked out" of all three. The only problem is that there is no complete C.A. of any two languages in existence. People worked on one *ASPECT* of the two languages, e.g. the deictic system; the use of the *auxiliary system*; the use made of verbs like *have, be* and *must*, etc.; the *aspectual system* as it differs from the proper tense system in a language, and of course, most of all, *phonology*. Most of the studies have been done in phonology, because it was more concise, and one could actually compare differences. So a study was made of one aspect of the two languages, to see what they both had in common; then it was deduced that the problems would be, of course, *things that they did* not *have in common**.

There were many problems with this kind of theory, the first one being, that the areas of contrast were not always the areas of greatest difficulty for the learner. This theory was attacked, from all sides, especially because of its claim, that most or almost all of the errors in T.L. learning were due to N.L. interference.

This rejection of C.A. began around 1967. It was brought about mainly through the observations of the language teachers themselves, which proved three things:-

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* H.B. George, writing in 1972, estimated that 30% of all errors could be traced to N.L. interference.

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(a) that there were more errors in learners' speech than could be caused by interlingual interference;

(b) that if you use error analysis, which they were proposing, you were actually working on the errors the student made, rather than hypothesising about the errors he/she would make;

and (c) that in using error analysis you avoided another problem of C.A., namely equivalence, that is, when is a phrase or question in one language equivalent to the corresponding phrase or question in the second language?

When those things could not be described under C.A., people began to work on *Error Analysis* — on actual data from learners. The goal of E.A. is to facilitate the process of foreign language learning, by studying errors within a scientific framework, consistent with both linguistic theory, and learning theory. There are three steps in an E.A. scheme:-

(1) *Description,* that is, you set up a hierarchy of errors — the types of errors you can have in a language;

(2) *Explanation,* which is a much more difficult area, that is trying to find an explanation for the errors. They can be either social or psychological, or caused by teaching methodology or by the T.L., or the N.L. The problem is to try to explain them in detail;

(3) *Therapy,* which is the step they were most interested in, that is how information about errors is to be used.

There were various ways in which this could be done:-

(a) by producing teaching materials;
(b) by having better grading methods;
(c) by revising syllabuses in a non ad-hoc manner;
(d) by objectifying grading;
(e) by having a proper ranking of teaching priorities;
and (f) by constructing tests, which would be relevant to the different levels of learning.

There were also problems with this type of analysis, despite the fact that it had some benefits as opposed to contrastive analysis.

Around the same time 1967, under the influence of British Applied Linguists and people associated with them, a new type of study emerged, which is usually referred to as the study of Interlanguage (IL). IL means a language somewhere between the N.L. and the T.L. It can be at a basic stage, or at an intermediate level or at an advanced stage. The person most associated with IL is Prof. Pit Corder, of the University of Edinburgh. In an article written in 1967, he outlined and described what he meant by IL, and how it might be beneficial to look at IL, in order to see what we could find there and then build our own hypotheses, instead of depending on linguistic theory facilitating us in this

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direction. For the next six or seven years, Corder and other people associated with him, such as Strevens and Richards produced a series of papers, dealing with IL. They also used other names to describe *Interlanguage*. Corder called it *Idiosyncratic Dialects*, Nemser called it *Approximate Systems*, and it was Selinker who first used the term *Interlanguage*, and this has now become the accepted term to describe the type of language that learners, who have not yet got full command of the T.L., speak.

The main discovery this group made was that IL was rule-governed and, therefore, that it was describable in linguistic terms. We might ask why IL as a discipline has grown? The current approach to language treats child language learning as a progression of self-contained, internally-structured systems, getting increasingly similar to the adult language system. The parallelism between this change of approach in developmental psycholinguistics, and the change from traditional E.A. to the concept of IL is obvious, that is, if a child learns his native language by approximating all the time to the adult language, then why do we not think of the second language learner in the same way?

Interlanguage Studies versus Error Analysis and Contrastive Analysis

IL studies examine and describe the learner's language. They do nothing else but that. E.A. on the other hand, compares the learner's language with the T.L. C.A. compares the N.L. with the T.L., to find out what the problem areas will be. It then goes to work on those areas, trying to improve teaching. IL compares both the N.L. and the T.L. with the learner's performance. Therefore, the study of IL contains both C.A. and E.A. In IL study, one is mainly interested in the relation between what has been taught and the learner's language at the time of investigation. People doing this kind of study think of the learner as a native speaker in his own terms (a "native speaker" of his IL, of the type of language that he is using). It must also be noted that they contend that no errors are errors in themselves, that they are related to some goal. So, if you want to say that something is an error, you must then compare it with the N.L. or with the T.L. and hence the problems. The crucial point is the interpretation of the learner's utterances. What exactly is wrong with them? What is he/she trying to say? etc.

At this stage we may want to ask the question:- "How does the theory and methodology of IL differ from E.A. and from C.A., and does the difference amount to an improvement?"

The first thing to note is that E.A. considers errors harmful, and are therefore to be eradicated. Errors are viewed from a teacher-centred viewpoint, rather than from the child's. In IL, the deviations from T.L. are treated as exponents of the learner's system. In C.A. there is a correlation between performance and similarities in N.L., that is a contrast between what the child says, what the N.L. is, and what the interference is going to be. IL avoids these limitations, and the N.L. interference, according to those who propose the study of IL, is only one of the explanatory tools, that you use to deal with the kind of repertoire, that a speaker of IL has. IL is then, in a sense, more powerful, in that it has more explanatory power than both C.A. and E.A.

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The other important thing to note is that the C.A. part of IL is just an initial filtering devise for testing further hypotheses about what exactly is determining this type of speech: why the learner is actually using this system; and why he has not achieved native competence. I would now like to say a little about the type of materials which are being used in the study IL. That is part of the problem, and a cause of much writing back and forth between the proponents of E.A. and those of IL.

Textual versus Intuitional Data

Textual data merely consists of materials written by the learner. The analyst gathers such data and tries to describe it. When he/she has succeeded one can state that the results are observationally adequate — they describe the data and no more. However, some additional information is required in order to make the results more complete and satisfactory. Thus we must obtain some intuitional data from the learner. When this has been achieved, we can say that our results are descriptively adequate, that they account for the learner's intuition about the language system he/she is using and the errors that he/she commits.

The first procedure then, is to study a text or texts, whether written or oral, and to describe what they contain. The next step is to find out why the texts are structured the way they are, and what the learner thinks of this structure. We may now ask two relevant questions:-

(i) What is lacking in the study of textual data?

and (ii) If there is something lacking, how are we to fill the gaps?

There are many structures and forms of the T.L. that one will always find missing in textual data from learners, because they have many ways and means of avoiding answering questions and using difficult structures they have not fully grasped. Therefore, textual data is limited, so all you can do is describe it as best you can, and then use it as a hypothesis, a sort of supplementary hypothesis, to carry out a more detailed examination of the learner's interlanguage. There has been much debate about this, and the most common proposal has been to carry out a series of casual interviews, in order to get the learner to talk naturally about various things. You already know from your textual data, which structures and forms he/she has avoided, so the object of the interview is to find out whether he/she has a command of such structures or not.

The other point is that it is no use describing errors, and that has been one of the basic faults of E.A. One must describe the learner's performace as a whole, not only the errors he/she makes, but also the one he/she does not make, so as to find out how much of the target language he/she really knows. The errors reveal the different strategies used by the learner, as does the textual data which does not contain errors.

People who have studied IL systems have noted that there are different strategies that learners in general use, no matter what the T.L. is. They may be defined briefly as follows:-

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1. **Language Transfer:**

   This refers to how much of the N.L. system learners transfer to the T.L., as they begin a second language.

2. **Transfer of Training:**

   One would like to know how much of the actual teaching methodology is transferred into the learner's speech and whether or not it causes him/her to commit errors. Many teaching practices, which are set up to eradicate errors, actually make students commit errors, mainly because of the way drills are set up.

3. **Strategies of Second Language Learning:**

   These include the elimination of many lexical and grammatical items on the surface. Case systems and functional words are reduced by learners and this makes language shorter, perhaps simpler.

4. **Strategies of Second Language Communication:**

   When a learner finds out that the type of language system that he/she has is sufficient for most communication purposes, then the tendency is to stop developing the T.L. further. We should think of the Irish language in this respect. The type of pronunciation used by learners of Irish today, which is in certain respects functionally communicative, is still a far cry from native pronunciation in the Gaeltacht or elsewhere. Because the language system they have is functionally communicative, students make very little or no effort to improve their pronunciation of Irish.

5. **Overgeneralization:**

   This is a very common strategy, used not only by second language learners, but also by children acquiring their first language. The learner takes one of the rules he/she has acquired in the language and applies it everywhere within a certain category. A good example of this is someone trying to master the plural rule of Irish, who picks out one plural form and attaches it to all those nouns whose plural he/she is unsure of. The result is obvious — some nouns will have correct plural — the majority will be incorrect.

Minor Strategies

The strategies described above could be categorized as "major". There are, however, other strategies, which I will label "minor". I would like to say a few words about three minor strategies in particular:-

(1) *Hypercorrection;*
(2) *Spelling pronunciation;*
and (3) *Cognate pronunciation.*

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Hypercorrection is not limited to the learning of L2; it can also happen in the N.L. When a speaker or learner discovers that the type of pronunciation or grammar that he/she uses is not socially acceptable, there is a temptation for the speaker to acquire the more prestigious system. This is fine so long as the speaker treads carefully, but as often happens, the new rules being acquired are overapplied and ungrammatical forms are generated. Speakers of Irish/English are known to produce forms such as the following; both forms unacceptable in Standard English:-

(i) It was there and me coming in;

(ii) It was there and I coming in.

Spelling pronunciations occur when speakers try to pronounce words as they are spelt. New pronunciations come into existence in this way. Note for example, the different pronunciations of *'often'* in English, or of the preposition in *'ag briseadh'* by learners of Irish as a L2. *Cognate pronunciation* occurs when the N.L. and the T.L. are closely related, and when words are spelt in the same way in both, but pronounced differently. Learners of L2, however, tend to pronounce them the same in both languages.

All the strategies mentioned above produce *fossilization* i.e. the learner reaches a stage where he/she does not want to develop his/her IL further. The teacher's problem is to try and defossilize the learner, so that he/she will approximate more closely to the T.L. system.

Types of Errors and their Classification

We may now ask the following questions regarding the error types learners of L2 commit:

(i) What types of errors are they and how are they to be classified?

(ii) How do people judge such errors?

(iii) Do different people judge them in different ways?

and (iv) Having classified the errors, how does one proceed to the next step?

Errors can, in general, be divided into five major categories as follows:-

(a) Grammatical vs Lexical errors

Grammatical errors occur when the case/tense or the aspect system of a language is used incorrectly. Non-usage of the initial mutations by learners of Irish also belongs to this category. Lexical errors occur when words and vocabulary items are used incorrectly.

(b) Global vs Local errors

Global errors occur when large phrases or constituents of a sentence are rearranged or placed in a wrong order. This may either alter the meaning

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of a sentence, or make the meaning unclear. Local errors on the other hand are simple errors, which involve the use of the wrong case system or the omission of plural markers etc.

(c) Elementary vs Non-elementary errors

The former are simple errors which do not hinder communication. The latter type, however, hinder communication to a great extent.

(d) Classroom errors vs Student-competence errors

Student competence errors are committed by the students themselves without prompting from teachers or examiners. Classroom errors occur when the teacher is questioning the student. He will make errors in certain constructions etc., mainly because he does not understand the constructions, and so has not got that particular construction in his competence.

(e) Performance errors vs Competence errors

Performance errors are those that happen because of tiredness, drunkeness etc. They are sometimes referred to as slips of the tongue. The learner can correct these if they are pointed out to him. Competence errors are those errors that occur continually. They have to do with lack of competence in L2, lack of knowledge on the speaker's part. Learners are usually not able to correct such errors, even when they are pointed out to them. These occur systematically, while the performance errors are usually haphazard.

Judgement of Errors

Recently, Carl James published the results of a very interesting study, in which he examined the gravity of certain errors committed by learners of English as a second language. He supplied a list of error types to two different groups of teachers, both native and non-native speakers, and asked them to judge the gravity of the errors. He found that non-natives thought *case* and *lexical* errors were the worst, whereas, native speakers thought *tense* and *concord* errors carried the highest gravity. These results show that there may be a great difference between the way in which native and non-native speakers view errors. By multiplying the gravity of an error by its relative frequency, James was able to rank the errors.

These results are based on limited data, on a limited number of teachers, and so, we may not depend on them entirely. However, they may suggest to us the various ways in which different people view errors. I am going to quote two errors to you, to see whether you will agree or disagree about their gravity. They are as follows:-

(i) I am going in Dublin next week;

(ii) I is going to Dublin next week.

/....

Native speakers of English claim the error in (ii), namely, lack of tense and concord to be more serious than the wrong use of the lexical item *in* in (i). At this stage we might well ask the following question: what use can be made of this knowledge about the gravity of various errors? Native speakers are very consistent when judging varieties of language, which are not native. From our knowledge of these judgements, we will be able to select the most serious errors, which stymatize learners and cause many difficulties of communication, and propose various ways of correcting and eliminating them. It will also suggest to us which errors of fossilization are to be dealt with first.

Errors in Learners' Irish

I would like now to say a little about common errors in learners' Irish. The examples I give below are taken mainly from written sources, although many of them occur also in speech. I will discuss each error as it is presented. The incorrect variants are preceded by an asterisk.

(i) *Tá an fharraige go hálainn nuair a bhíonn....

Bíonn an fharraige go hálainn nuair a bhíonn....

It is an interesting fact that children learning Irish as a native language take a long time before they master the intricacies of *bíonn*. It is also interesting that Irish-English speakers, although they have such phrases as *I bees*, *I do be* in their speech, still find learning the correct use of *bíonn* difficult. I would suggest that it is the semantics of *bíonn* that has eluded them.

(ii) *Tá siad ann lenár mhaithe.

Is ar mhaithe linn atá siad ann.

If one wishes to emphasize a word or phrase in English, one normally stresses that word or phrase. When we require to attach special importance to any particular idea in an Irish sentence, we do so

(a) by means of emphatic suffixes;

or (b) by bringing to the beginning of the sentence with *is* the particular part or idea to be emphasized.

Both methods may, if necessary, be used in a sentence, as *'is duitse a thug mé an duais'*. The student, therefore, must be careful to use the emphatic mode when the sense requires it, and sentences based on the analogy of the English mode of emphasizing, must be carefully avoided.

(iii) *Tá sé mínithe dóibh agus iad an-bheag.

Mínítear dóibh é agus iad an-bheag.

The meaning of these two sentences is usually expressed in English by the sentence 'It is explained to them when they are very small'. This sentence itself is ambiguous: it may have a *passive* and a *stative* meaning. In English,

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the passive may be accompanied by the agent noun preceded by the preposition 'by'. In Irish, the agent cannot co-occur with the impersonal endings. On the other hand, the stative form in Irish may co-occur with the agent form, whereas, in English, this co-occurrence is not tolerated. The fact that the stative sentence in Irish and its ambiguous equivalent in English have the same structural form, except for word order, helps to confuse the unwary learner even more.

(iv) *Tá súil agam go n-éireoidh mé an scrúdú.

Tá súil agam go n-éireoidh liom sa scrúdú.

Errors of this type are very common. The learner in this case fails to grasp the important fact that *éirigh + le* acts as a semantic unit with a special meaning.

(v) The Irish consonant system is of a dichotomous nature, all consonants are either palatalized or velarized. Learners of Irish, however, replace each series by the corresponding neutral consonants of English.
In this way [t̴̪ʰa:] becomes [tʰa:], [t̴̪ʰa:l̪ʹi] becomes [tʰa:li] etc.
A similar situation obtains in India, where speakers of Indian English often replace many of the English consonants by a corresponding retroflex series. Thus a word like [India] is pronounced as [Iṇḍia].

These examples show the transfer of a whole native series of consonants on to the target language.

I would like now to speculate a little on the pedagogical implications of what I have said, even if it only generates controversy.

1. Our main objective is to judge the overall competence of the learner, not just his errors, but his/her non-errors as well. We must compare the proportion of the target language and of the native language which manifests itself in the interlanguage system of the learner. What is required then, is a radical change in the teacher's overall view of the learner's performance.

2. We must try to relate errors to success or interference in communication. Thus, instead of directing the main focus at linguistic conformity, perhaps we should ask how much real communication the learner can actually achieve. An attempt must also be made to evaluate native speakers' reactions to the different stages of the *Interlanguage* of L2 learners. What we might want to do then, is to ignore conformity at the beginning for the sake of communication. If grammar and grammatical errors are important, then communication is certain to lack behind.

3. We must find the strategies people use in learning L2, and relate them, if possible, to the psychological factors we mentioned earlier.

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Functionally communicative systems

In Ireland, the language system used by many speakers of Irish as a L2, although deviant in many respects from the system used by native speakers, is functionally communicative, with both native and non-native speakers. This situation has been conditioned by two important factors:-

(a) The reduction in the number of competent native speakers;

and (b) Because of the fact that Irish is taught by teachers, many of whom themselves are not very competent in the language.

If, therefore, grammatically deviant speech communicates the speaker's intention, why pay further attention to it? In trying to find an answer to this question we must consider the following. Speech varieties are usually associated with certain social attitudes and social structures. Therefore, deviancy from phonological and grammatical norms may classify a speaker unfavourably. People who know Irish very well may tend to label those who do not. This kind of situation is best avoided.

The effect of Instructional approaches

The overall effect of a particular instructional approach on the final competence of a learner of L2 is very difficult to evaluate. It may be that it will have no effect whatsoever on his final competence, because we do not know whether the linguistic variables and the instructional variables we use are in any way related to the psychological processes by which certain things become part of a speaker's competence. Hence, what you do psychologically with language, so that it becomes part of your competence, may not be at all the way in which it is presented to you. There are three things that can happen:-

(i) Interference can occur. This happens when the child or learner is not ready to absorb some structures, which are being taught to him. We all know about the futile efforts by adults to correct children's speech;

(ii) The learner may be psychologically ready to acquire certain structures but does not receive the appropriate structures at the correct time;

or (iii) The structures may be programmed in the wrong order.

Teachers, therefore, have to continually check the performance of learners, in order to control the learning process.

Fossilized Errors

We have developmental errors, errors that disappear through time some that do not. Teachers might want to decide not to correct developmental errors, because sufficient exposure to the target language may ensure their eradication. In Irish, for example, there is not sufficient exposure and so many errors are not eradicated.

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The more grievous errors must be judged by native speakers, before we can decide which ones we want to eliminate or improve. Another important fact is that mothers, when talking to their children,correct only utterances which are factually inaccurate. This might also be applied to second language learning at the beginning.

Current views of language learning emphasize language cannot be taught; it must be learned by the child. So, attempts to teach language by direct imposition of an adult grammatical model seems in some sense psychologically inconsistent.

CONCLUSIONS:

It should be fairly obvious from what I have said, and perhaps more so from what I have not said, that our knowledge of second language learning is still largely speculative, excluding the possibility of prescribing recipes for teachers. I hope that this account of errors and strategies of language learning has at least suggested some of the reasons why we hear what we do from our students of second languages.

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NOT TO BE TAKEN AWAY.

DUBLIN COLLEGE OF SPEECH THERAPY

IMMEDIATE UNDERSTANDING OF SPOKEN LANGUAGE

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Over the course of the last twenty years or so there has been a number of major developments and changes of emphasis in the study of the immediate understanding of spoken language. An incidental but initially puzzling aspect of these developments is that they tend to be known only to the small group of psycholinguists directly involved in the research itself. Issues in this area do not usually interest clinicians, educationists and applied linguists, nor do new findings appear to influence day to day professional practice. I have been surprised, for example, at how rarely reference is made in applied linguistics publications to the findings of, and issues in, research on language understanding. Yet, surely the question of how people understand spoken language is at the centre of most issues in applied linguistics. Perhaps the main reason for the lack of communication between researchers and practitioners is simply that psycholinguists have not yet produced the kind of conclusive and generalisable findings which have clear implications for clinical practice or teaching methods. In many instances, it may appear to be little more than a matter of opinion how a total clinical or teaching approach should be modified in the light of new experimental results, particularly when the researchers themselves remain divided about fairly basic theoretical issues. Practitioners, meanwhile, compensate for this scarcity of basic information and direction by referring to their own experience or to the accumulated experience of others as embodied in particular methods or programmes.

But this is not a satisfactory state of affairs for either practitioners or researchers. Ultimately improvement in clinical and teaching practice depends on the steady accumulation and interpretation of findings which have the weight of scientific evidence behind them. Even if, in the short term, new research seems too limited to suggest any dramatic change in day to day practice, it at least serves to adjust our beliefs about the nature of language and language use, and to sharpen our perception of what is *likely* to be a good or bad clinical or teaching approach. To be really advantageous, of course, the exchange of information must be a genuine two-way process. Practitioners have perspectives on theoretical issues and see implications of studies which are not so readily appreciated by research workers because of the latters' more limited practical experience. Given that practitioners have a reasonable knowledge of the basic issues, then, their experiences in trying to implement findings at a practical level could become a major influence on the course of research. This brings me, in fact, to the purpose of the present paper: to stimulate an interest in research on language understanding among those who are concerned from day to day with problems of language use. It is not my intention to present a detailed review of the experimental work in this area, but simply to introduce you to what I believe

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to be the most important theoretical issues. I think you will find that you have already thought about [illegible] of these issues in one form or another in the course of your own work [illegible]ope that the brief discussion here will prompt you to read more intensively in this area and, should you wish to do this, you may find that the works listed in the bibliography are useful starting points.

Grammar and language understanding models

'Immediate language understanding' is a description which has become popular among psycholinguists in recent years. Quite simply it means the perception/comprehension of speech as it is heard. But it also has a less obvious implication which derives from changes of emphasis within the field itself. The word 'immediate' acknowledges that speech is understood very quickly and by implication suggests that some of the processes involved may be different to those involved in other types of language perception e.g. reading, judging the relative grammaticality of strings of words. Ordinary speech processing has to proceed quickly simply because the stimuli replace each other with great speed – unlike the letters and words on a page, for example, which can be viewed at the reader's own pace. A perceptually significant consequence of this is that the information conveyed by speech arrives over time in a particular order which cannot be manipulated by the listener. If speech signals were not so transient, large 'chunks' could be analysed at the same time. In this case, order of information would be less important, since the material could be selected and analysed in any desired order. While reading it is possible to do this, of course – we can skip ahead or retrace. As I hope to show below, the speed with which speech stimuli arrive has important consequences for the kinds of pyscholinguistic models which could possibly account for actual language understanding performance.

A model of immediate language understanding tries to describe how the normal adult listener uses the linguistic knowledge stored in his memory to make sense of the sounds which a speaker produces. If the listener did not have linguistic knowledge to bring to bear on a stream of sounds, these sounds would not carry meaning – would not transmit information. There are two essential parts, then, to any model of language understanding:

(a) a description of the linguistic knowledge possessed by listeners and used by them in the course of understanding spoken language. (I use the rather cumbersome term 'understanding spoken language' rather than 'speech perception' because the latter usually refers to the more limited investigation of phonetic level processes – to the neglect of structural, semantic and 'higher' level contextual processes.)

(b) an account of how linguistic knowledge is applied to the speech stream in order to extract meaning from it – in the technical jargon of the area "the perceptual mechanisms by which the speech input is mapped onto the linguistic descriptions in (a)".

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Given that these are the two components in a language understanding model, it may appear that a similar division can be made between the development of the corresponding linguistic and psychological theories — (a) being a matter for linguistics and (b) being the concern of psycholinguistics. In fact this is essentially how language understanding research has proceeded for most of the last two decades. Psycholinguists have taken descriptions of sentences developed by linguists and have tried to show how these descriptions were applied to the speech stream as the sentences were processed. It was assumed, in effect, that the descriptions of sentences accepted at the time by linguists were 'correct' in some general and permanent way, and that they represented the linguistic knowledge which was involved in immediate language understanding. My main argument here will be that whether particular descriptions are adequate or not in the context of *linguistic* theory, these descriptions are not necessarily the ones onto which the incoming speech input is mapped during immediate language understanding. More specifically I will claim that transformational generative grammar (TGG) type descriptions of sentences are unlikely to represent the kind of linguistic knowledge used in such primary language processing. They are inappropriate both because of their form (being "time-free") and because of the kinds of linguistic data (native-speaker judgements) on which they are based. It should be noted that this is not a criticism of TGG as a grammatical theory, but merely of the tradition among psycholinguists of assuming, virtually without question, that TGG captures the kind of primary, immediately-usable linguistic knowledge which must be involved in language understanding. The alternative view which I will be advancing is one which has evolved over the last few years among psycholinguists such as McNeill (1975) and Marslen-Wilson (1976). It is also a view which has motivated, and has been reinforced by, my own recent research (Harris, 1978a). To appreciate the significance of this alternative view it will be necessary first to describe the major approaches which have dominated experimental work in recent years. Three of these can be distinguished:

(a) The derivational theory of complexity (DTC);

(b) The standard or deep structure view;

(c) The on-line interactive view.

What distinguishes the three approaches is the assumptions they make about the linguistic knowledge which listeners use to understand speech as they hear it. The first two approaches take it as given that TGG describes linguistic knowledge but they differ in their assumptions about how that knowledge is used in the course of understanding speech. The third, the on-line interactive approach, makes no assumptions about how immediately-usable linguistic knowledge is to be described. It does imply, however, that such descriptions should be based primarily on immediate processing performance. TGG descriptions in contrast are ultimately based on native speakers' intuitions about whole sentences, judgements which are quite distinct from the immediate primary processing of these same sentences. A major goal of the on-line interactive approach is to try to specify the various characteristics which this immediately-usable linguistic knowledge must have, in order to account for existing experimental evidence.

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The first two models[1], the DTC and the standard/deep structure model, adhere to what McNeill (1975) calls the Miller-Chomsky requirement. This is the crucial claim that the performance mechanism should produce only the structures which are generated by the grammar of the language (Miller & Chomsky, 1963). In effect, the Miller-Chomsky requirement states that TGG-type grammatical descriptions are necessarily involved in the actual production and understanding of language. Both the DTC and the standard model develop this claim further and propose that syntactic deep structure is the level of grammatical description which primarily determines the form of the language understanding process. Their emphasis on deep structure is due to the fact that in TGG, deep structure contains all the information needed for the semantic interpretation of a sentence – the semantic interpretation being the final stage of the linguistic process equivalent to understanding the sentence in a perceptual or psychological sense.

The derivational theory of complexity

Although the DTC and the standard view share the assumption that immediate processing is geared to the recovery of deep-structure, they differ in the kind of relationship which they posit between the internal operations of the grammar itself and the actual processing operations by which speech is understood. Of the two approaches, the DTC assumes the closer relationship between grammatical operations and perceptual mechanisms. According to one version of this view, deep structure is derived from surface syntactic structure by some kind of reverse application of transformations. In transformational generative grammar exactly the opposite happens: surface structure is derived from deep structure by the application of transformations to the latter – the 'correct' direction in which to apply transformations. As actual speech unfolds, however, it is the overt surface syntactic structure which first becomes available to the listener. Consequently, according to the DTC, de-transformations are necessary to reach deep structure. Many of the early TGG-motivated studies of language understanding were concerned, implicitly at least, with testing this hypothesis. Usually, the experiments involved comparing the relative perceptual complexity of sentence types in which different numbers of transformations linked deep and surface structure[2]. The prediction was that the larger the number of transformational rules that had to be unpeeled, as it were, the more perceptually complex the sentence should be. Incidentally, these experiments were not at the time considered to be testing what is now explicitly known as the DTC — the latter is a label which was subsequently invented by Fodor, Bever & Garrett (1974). It is they also who were chiefly responsible for assembling the various arguments against the theory.

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[1] I will use the term "model" from time to time for convenience although labels such as 'framework', 'view' or 'approach' are probably more appropriate.

[2] The word 'derivational" in the name derivational theory of complexity refers to the central proposal that the number of transformations needed to derive surface structure from deep structure is fairly directly related to the perceptual 'complexity" of the sentence.

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While it cannot be said that there has been any crucial experimental demonstration that the DTC is incorrect, Fodor et al., were unable to find any significant evidence in support of it. In fact they suggest that there is informal evidence against it in the form of sentence types which present particular perceptual difficulty for subjects, although that difficulty cannot be related to the sentences' transformational history. They cite the following sentences as examples[1] which run counter to the DTC's predictions:

(1) The first shot the tired soldier the mosquito bit fired missed.

(2) The first shot fired by the tired soldier bitten by the mosquito missed.

The second sentence has the longer derivational history because passivisation has been applied twice (*by the soldier, by the mosquito)*. Yet surely it is this sentence, contrary to the DTC, which is the easier to understand — particularly if it were heard rather than read. Fodor et al. also mention a second sentence type which is not consistent with DTC predictions: those involving adjectival constructions. In TGG, adjectives are derived from relative clauses so that, for example, *the cat which is small* becomes *the small cat* after the application of transformations to the former. Consequently if we accept both the DTC and the TGG analysis of adjectives, we should expect (3) to be perceptually more difficult than (4) — contrary, I think, to most people's intuition:

(3) The small cat is on the dirty mat[2].

(4) The cat which is small is on the mat which is dirty[2].

To summarise, then, we can say that there is no significant experimental evidence in support of the DTC and even some informal evidence against it. In addition, it will be noted that the objections raised against the standard view in the next section also apply to the DTC.

The standard/deep structure view

Recently the DTC has been replaced by the standard or deep structure approach e.g. Fodor et al. (1974). This latter approach also adheres to the Miller-Chomsky requirement insofar as it claims that the primary goal of

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[1] Perhaps these examples are not entirely appropriate since even though sentence (1) is grammatical, many linguists and psycholinguists would now question whether such sentences would actually be spoken in any normal context.

[2] Fodor et al., (1974), page 327.

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immediate speech processing is the determination of the deep structure of sentences. Considered more generally the claim is that a particular level of grammatical structure is directly involved in understanding language. Unlike the DTC, however, the standard view proposes that the internal operations of the grammar itself (such as the application of transformations) impose no constraints on the actual perceptual mechanisms by which deep structure is recovered. Instead these mechanisms are considered to be discoverable only by psychological experimentation and the collection of language understanding data. Although the latter part of the standard view is a genuine progression from the DTC view, the retention of the deep structure assumption has had less desirable effects. To explain this latter assertion it will be necessary first to describe the language understanding process according to the standard view.

The standard approach is composed of three related claims each being supported by somewhat different evidence (Bever, Garrett & Hurtig, 1973). The first of these is that the deep structure clause is the primary perceptual unit and the linguistic 'object' which the language understanding system initially tries to recover. The most important supporting evidence consists of the click-displacement effects described by Bever, Lackner & Kirk (1969). Click-displacement is the phenomenon whereby subjects make errors while recalling the location of clicks which occurred in sentences they have already heard. Very briefly, the argument is that these errors involve the 'displacement' of extraneous clicks towards the boundaries of perceptual units. The second claim of the standard view is that as each clause is heard, information and hypotheses concerning its potential deep structure(s) are accumulated by the listener, with the final decision about a particular complete deep structure being made at the end of the clause (Bever et al., 1973). The experimental evidence in this case is derived from "on-line" measures of immediate processing such as click monitoring, latency and click detection rates (Abrams & Bever, 1969; Holmes & Forster, 1970; and Bever & Hurtig, 1975). In click monitoring the subject tries to understand the speech material he hears and at the same time listens for non-linguistic sounds, clicks, which occur periodically. The subject presses a key as quickly as possible every time a click is heard. Click monitoring latency is considered to be a measure of processing load, in other words the amount of active attention being devoted to the analysis of speech. Abrams & Bever (1969) found that latency to respond to clicks was longer at the end of one clause compared to the beginning of the next clause and this has been interpreted as evidence that attention is diverted away from the click as the deep structure analysis is completed at the end of the clause. The third claim associated with the standard view is that after each clause has been processed, its external (phonetic) form is dropped from immediate memory. One piece of evidence for this is Jarvella's (1970) finding that although immediate recall of the meaning of the first clause of two clause sentences is very accurate, recall of the precise wording of that clause is relatively poor.

Two important points about this view of the language understanding process should be noted (Harris, 1978a). First, it implies that language understanding is a serial process, since a semantic interpretation of the material comprising the first clause, for example, cannot take place until the clause boundary had been reached. This is because in the TGG linguistic

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framework a semantic interpretation depends on the availability of the deep structure. In the standard language understanding (*psychological*) model the listener is seen as engaging only in lexical and syntactic processing as the first clause unfolds. Thus, processing at still higher levels, such as the integration of the meaning of the current sentence with information in previously heard sentences (e.g. language understanding in a conversational context), should also not occur immediately as the sentence is being heard. The second point is that the various kinds of evidence presented in support of the standard view are derived either from what might be termed post-sentence measures of processing (click location, sentence recall), or else from 'on-line' measures of comprehension (click monitoring, click detection) in which the testing points are concentrated around the clause boundary. On-line processing at the beginning of the sentence is not tested because, presumably, "understanding" according to this view does not really take place before the clause boundary.

These two crucial features of the standard view can be traced to the initial linguistically motivated assumption about deep structure rather than to other independent motivations such as a detached consideration of the experimental evidence or of the possible perceptual characteristics of the language understanding process. In fact the serial nature of the model - its assumption that higher level processing is delayed until lower level processing is complete — is inevitable given the initial deep structure assumption. This is because deep structure is "time free" in the sense that analyses at this level cannot be conducted until all the elements to be considered are simultaneously available. Thus, any model which assumes that the computation of deep structure is part of the language understanding process has to involve the delay of higher level analysis or understanding. Unlike syntactic deep structure, however, actual speech does become available to the listener over time in a more or less continuous stream. If we were prepared to disregard the deep structure assumption of the standard model, then, it is at least conceivable that the meaning of a sentence could be accumulated on-line and that its relationship to the meaning of previously heard sentences could also be determined on-line. The possibility, otherwise stated, is that we interpret speech up to the highest semantic and contextual levels right from the first word (or part of the first word) of the sentence and before the first clause boundary is reached.

Now, it will probably occur to you that if this latter 'on-line' view were correct, the language understanding data already available should provide evidence for it and should at the same time conflict with the standard view. But note that evidence collected in support of the standard view consists either of *post-sentence* measures of comprehension or of on-line measures *around the clause boundary*. To make the crucial test between these two views, what we need is evidence about the kind of processing which occurs early in the sentence — before the first clause boundary. Incidentally, since much of the evidence presented in support of the standard view actually consists of data concerning the subjects' representation of assembled whole sentences, it is not surprising that it should confirm the validity of deep structure descriptions of sentences - TGG deep structure analyses are themselves based on native speakers' intuitions about the structure of, and relation between, assembled whole sentences. We may summarise the position, then, by saying that data presented in support of the standard view can be

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interpreted as confirming the validity of deep structure analyses as they apply to the description of assembled whole sentences. The evidence does not show, however, that such analyses or descriptions play any part in immediate language understanding.

The on-line interactive view

These objections to the standard view have evolved over the last few years. They were raised in their original form by Marslen-Wilson (1973) in the context of a discussion of the results of a series of 'shadowing' experiments he had conducted. Shadowing is an experimental psycholinguistic task in which subjects listen to speech on a tape and try to repeat everything they hear as soon as possible. Marslen-Wilson found that people shadowing continuous speech at an average latency of quarter of a second spontaneously corrected errors which he had included in the material. When he examined these corrections he found that they were entirely consistent, semantically and syntactically, with previous material the subjects would have heard. This meant that they must have been processing the material at the highest levels virtually as they heard it and certainly within the space of quarter of a second. This result is obviously in conflict with the idea that understanding speech is delayed until a deep structure analysis of the material is completed at the clause boundary. In subsequent experiments (e.g. Marslen-Wilson & Tyler 1975), it has also been shown that as speech is processed at all levels right from the beginning of the sentence, the partial interpretation being built up is used by the listener to guide and facilitate subsequent processing. Still other experiments (Tyler & Marslen-Wilson 1977) have shown, for example, that the results of processing at one level (semantic) can facilitate processing at another level (syntactic).

In my own experiments (Harris, 1978a) I have developed the on-line interactive approach further to predict immediate changes in structural and lexical processing activity as sentences are heard. Specifically, I have shown that the order in which information becomes available in a sentence affects the pattern of changes in immediate processing activity right from the beginning of that sentence. Thus, rather than end-of-clause deep structure analyses being the determinant of changes in immediate processing activity, order-of-information is isolated as at least one of the crucial factors. In other experiments I have shown that information derived from processing previous sentences is, with great speed, fully integrated with information being extracted from the current sentence. Results also show that the progress of this high speed contextual/semantic processing can be predicted from an analysis of the informational dependencies between context and target (current) sentences. For example, when 'old' information (i.e. information already stored in memory as a result of processing the prior context sentence) is encountered again in the target sentence, structural processing of the current material speeds up. In contrast, when 'new' but context-dependent information is encountered structural processing becomes more complex and slows up. Under similar contextual conditions in lexical analysis, however, processing is facilitated whether the information being encountered is 'old' or 'new'. The sometimes opposite effects of prior context on current structural and lexical processing can be explained in terms of the fundamentally different nature of structural and lexical analysis (Harris, 1978b). Note incidentally that these immediate inter-sentential context effects cannot be

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explained by the standard model which predicts that context effects will be delayed until immediate deep structure analysis is complete.

Many of the major questions which arise from these results have not yet been tackled in an intensive way. For example, in order to provide an adequate model of language understanding we need to establish the nature of the linguistic knowledge which is responsible for this high speed immediate language processing. How do we go about describing this knowledge, and on what performance data should we base our descriptions? The answer is brief: we do not know. Nevertheless, we can obtain a few basic guidelines from our review of the issues. At the very least perceptually relevant linguistic descriptions should capture the 'left-to-right' informational dependencies within sentences, since speech arrives left-to-right in time and, as our experiments show, is understood virtually as it is heard. These descriptions must also reflect larger scale dependencies between contextually linked sentences such as those which give rise to the old/new information distinction. It is equally clear that the basis for these descriptions will have to be actual immediate language understanding data such as that provided in my own experiments and in Marslen-Wilson's. In this connection it can be appreciated, retrospectively, why TGG descriptions of sentences are not directly relevant to immediate processing of language – TGG descriptions are based on the wrong kind of linguistic data for this purpose. They are based on native speakers' judgements about assembled whole sentences, judgements which are unlikely to be directly or systematically affected by the primary processing of the same sentences. In the words of Marslen-Wilson (1976) the problem is that TGG is a theory of a "formalised static competence, of a time-free linguistic knowledge extrapolated from the metalinguistic intuitions of the idealised speaker-hearer".

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this question concerns the relationship between grammatical descriptions of whole sentences such as those provided by TGG, and performance-based descriptions which capture the perceptually significant left-to-right informational dependencies within these same sentences. More generally, the question is: what is the difference between the kinds of linguistic knowledge captured in grammatical descriptions and performance descriptions? Perhaps the best answer is that given recently by McNeill (1975, p. 175-6):

> "[T]here is a generic and somewhat impenetrable connection between grammar and performance descriptions as if they were related no more than that they are different views of the same third thing.. Each is a special and partial view of linguistic competence. It seems unreal to assume, as has been done, that a particular method, that of relating linguistic structures to each other within a systematic framework, encompasses the entirety of the true structure of language. A multiplicity of approaches seems unavoidable".

Implications

It will be clear at this point that we have only recently got to grips with the central issues in language understanding. As a consequence we have relatively few facts of the correct kind – facts about the progress of

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immediate understanding, as opposed to facts about what people know after the completion of this high speed perceptual processing. Further, what we do know only concerns the language understanding of normal adult native speakers. How, for example, do immediate language understanding skills develop in children, and how is immediately-usable linguistic knowledge acquired? How does immediate understanding in a second language compare to first language understanding?[1] What is the nature of the linguistic knowledge used in the former situation? And, if immediate language understanding does not systematically or directly involve the computation of grammatical descriptions, how likely is the teaching of grammar to produce fluent comprehension in a second language?

I do not intend to discuss these questions here since any one of them would take up an entire paper in itself. I do hope, however, that this brief review of the main research issues will at least prompt you to reflect on these questions yourselves. In this way the relative neglect of a rather important and quickly growing body of research will be brought to an end, and the lack of communication between researchers and practitioners will be overcome. It is likely, in fact, that we will soon see researchers and practitioners doing what they have done in other areas of linguistics and psycholinguistics such as in the study of transformational grammar and language acquisition — namely, attempting to apply experimental findings and hypotheses to the solution of practical problems in second language learning, remedial teaching, and so on. Finally, because current language understanding research focuses on dynamic real time processing phenomena, I expect that the findings and hypotheses it generates will ultimately prove to be more readily applicable to the solution of these practical problems, than were the findings from the more developed branches of linguistics and psycholinguistics.

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[1] I am currently carrying out research on some aspects of these questions.

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SECTION 11

LANGUAGE TEACHING AND LEARNING

IDIOMS AND SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING

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Idiomaticity has been a curiously neglected field in the West. Soviet linguistics has dealt with it extensively, especially in the past three decades, but in the western world it has been overlooked, for some reason or other, or at any rate not studied in great detail.

There are two basic problems, which confront the linguist, who wishes to deal with idioms: firstly, can idioms be clearly *identified*?; and secondly, if so, can they be *classified*?

I shall begin by concentrating on these two issues on an intra-language level, i.e. with reference to modern English. There are several attitudes which one can take with regard to idioms. At one extreme, we find total nihilism (e.g. Archangelski, a Soviet linguist, wrote recently that "idioms are a sub-class of phraseological units not warranting a distinctive label"). This point of view is not a modern one: in the second century B.C., the Patanjali collection of grammatical writings had arrived at somewhat similar conclusions. In considering *throw up*, for example, we can decide to regard it as an idiom *tout court* or, adopting Patanjali's criteria, we can regard *throw* (written *throw*^{2}) as a subsense of *throw*^{1} = *cast*, and classify *up* as a subsense selector. In this particular way idiomaticity can be dealt with in a context of lexicographic dissolution.

At the other end of the range of approaches to idioms is Hockett, who was the first western scholar to tackle the issue of idiom identification. In his *Course in Modern Linguistics* (1958) he says: "Any grammatical form, the meaning of which is not deducible from its structure in any occurrence in which it is not a constituent of a larger form, is an idiom". Therefore, in the sentence *she wants a new hat, new* is an idiom because we cannot deduce its meaning from its structure. It is not, however, an idiom in the sentence *I'm going to New York*, where it is part of a larger constituent *New York*, which, however, *is* an idiom for the same reason. In *The New York Times*, *New York* ceases to be an idiom because it is part of a larger constituent.

This is a gross oversimplification of Hockett's position but I think it basically sums up his conclusions. On these premises we arrive at the perhaps startling conclusion that the size of an idiom can range from an elementary morpheme to complex structure such as *it is time for all good men to come to the aid of the party.* This all-embracing attitude may seem extreme,

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but it may make more sense when we examine it later on in the context of L_1 versus L_2. Most western scholars have adopted some sort of compromise attitude to idioms, somewhere in-between these two extremes.

I shall begin by briefly examining the findings of W. Chafe who, as an unrepentant semanticist, is mostly concerned with idioms on the semantic level. For Chafe (1970), "A semantic unit which does not have a direct symbolisation of its own but which trades on the symbolisation of another (or others) can be called an idiom". Idioms can be 'restricted' (*red* in *red hair*, *make* in *make a bed*), or unrestricted (*off-base*). If we take a word like *red*, which indicates a colour and is not regarded as idiomatic, we find that it can have additional connotations, one of which is the description of the colour of human hair. When we say that someone has *red* hair, we do not really mean that their hair is red in the sense in which we call *red* one of the colours of the spectrum: it is something resembling orange or some shade close to it. So we have to assume, in Chafe's opinion, that as the semantic inventory expanded, a way of describing a certain colour of hair was needed, the word *red* was (as it were) borrowed, or taken over, and acquired this particular extension. The process goes from the semantic unit *red* (to indicate the colour of hair), through what Chafe calls a postsemantic process to the borrowing of the particular word *red*, which was taken over to indicate the colour of hair, and through a process of symbolisation ultimately leading to phonetic symbolisation we arrive at the phonetic structure *red*. In this way we have a fairly precise framework in which we can at least identify idioms.

Chafe's classification is not complete. He indicated certain guidelines to enable us to identify idioms, but did not actually produce a comprehensive classification. The following is a basic classification indicating in which areas we can identify lexical idioms:

IDIOMS	LEXICAL	'Adjectives':	*On-the-wagon* *Off-base*
		'Verbs':	*Spill-the-beans* *Trip-the-light-fantastic*
		'Nouns':	*Red-herring* *Lily-of-the-valley*
	NON-LEXICAL	Aspects	Progressive (literalised *be + ing*) Perfective (literalised *have + en*)

Chafe's theory of idiomaticity seems an attractive one, although one is tempted to say that if we have the *red paint* versus *red hair* contrast, it would seem more expedient to solve the problem on a purely lexicographical basis, i.e. if we attribute two subsenses to *red*, we really dispose of the problem of idiomaticity.

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Chafe, incidentally, is highly critical of the Chomskyan claims to provide a theoretical framework for idioms. I shall very briefly refer to a short article by Katz and Postal (1963), which merely gives broad guidelines for the insertion of idioms into the general TG framework. According to Katz and Postal, an idiom is a "concatenation of two or more morphemes whose compound meaning is not compositionally derived from the meanings of the concatenated morphemes". If we take a sentence such as *John kicked the bucket*, say Katz and Postal, we find that it is ambiguous. It could have a literal meaning and it could have the well-known idiomatic one. The way in which they solve this particular difficulty is by assigning two readings to this type of sentence: one reading is at the lowest terminal level, and leads us to the literal interpretation. As regards the second, or idiomatic meaning, their solution is to refer to a higher constituent, in this case MV, which as it were, subsumes the terminal endings and assigns to them the idiomatic reading.

This seems a neat way of solving this particular problem; we can imagine a dictionary of the semantic component in which the two readings depend on which particular constituent we select. However, there are drawbacks in Katz and Postal's approach. First of all, they do not really explain the transformational deficiencies of idioms. There are idioms which are syntactically ill-formed (e.g. *trip the light fantastic*), and it is not easy to comprehend how a TG approach could deal with that particular type of idiom. Another aspect, which Katz and Postal do not really explain satisfactorily, is the seemingly higher frequency of idiomatic interpretation as opposed to the literal one in idioms such as these.

There is also perhaps another, slightly ribald observation that one might make: to say that *John kicked the bucket* is an ambiguous sentence is somewhat disingenuous (it really is rather difficult to imagine a context in which this sentence could genuinely be regarded as ambiguous).

Katz and Postal are fully aware of the difficulties involved in their analysis and try to dismiss the question of syntactically ill-formed idioms by relegating them to the rank of semi-sentences. This may be a neat way of disposing of them in just one short paragraph. Is it really enough?

Concerning their attempt to classify idioms, they distinguish between lexical idioms such as *bari+tone*, *tele+phone* and phrase idioms such as *kick the-bucket*, the basic assumption being that idioms are "the concatenation of two or more morphemes whose compound meaning is not compositionally derived from the meanings of the concatenated morphemes". Thus, they introduce an element, which assigns a much narrower scope to idiomaticity than Chafe, who is ready to accept single morphemes into his classification.

Weinreich (1966) is partly Chomskyan in his approach but carries the whole argument a stage further. His is a more sophisticated approach, and I think a more sensitive one.

Weinreich starts off from the concept of phraseological units, and defines one as "any expression with at least *one* polysemous constituent in which selection of subsense is determined by context". An idiom, on the other hand, is defined as "a phraseological unit involving at least *two* polysemous constituents with reciprocal contextual selection of subsenses". We are thus

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arriving at a more rigorous definition. Here is an example of what he means: if we have a phrase such as *red herring*, we can assign to it a literal sense (a herring on a painting which happens to be coloured red); we can assign to it a phraseological non-idiomatic meaning (the meaning of a herring which is smoked and cured with saltpeter, and which is called *red* though technically not red), and ultimately we arrive at the idiomatic sense, perhaps the best known one.

Weinreich defines three variables, which we may find helpful in arriving at a fairly rigorous definition of idioms:

1. *Amount of overlap between subsenses, or ratio of shared to unshared components.* A word like *red* can have more than one meaning, and if we take the meaning we find in *red hair* , clearly this is a subsense of *red* but is not entirely divorced from it (we are still talking about two colours though these are not identical). If we proceed in this way, we find that the overlap between subsenses will get wider or narrower depending on the context and the particular words we use.
2. *When a polysemous morpheme appears in a construction, the construction is not correspondingly polysemous (only one of the subsenses is realised).* If we take, e.g. *row* we can imagine two contexts, one in which we assign to it the meaning of *paddle* and the other in which we assign to it the meaning of *series*, *range*. Clearly, the two share no semantic components, and are mutually suppletive. On the other hand, we may have a word like *father* v. *to father*. These are mutually suppletive syntactically in that one is a noun and one is a verb, yet they do share a certain amount of the semantic component.
3. *Two-directional selection.* In *blind date*, *blind* is used in a subsense other than the main sense (*unseeing*), and the same applies to *date*. The fact that this phrase only occurs in that particular idiomatic meaning must mean that there has been a two-way subsense selection.

Bearing in mind these three variables, we find, according to Weinreich, that the highest degree of idiomaticity is registered when all three variables have limiting values, i.e.:

1. The subsenses of the morphemes are suppletive.
2. Selection is determined by a unique contextual morpheme.
3. Contextual selection works both ways.

Weinreich provides the following specimen list of idioms and non-idioms to show where the borderline should be. Those on the left are idiomatic, in that both subsenses disappear and give rise to a completely unconnected meaning. Those on the right will still have a basic connection with the primary sense of the words:

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IDIOMATIC	NON-IDIOMATIC
throw up	stay out
look out	keep in
water down	throw in
set off (explode)	look away
pipe down	send off

Like Chafe and Katz and Postal, Weinreich stops short at this rather cursory attempt to identify idioms, and does not provide a comprehensive classification.

The first major attempt in the West, not only to analyse and identify idioms, but also to provide a comprehensive, all-embracing classificatory list did not appear until 1972 with A. Makkai's book *Idiom Structure in English.*

Based on stratificationalist premises, Makkai's classification divides idioms into two broad categories. One pertains to the third stratum of the language. These he calls *lexemic idioms* and defines one as "any polylexonic lexeme which is made up of more than one minimal free form or word, each lexon of which can occur in other environments as the realisation of a monolexonic lexeme". Makkai further subdivides lexemic idioms in accordance with the following scheme:

L/1 *phrasal verb idioms* (e.g. make out, walk out on, be left over, go through with)

L/2 *tournure idioms*, which only partake of morphological freedoms (e.g. do a guy, call a spade a spade, beat around the bush, be up a creek)

L/3 *irreversible binomial idioms* (e.g. time and again, gin and tonic, heads or tails)

L/4 *phrasal compound idioms* (e.g. wetback, bookworm, turncoat, red tape, pig in a poke, moth-eaten, old-fashioned, downstairs)

L/5 *incorporating verb idioms* (baby-sit, sight-see)

L/6 *pseudo-idioms*, i.e. those including a cranberry morph (e.g. to and fro, zig-zag).

Lexemic idioms according to Makkai "differ from other lexemes in that they are subject to a possible lack of understanding despite familiarity with the meanings of the components, or to erroneous decoding: they can potentially mislead the uninformed listener, or they can disinform him". The distinction made by Makkai between misinformation and disinformation would seem to suggest that a certain amount of subjectivity must inevitably creep into his analysis: misinformation "does not occur as a result of logical (but literal, therefore, wrong) decoding of complex polylexonic lexemes, on the part of the listener, but as a result of accidentally homophonous forms occurring in similar environments with equally meaningful decodings". In a sentence such as *a woman bears children*, *bears* can have two possible senses, and if we are misled by this we are mis-, not dis-informed. Disinformation, on the other hand, occurs "when the structural composition of the utterance in which the idiom was heard allows the listener to decode the idiom in a logical yet sememically erroneous way". I do not know to what extent this can be accepted uncritically.

On the next stratum in Makkai's classification we find sememic idioms, one being defined as "a polylexemic construction whose aggregate literal meaning derived from its constituent lexemes function additionally as the realisation of an unpredictable sememic network".

S/1 *'first base' idioms* (never to get to first base)

S/2 *idioms of institutionalised politeness* (may I -, would you mind -)

S/3 *of institutionalised detachment/indirectness* (it seems that -)

S/4 *proposals encoded as questions* (how about, shall we, would you like to)

S/5 *institutionalised greeting* (how do you do, how are you)

S/6 *proverbial with a moral* (birds of a feather flock together)

S/7 *familiar quotations* (not a mouse stirring)

S/8
S/9 *institutionalised understatement/hyperbole* (not my cup of tea, won't lift a finger)

Here we have almost reached the point at which our analysis ceases to be a linguistic one and becomes in effect a literary one. Makkai postulates the existence of a fifth stratum, which he calls hypersememic. One might assign to it irony, or any other psychological attitude which affects linguistic performance.

We can now briefly consider the situation on the level of practical idiom dictionaries and such sections of coursebooks as include a treatment of idioms. This is how the recently published *Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English* by Cowie and Mackin (1975), deals with the entry *WRAP*: Wrapped a clean rag round his ankle: signposts .... wrapped in fog: that just about wraps up our business: the sales team wrapped up a couple of deals before lunch: 'wrap up', Dad: Mother wraps up the children's presents: the children were warmly wrapped up in scarves: Annabel became wrapped up in a society ....: she keeps her children wrapped up in cotton wool.

Bearing in mind the definitions and classifications of idioms touched on above, it is not entirely clear why a sentence such as *he wrapped a clean rag round his ankle* should be regarded as idiomatic, except in the sense that dictionaries of practical value are intended to help a learner of English to find *le mot juste*. Other instances of this type of approach can be found in the recently revised *English Idioms and How to Use Them* by Seidl and McMordie (1978), which i.a. lists:

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open/close a bank account: put money into an account:
draw money out: current/savings/deposit account:
joint account: rate of interest/interest rate:
cheque bounces: (bank) dishonours a cheque: cross a
cheque: a crossed cheque: make out a cheque to
someone.

Let us now take a quick look at the way some bilingual idiom dictionaries and grammar books deal with this problem on an interlanguage basis. The following list is taken from an Italian grammar published in 1966 (with one of the possible Italian equivalents *en face*):

'IDIOMATIC USES'	That's good! That's right! That's all! That's enough! That's wonderful! That's awful!	Cosí va bene! Ecco! Giusto! Ecco tutto! Basta cosí! È meraviglioso! È terribile!

It is not very clear in these cases why the English sentences on the left-hand side should be regarded as idiomatic except in that they clearly do not have a direct literal Italian equivalent, and the Italian-speaking learner of English may find this a convenient way of acquiring a number of English phrases. But they seem to have been assembled on a purely arbitrary, intuitive basis, without any reference to their actual idiomaticity.

Another textbook, published in 1972, furnishes a list of "Italian translations of English expressions which are more or less idiomatic. The Italian renderings may, or may not, be of an idiomatic nature, though generally they are."

We must find *a way* to convince him	*(modo)*
There's always *a way out*	*(via di scampo)*
I lost *my way*	*(mi sono smarrito)*
He worked his way up	*(da garzone è diventato direttore)*
George *goes out of his way* to help	*(si fa in quattro)*
Am I in your way?	*(ti do fastidio?)*

There is, obviously, a certain amount of theoretical groundwork to be covered before issuing lists of idioms of the type given above.

Lastly, I have selected six examples of the sort of diverse equivalences one may come across in a classroom situation. Six current English idioms are listed on the left-hand side, and the corresponding Italian expressions are provided on the right. Of the Italian ones, the top three can be classified as idiomatic, the bottom three as non-idiomatic. The capital letters above the line represent simply a string of morphemes, the small letters below the

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line represent the deep structure of the sentence (i.e. its non-idiomatic aspect). I have inserted prepositions and articles to show the manner in which the two languages cope in different ways with the same type of sentence.

1.	IRON CURTAIN $\frac{A + B}{n + o}$	CORTINA DI FERRO $\frac{B + \text{prep.} + A}{o + n}$
2.	CASTLES IN THE AIR $\frac{C + \text{prep.} + \text{art.} + D}{q}$	CASTELLI IN ARIA $\frac{C + \text{prep.} + D}{q}$
3.	A FLEA IN ONE'S EAR $\frac{\text{art.} + E + \text{prep.} + (\text{pron.}+\text{gen.}) + F}{r}$	UNA PULCE NELL'ORECCHIO $\frac{\text{art.} + E + (\text{prep.}+\text{art.}) + F}{s}$
4.	BAKER'S DOZEN $\frac{(G + \text{gen.}) + H}{t}$	TREDICI $\frac{T}{t}$
5.	HIT THE BOTTLE $\frac{L + \text{art.} + M}{n' + o'}$	DARSI AL BERE $\frac{(N+\text{pron.}) + (\text{prep.}+\text{art.}) + O}{n' + o'}$
6.	BLIND DATE $\frac{P + Q}{\prec v\beta V\gamma Y \ldots}$	var. per. $\frac{\prec v\beta V\gamma Y \text{....}}{\prec v\beta V\gamma Y \text{....}}$

Notes:

1. There is complete correspondence between the two languages, both above and below the line (apart from some syntactic modifications, which can be accounted for by descriptive morphology and syntax). (n + o)/(o + n) represent an actual curtain made of iron.
2. English uses the definite article, Italian does not. Below the line, however, q (= *illusions*, or similar) still corresponds to q (= *illusioni*).
3. A correspondence exists above the line (disregarding syntax) but not below (r = *rebuff*, s = *sospetto*, i.e. *suspicion*).
4. Italian lacks an idiomatic equivalent and has to resort to a non-idiomatic constituent with identical meaning above the line.
5. We run into further difficulties in the case of HIT THE BOTTLE, which does not have an idiomatic Italian equivalent, that I know of. We have to cope by using the literal equivalent DARSI AL BERE, which simply means TO START DRINKING.

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6. Here Italian completely collapses and we must find an appropriate equivalent on a contextual basis (bearing in mind the degree of acquaintanceship or relationship among the agents involved in the exercise). I have expressed this by using Greek letters separated by the sign $\vee$ = *different from*.

Can idioms, then, really be identified in a rigorous manner? Even Weinreich and Makkai seem to suggest that some element of subjectivity, or even arbitrariness inevitably creeps into our analysis. Weinreich: "Shall we .... go ahead and dissolve all idioms, as *can* be done? Such a procedure hardly can be adopted across the board. Some 'dissolutions' of idioms seem to be too counterintuitive to offset the lexicographic economies achieved. We, therefore, must look at some instances where the dissolution makes us uneasy and see what formal features they contain that might be at the roots of our intuitive objections". And, according to Makkai, "Granting that idiomatic V + P/A compounds are less frequently interrupted than literal ones, this remains an impressionistic judgment heavily influenced by individual variation, stylistic prejudices, dialect, and even so full of exceptions".

In other words, we find ourselves in a rather fluctuating border area in which we have to introduce the concept of intuition. Didactically, the problem remains whether idioms are meaningful entities or whether they in fact complicate matters unnecessarily. When dealing with an inter-language situation, it is tempting to come down on the side of Hockett and accept that each language is idiomatic vis-à-vis all others.

In conclusion, one might perhaps quote Malkiel, who in 1959 wrote "one does well to steer clear of any reference to the ill-defined category of idioms".

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THE MODERN LANGUAGE APTITUDE TEST

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Introduction

I had hoped that I would be presenting to you a finished study, with some norms established and some conclusions about the use of this text in Ireland. Unfortunately, we were unable to complete our third year testing programme, because of illness in the faculty and we could not investigate the predictive validity of the MLAT, using the results of University examinations as criteria, because the examination's office was not able to release the student's marks.

So, I will be limiting myself to introducing the test to you and presenting some criticisms of it, describing our results in Galway and comparing them with normative samples in the United States and Britain, and describing to you what we wish we had already done but will be doing next year.

The idea of looking at the suitability of the Carroll-Sapon, Modern Language Aptitude Test for an Irish population came from the French Department at U.C.G. and Seán Mac Íomhair of the Language Laboratory there. They wanted a tool which would predict the degree of success of first year entrants to the French Department. We are often guilty of imposing psychological tests, designed in and reflecting one culture, usually that of the United States or Britain, on an Irish population, often without even establishing our own norms. The Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities, henceforth I.T.P.A., is confidently used here to diagnose the linguistic substratum of communication and learning disorders. The Test was standardised on an eastern seabord U.S. population; children were asked to recognise power drills, food mixers, electric coffee percolators, parking meters etc., which may not be familiar to some Irish children. Low scores could reflect a different culture rather than impaired linguistic ability.

Similarly, it is not self-evident that the MLAT, designed for English-speaking University students in America and validated there, is necessarily valid in an Irish University situation. There are obvious differences in the

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varieties of English spoken in the U.S. and those here. There are differences too, in the proportion of young people who have college education. Here perhaps 6% of our college age population is in college. In the States it is around 25%. If we assume that we are dealing with the most academically talented segment of the population, then the Irish University group should be a more highly selected population. Further, the *Teaching Methods* of both schools and colleges and their instructional objectives are probably very different and this may lead to the strengthening of different aptitudes.

The MLAT test

Firstly, the MLAT differs from traditional language tests because it is aiming to measure aptitude not achievement. Traditional tests will tell you how much French or German you have mastered but the MLAT aims to predict your potential ability.

Description of MLAT: John B. Carroll claims that "The MLAT has been designed chiefly to provide an indication of an individual's probable degree of success in learning a foreign language, but it is also useful in predicting success in learning to read, write and translate a foreign language. It is applicable in connection with both 'modern' spoken languages and ancient languages such as Latin or Greek". It is intended primarily for college and adult populations.

The test is very easy to administer – it has the advantage of being a group test so it does not take up a great deal of time as you can test everyone together – up to about 100. Carroll estimated that it takes 60-70 minutes. We found that it took a little longer, principally because our students were not as sophisticated in test-taking as American students and needed more explanations of how to mark their answer sheets. The markers were not as sophisticated either, and I found mistakes in totalling the scores by even experienced psychologists. The problem is that scores from one side have to be transferred and can be added twice, inflating the score. One advantage is that unlike some other tests in use, such as the ITPA, you do not have to be a psychologist – someone who has had a lot of experience in administering tests – to use it. The timing and all the instructions are on tape. You just have to turn it on and off at the right moments and ensure that you have proctors around the room to see that pupils are looking at the right page at the right time. Carroll suggests 1 proctor to 30-40 students. We found we needed twice this many. The only problem that we encountered in actual administration was one of desk space. Each student has an answer sheet, a Test Booklet and a Practice Exercise Sheet. They took up a lot of room and it would have been hard to manage in a language laboratory cubicle. The Test is made up of five parts:

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Figure 1

STRUCTURE OF MODERN LANGUAGES APTITUDES TEST

1. NUMBER LEARNING
    - A. MEMORY
    - B. AUDITORY ALERTNESS
2. PHONETIC SCRIPT
    - A. SOUND-SYMBOL ASSOCIATION
    - B. MEMORY FOR SPEECH SOUND
3. SPELLING CUES
    - A. SOUND SYMBOL ASSOCIATION
4. WORDS IN SENTENCES
    - A. SENSITIVITY TO GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE
5. PAIRED ASSOCIATES
    - A. ROTE MEMORY

1. Number learning

The students listen to the tape and are taught the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 20, 30, 40, 100, 200, 300, 400 in a language unfamiliar to them. They are given an opportunity to practise the numbers and correct their mistakes. This is a good idea because it helps them settle down and gain confidence before the testing actually starts. Then the numbers are read out at random and the student has to write down the number he hears. After this he has a few minutes to transcribe these onto the answer sheet. This was the only place where we experienced any problems during the test. Some students attempted to mark their answers on the answer sheet right away and as this was a much harder task they got left behind and lost marks. When this happened in the pilot run we turned off the tape and explained it again. We also had mistakes in copying the number into marking slots. This section is confusing and not well designed. Carroll feels that this measures two aspects of foreign language aptitude (1) memory and (2) auditory alertness.

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2. Phonetic script

A series of sounds is read, which corresponds to groups of phonetic symbols printed on the answer sheets. Each of 4 choices in 5 multiple-choice questions is read. At the second reading only one choice is read and the student has to decide which one. The sounds in each group of 5 questions are phonetically associated.

Carroll says that this measures what he calls 'sound-symbol association ability' – the ability to learn correspondences between speech sounds and orthographic symbols. He points out that it may also measure memory for speech sounds and he claims that it correlates highly with the ability to mimic speech sounds in foreign languages.

3. Spelling cues

A multiple-choice test in which the student is asked to decide which of 5 meanings corresponds to a word, which has a disguised spelling.

This does not appear very difficult but it is highly speeded and marks depend not on seeing what the word is but how quickly you recognise it. Carroll suggests this measures the same kind of sound-symbol associations as in 2. Obviously, this also depends on students' English vocabulary knowledge.

Figure 2

SPELLING CUES

1. mblm
   A. BLAME
   B. AMBULANCE
   C. BLEMISH
   D. SYMBOL
   E. FLOWER

4. nme
   A. SEA ANIMAL
   B. ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION
   C. FOE
   D. FRUIT
   E. NUMBERS

11. knfrns
   A. FUNERAL
   B. MEDICINE
   C. KIND OF TREE
   D. DISCUSSION MEETING
   E. POLICE OFFICER

42. ntir
   A. ORAL SURGEON
   B. PART OF AN AUTOMOBILE
   C. FOREIGN
   D. WHOLE
   E. EMPEROR

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4. Words in sentences

Students are given two sentences. In the first sentence a word is underlined and in the second sentence a number of alternatives are underlined. The student has to choose the alternative in the second sentence, which has the same function as the underlined word in the first sentence. This part is thought to measure 'sensitivity to grammatical structure'. The test is speeded as well, so it is not just how well you can see the relationships but how quickly. This may well reflect formal training in grammar but at least no grammatical terminology is involved so the scores do not depend on specific memory for grammatical terminology. This is a definite improvement on the Fisher & Masia Foreign Language Prognosis Test 1959, where a sentence such as 'Are you reading an interesting book?' is given, which has to be changed to the future perfect tense. This obviously confuses knowledge of terminology about the language with knowledge of the language.

Figure 3

WORDS IN SENTENCES

A. AS HE SAT DOWN TO REST, A FEELING OF WEARINESS CAME OVER HIM

A B C D
B. SWIMMING IS RELAXING EXERCISE FOR GROWING BOYS IN TRAINING
E
FOR WRESTLING

5. Paired association

Students are required to learn certain vocabulary items and then are expected to choose the correct meaning of a foreign word from five alternatives. This aims to measure the rote memory aspect of the learning of foreign language.

Figure 4

PAIRED ASSOCIATES

ja = day
Ian = wolf
mi = touch
hui = fall
tsep = enter
nung = frog
roo = art

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ADMINISTRATION IN GALWAY

In U.C.G. in 1974/75, 142 First Year students in the French department were given the MLAT. In 1975/76 a further 52 First Year students took the test. The mean score for 1974/75 was 113. The mean score for 1975/76 sample was 102.

Figure 5

MEAN SCORES ON M.L.A.T.

U.C.G. 1974/75	113
U.C.G. 1975/76	102
U.S. freshmen	116
Essex University	124

The results for both years were found to correspond to a normal distribution. A test was computed and the difference between the means was found to be significant at the 0.001 confidence level.

Consequently we decided that it would be impossible to use these two figures to produce a norm. It was intended to test the next year's entry to the French department this year but this proved impossible to accomplish because of illness in the department.

The fact that the two years differed so significantly has implications for the two earlier standardisations of the test – one in U.S. and one in Britain both of which were standardised over one year only. If years could differ so much here they may differ there too and the norms presented in the manuals may not actually represent the performance on the test for the population in question.

When we compare Galway results with comparable norms from the U.S. population of Freshmen reading French (314) we discover that the American mean was 116 (see Figure 5). The sample of 314 seems very small. Now if the 1974/75 results of a mean of 113 are representative then there is no difference worth talking about between the two groups – American and Irish. But if the 1975/76 figure of 102 was not a freak and the real norm for our population lies between the two years then that is a very large difference in aptitude between Galway and American students and needs explaining. In fact, the difference is more unexpected than it seems at first. If 25% of Americans enjoy college education and only 6% of Irish, then we might expect Irish students, being a more highly selected group, to actually score higher than Americans.

This indeed is what seems to happen when we go on to compare our Galway figures with those from the University of Essex in Britain. Their mean is 124,

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significantly higher than either Irish or American norms. (See Figure 5). The reasons for this are fairly straightforward. English universities recruit only about 2-3% of the population so they are very highly selected. Furthermore, the sample at Essex was predominantly majoring in languages or comparative and social studies, which included a language element. By the time they reach University at 18, British students have already selected themselves and may have specialised in languages alone from 16-18. Consequently, the MLAT is too easy for them but might be of more use at 16 when they begin their language specialisation.

In the States as in Galway many study French in the first year because one language is a necessary requirement of First Arts and not because they intend to specialise in languages. So it is easy to see that the reasons for the apparent British superiority are to be found in the fact that we are dealing with two very different kinds of samples. Tests are obviously much more useful in discriminating between members of a heterogenous group.

The reasons for the possible American superiority are harder to fathom. As I suggested, following the line of argument concerning the proportion of the population involved, we would expect Irish results to be higher. I shall suggest some reasons for the discrepancy.

Firstly, it is an American test devised for an American population, reflecting American conditions. It is never easy to transplant a test to a different culture. The test is devised for people whose first language is English, but presumably the American variety of English. We obviously checked our population for native Irish speakers, but there were no students whose first language was not English, so this did not appear to be a factor.

On talking to the students after the administration when I was giving them feedback on the test many of them mentioned that they had been annoyed by the American accent of the man on the tape. Several admitted that they had been disgruntled by what they subjectively experienced as a condescending note in his tone. We know that the establishment of rapport is crucial for optimum performance in test situations and this appeared lacking. Perhaps better results would be obtained if the tape was re-recorded here. Our students may well have had some difficulties in hearing the difference between some American vowels: e.g. /æ/ in 'bag' versus /a/ in 'dog'. This might have limited their performance in areas like Part 2, where they worked on the phonetic script.

Similarly, in Part 3 some words may have been easier for an American population to recognise e.g. fragl which seems much closer to the American pronunciation of fragile than the pronunciation of fragile used here.

Another striking feature, that emerged from sessions with the students afterwards, was the large numbers who used no strategies, no mnemonics to aid them when learning the Kurdish vocabulary in Part 5, Paired Associates. Many just read and reread the lists hoping it stuck in their minds. This is a very uneconomic method. Those who used mnemonic devices did very well.

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e.g.:	ja	day	
		jahr – German year – but this is smaller only a day	
	hui	fall	Whee! Noise you make when you fall
	lah	wolf	
	lah	loup – wolf	
	tsep	enter	
		step in – enter	
	mi	touch	
		touch me not –	
	nung	frog	
		nung like sound of frog jumping	
	roo	art	
		rude nude – art.	

Possibly the greatest difficulty for our students was their lack of practice, their inexperience of testing that Americans take as a matter of routine. They had trouble sorting out the marking sheets and many were obviously threatened by the procedure. Hopefully, as more and more schools have guidance teachers, our students will become increasingly familiar with these instruments and this factor will be eliminated.

Lastly, because of constraints of time-tabling, finding a suitable room and achieving peace and quiet, the test took place at 8.00 p.m., by which time the students were pretty tired and not at their best.

PURPOSE OF USING MLAT IN GALWAY

We must now return to discuss our original purpose in standardising the test for Galway. We wanted to know if administering MLAT at the beginning of First Year would allow us to predict examination marks. Does it? Well, we do not know because the examinations office would not release names and marks. However, we have worked out an ingenious way around this and details of this will be revealed next year. The best we can do at this moment is to look at experiences in Britain that might have significance for us.

Results in Britain

We know that in Britain, success at O-Level correlates very highly with success in foreign language learning. A study done in Sheffield by Austwick showed that French A-Level results correlated very highly with final degree level performance in French.

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Davies found that I.Q. scores and achievement in major school subjects is a good predictor of subsequent success in that language. Harding 1958, suggests that a preliminary tryout of a foreign language is a good predictor of subsequent success in that language. The MLAT has the advantage, though, of being applicable to any language and it is much quicker and cheaper. The information it gives in a couple of hours is as reliable as that obtained in a couple of weeks in the tryout method.

In Essex they found that (i) *Previous Language Study* is a better predictor of course marks and examination marks than the MLAT; (ii) there is an improvement when you add the MLAT to this, but very little; (iii) the reason that *Previous Language Study* and achievement are better indicators than the MLAT is probably because they tap, not just aptitude, but also motivation and capacity for hard work. So we can conclude that, if our Leaving Certificate results are as good a predictor as A-Level results, then it is a waste of time and money to use MLAT as a universal selection criterion for entering language departments. This we will know by next year.

General remarks and conclusions

If we find that we have other ways of predicting success is it worthwhile bothering about the MLAT at all? I think that probably it is – it has uses other than that of mere selection. It can be used as a vocational guidance tool. The Galway students seemed to find an examination of their profiles most useful as it gave them an idea of where their strengths and weaknesses were.

It can be used to discover at an early stage, students who may fail, so they can receive remedial help or a warning that they may not be making a wise vocational choice. You have to be careful not to be simplistic in interpreting these scores. Success or failure as we have suggested depends not only on aptitude but also motivation and hard work. So all you can tell someone is where they stand in relation to others in their class. Scoring below average on the MLAT means that you will have to put in much more time and hard work to do as well as someone with a higher aptitude. Knowing where you stand in relation to a group can be useful if you are changing from one university to another or moving to Britain or the States.

Of course we may not always have information concerning examinations passed or school records to consult. This is especially likely in the case of an adult. It can be important for a mature student entering university to be able to see if he has a latent ability that has not had a chance to manifest itself in terms of attainment in language learning.

Now that we are in the EEC we can expect more courses to be provided for people in government service and in industry and commerce. More adults will be starting expensive series of classes. MLAT can help to select students so the most efficient use can be made of time, money and people. In fact Carroll claims that it is in this area of intensive courses, where motivation is uniformly high, that the MLAT shows the highest validity in predicting success.

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The MLAT has a diagnostic function too. As we have seen, it can help pick out areas of strength and weakness for particular students who could be grouped on the basis of this for further practice at their own speed.

One of the things we are going to do next year is to compare the scores on the 5 different parts of the texts of the three populations so far studied. We have not been able to do this yet, because Professor Carroll has lost his data. When we do get all the data together we will be able to see whether our scores are just generally lower on all 5 subtests, or whether our overall marks are being depressed by problems in one particular area. This could determine where we should direct the thrust of our teaching strategy. If we do as well as other populations in phonetic discrimination, but worse in grammatical sensitivity, perhaps the balance of our courses could be modified accordingly.

On the whole, I think the test is worth persevering with, although it is subject to criticism like all tests. The subtests seem to be measuring the students' ability to recode English. The sound systems, the structures are all English. Even with the vocabulary items, the nonsense words are to be substituted for English words. Language learning involves more than substituting one set of words for another. So I feel the MLAT would be improved if non-English linguistic characteristics were incorporated. One would welcome the inclusion of sounds not used in English and some non-Roman symbolisation.

Of more general interest perhaps, is an elementary version of the test EMLAT, in which a great many language teachers and vocational guidance teachers have shown keen interest. We hope to look at this carefully during the coming year with a view to standardising it for the whole country, if there is sufficient interest and we can find someone to give us the money to do it.

AN EXPERIMENTAL TEST IN SPOKEN FRENCH AT LEAVING CERTIFICATE LEVEL

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In 1975 I.T.É. decided to initiate studies and experiments on the feasibility of developing oral tests in modern languages for use in this country. The purpose was to determine whether oral/aural tests could be designed which were suitable for general application and were reasonably reliable and consistent in their results. In Irish this work was undertaken at the level of Sixth Class in primary schools and in French at the level of Leaving Certificate.

My purpose here is to describe the experimental test of proficiency in French which I developed on behalf of I.T.É. in the period October 1975 to October 1977. I should like to acknowledge my appreciation of the very favourable conditions under which this work was done in I.T.É.; the co-operation of the participating students, teachers and schools and the expert guidance and technical skill provided by St. Patrick's Educational Research Centre in Drumcondra through its psychometric experts – in particular Dr. Patricia Fontes.

My brief from I.T.É. was to devise tests of the oral-aural skills which would be reasonably simple to administer on a national level, which would require only a reasonably short time to administer and which would be as reliable as was possible, that is, as objective as possible without detracting from the potential of the tests for improving teaching approaches by emphasising oral-aural skills.

I first collected information on aspects of behaviour known to be measured in both the oral and aural skills. The sources of this information are now in I.T.É. and are, largely, detailed in the bibliography on testing freely available from I.T.É. I found that aural or listening tests variously included auditory discrimination, identification of grammatical indicators or patterns, and comprehension tests of various kinds and composite tests – DICTATION, CLOZE and NOTE-TAKING.

1. AUDITORY DISCRIMINATION TESTS could measure the student's ability to distinguish phonemes, or intonation patterns or tone or mood of utterances. The procedure used was the matching of spoken items with pictures, with written items or with other spoken items. From these possibilities, I selected phoneme discrimination: single words and sentences to be adjudged same or different and the matching of a spoken utterance with one of a set of written options containing phoneme contrasts.
2. TESTS OF IDENTIFICATION OF GRAMMATICAL INDICATORS or PATTERNS could measure the student's ability to match a spoken sentence with one of a set of written options of varying tense, number, persons or patterns. I did not retain this technique.
3. COMPREHENSION TESTS could measure the student's ability to interpret precise or general meaning (gist), the context, the mood or atmosphere, his ability to complete a thought, to give an appropriate response. All of these are normally

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tested on the basis of a verbal cue. The techniques involved the use of pictorial and written aids. The pictorial aids ranged from pictures to maps, diagrams, tables or time-tables, with the help of which the students would solve problems given verbally. I did not retain the use of pictorial aids at this level. From the range of spoken cues — statement, question, dialogue, narrative, informal talk, lecture, authentic newscast, weatherforecast, advertisement, announcement, I retained statement completion, narrative and dialogue for the purpose of testing interpretation of meaning and context only.

4. DICTATION is a test of composite skills including the ability to produce sound-script correspondences from a series of sentences or a continuous passage given orally. I retained this technique.

5. CLOZE involves the deletion of every 5th or 7th or nth word from a series of sentences or a passage given orally. The student supplies in writing or selects from a number of written options the precise missing words. Although this is accounted an excellent test of composite skills, I did not retain this technique.

6. NOTE-TAKING from a verbal stimulus is another composite skills test which, like many of the other techniques, I did not retain at this time for this level, although from the mere point of view of usefulness and relevance it also merits testing at this level at a later state of development of oral/aural skills.

TEST OUTLINE

	SKILLS	TEST
Levels	*Listening*	*Speaking*
1. Phonology	Phoneme Discrimination	Pronunciation Intonation
2. Grammar and Lexis	Sentence Completion Definition in Context	Transformation
3. Context	Continuous Passage and Questions, Dialogue Situations and Questions.	Answers to General Questions, Information-seeking in Role Playing
4. Composite of 1, 2 and 3	Dictation	Fluency

In the event, on the results of the very first testing the Phoneme Discrimination test based on minimal pairs of words was discarded as being too easy for Leaving Certificate level and, therefore, the Aural section consisted of six subtests — 2 Phoneme Discrimination sub-tests with 80 items, 2 Comprehension sub-tests (Narrative and Dialogue) 100 items, 1 Sentence Completion sub-test with 20 items and Dictation with 80 items. These were administered in 4 parallel tests with 70 items each.

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The aural tests were entirely objective and open to manual or computerised correction. They were designed to be administered by tape to groups of students and required 20 minutes to complete. They, therefore, met the criteria mentioned earlier — ease of administration, reasonable timing, consistent application and objective assessment while having potential for encouraging stress on aural skills.

The literature on testing, however, provided less clear and simple solutions to the assessment of the spoken language. Oral tests ranged from the interview and general question type test to discrete point tests of pronunciation, intonation, stress, rhythm, controlled expression (grammar and vocabulary) and free expression (ease and fluency).

The Interview and General Question type test are those traditionally associated with a global assessment of all those aspects of oral and aural skills, which contribute to the level of intelligibility, and determine the level of communication. Even if it were possible to devise a valid and reliable single test of all these skills, it is questionable whether an individual could reliably assess performance on that test.

Various attempts have been made to increase the reliability of such assessments: small teams of expert examiners simultaneously assess each candidate, or recordings are made of the total performance and the various skills are assessed in successive auditions of that performance, each audition pinpointing a specific skill. The volume of speech produced in a specific time, the variety of structures used, the range of vocabulary, have all been measured and used as measures of competence in speech production in experimental tests. However, they do not appear suitable for testing on a large scale because of the complexities of administration, the time and, therefore, the cost factor involved. Therefore in national examinations where relatively large numbers of examiners with varying degrees of expertise are involved, it is necessary to devise aids to standardisation and objectivity of assessment regardless of how specific a training programme may be envisaged. It is in this direction that most of the work on oral examinations has been aimed in recent years. Only partial success has been achieved so far:

> "The effort to test speaking skills entirely objectively is doomed to fall short of complete success, for an evaluation of how well a person speaks French requires judgements on the part of the hearer. These are necessarily subjective". (Pimsleur. 1961).
>
> "Some aspects of language cannot be measured by solely objective techniques." (Carroll. 1973).

Nonetheless, if the various elements of ability to communicate verbally can be determined and if separate and objective tests of at least some of these elements can be devised, it should be possible to improve the standardisation and reliability of the assessments.

The discrete point tests, I found, variously included tests of controlled expression, free expression, pronunciation, intonation, stress and rhythm.

1. CONTROLLED EXPRESSION tests usually consist of

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(1) Mechanical drills requiring transformations or extensions and they are used to evaluate the handling of structures, grammatical words and vocabulary. I retained these and for this purpose. The grading was on a RIGHT/WRONG basis.

(2) Natural drills — general questions eliciting specific answers.

(3) Situational drills are used to elicit open response (they wish, she says, it seems) or conventional forms (please do, you're welcome) or manipulation of specific structures or use of specific vocabulary. These situations can be given verbally or by use of pictures. I retained an extended form of the verbal situational drill in role-playing test.

2. FREE EXPRESSION tests usually consist of

(1) Interviews with open question and answer exchanges.

(2) Topics chosen either by examiner or student from a specific range of topics, on which a number of set questions are to be answered.

(3) Pre-set topics where the student makes a short prepared speech on one topic followed by free question and answer exchange.

From (2) & (3) I retained a range of topics from which the examiner would select a maximum of ten set questions or was free to devise his own. I retained those for the purpose of assessing fluency and command of language. Assessment of performance was on a FLUENT/NON FLUENT basis according to defined criteria.

3. PRONUNCIATION, INTONATION, STRESS AND RHYTHM are variously tested by Reading, Repetition and Structural Drills.

(1) Reading is used to test pronunciation and intonation by the testing of underlined features only. I could find no clearly interpretable system of indicating correct stress and rhythm within a reading passage and so I used reading passages for pronunciation and intonation testing only. The correct pronunciation was indicated by the international phonetic system; separate items in contrasting pairs were used for testing the most widely recognised intonative patterns which were indicated in linear fashion with numbers. All were assessed on RIGHT/WRONG basis.

(2) Repetition of words, phrases, sentences (supplied verbally or verbally and in writing) or of a memorised passage, is sometimes used for testing pronunciation, intonation, rhythm and stress. I retained neither of these techniques.

(3) Structural drills (statement completion or question construction) can be used to assess students' ability to produce correct intonation, stress or pronunciation. I did not retain this technique.

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Thus the oral consisted of 3 sub-tests using reading texts for specific pronunciation and intonation items, controlled expression tests using transformations and situational drills and free expression tests based on a range of topics to be selected by the examiner. An optional set of questions accompanied each topic.

A first version of the test was completed and tested on a small number of Leaving Certificate students in March, 1976. A rudimentary statistical analysis led to a number of revisions. A revised version was tested again on a small number of Leaving Certificate students in May, 1976. This again led to revisions. At this stage a reasonably satisfactory model had been arrived at and four parallel versions of the test were devised. The oral section was again tested with the help of seven practising teachers. Again revisions were made in the light of their advice.

The final revisions were completed in April, 1977 and the four versions were tested on 139 students in 9 schools throughout the country between April and June, 1977. One hundred and eighteen (118) candidates took the Oral: 16% Boys, 84% Girls, 11.5% of the total being Vocational students. (In the Leaving Certificate 1975, 35% of the candidates were boys, 65% were girls and 7% Vocational). The Aural test group of 139 candidates was more representative: 27% boys, 73% girls, including 9% Vocational students.

The aural examination took 20 minutes (in each of 4 versions) and the oral examination 15-20 minutes. The total number of items tested was 560. These were distributed in sub-tests as shown in the following table:

Type of test	Sub-test	Number of candidates included	Number of items
Aural	Auditory Perception, Section A	112	40
Aural	Auditory Perception, Section B	112	40
Aural	Comprehension A, Dialogues	112	20
Aural	Comprehension B, Continuous Passages (B 1 to B 4)	112	80
Aural	Comprehension C, Sentence Completion	112	20
Aural	Dictation	108	80
	Aural Test: Total		280
Oral	Intonation — Word Lists	93	40
Oral	Fluency	93	80
Oral	Grammatical Accuracy	93	80
	Oral Test: Total		200
Oral	Intonation — Additional Test 1	41	40
Oral	Intonation — Additional Test 2	45	40
	Intonation: Total		80
	GRAND TOTAL		560

The test was designed as a norm referenced test — that is one aiming to provide an evaluation of the capacities of an individual in terms of successes over a large number of items testing a variety of points and in terms of his standing in a group of individuals somehow like himself. The intention was to achieve the maximum spread and discrimination and reliability. Each subtest, test and section was, therefore, analysed in terms of the frequency distribution, that is the frequency of occurrence of each score from 0 to maximum on the sub-test, test or section. This frequency distribution was used to monitor the type of spread that each sub-test was contributing to the final distribution. For example, one of the subtests testing auditory discrimination of minimal pairs of sentences was eliminated after the first analysis. It was a 40 item test with a reliability of .52 and was discarded because it had inadequate difficulty, restricted spread and inadequate discrimination. It was not required for face validity since the remaining auditory perception test was better from the point of view of difficulty and discrimination. After analysis, item selection was carried out and repeated analyses done. The following are the subtests and items finally selected:

AURAL TEST

Items 1-15 *Auditory Perception* *(15 items)*

Item No.	Correct Answer	Difficulty	Discrimination	Item No.	Correct Answer	Diff-iculty	Discrim-ination
1	B	86.61	0.53	9	D	73.21	0.42
2	C	83.93	0.50	10	D	29.46	0.42
3	C	81.25	0.48	11	C	36.61	0.40
4	A	80.36	0.50	12	A	41.07	0.48
5	A	78.57	0.44	13	C	57.14	0.47
6	B	78.57	0.44	14	A	63.39	0.49
7	D	75.89	0.52	15	B	66.07	0.51
8	B	75.00	0.63				

Kuder-Richardson Reliability = 0.71

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Items 16-23 *Aural Comprehension A- Short Dialogues (8 items)*

Item No.	Correct Answer	Difficulty	Discrimination	Item No.	Correct Answer	Difficulty	Discrimination
16	C	67.86	0.59	20	B	61.61	0.52
17	A	66.07	0.58	21	D	61.61	0.45
18	C	64.29	0.64	22	D	56.25	0.53
19	B	61.61	0.49	23	A	53.57	0.50

Kuder-Richardson Reliability = 0.57

Items 24-38 *Aural Comprehension B – Continuous Passage (15 items)*

Item No.	Correct Answer	Difficulty	Discrimination	Item No.	Correct Answer	Difficulty	Discrimination
24	C	72.32	0.51	32	D	75.00	0.58
25	A	53.57	0.48	33	C	64.29	0.48
26	B	46.43	0.40	34	D	66.07	0.45
27	C	62.50	0.57	35	D	54.46	0.47
28	A	61.79	0.55	36	A	79.45	0.42
29	A	33.04	0.59	37	A	60.71	0.48
30	A	51.79	0.56	38	B	83.04	0.43
31	C	43.75	0.45				

Kuder-Richardson Reliability = 0.73

Items 39-46 *Aural Comprehension C – Incomplete Statements (8 items)*

Item No.	Correct Answer	Difficulty	Discrimination	Item No.	Correct Answer	Difficulty	Discrimination
39	C	74.11	0.48	43	D	57.14	0.50
40	A	67.86	0.48	44	B	56.25	0.40
41	C	66.07	0.54	45	C	45.54	0.49
42	A	61.61	0.53	46	D	41.96	0.51

Kuder-Richardson Reliability = 0.48

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Items 47-56 *Dictation* *(10 items)*

Item Number	Difficulty	Discrimination	Item Number	Difficulty	Discrimination
47	85.19	0.49	52	67.59	0.70
48	73.15	0.67	53	29.63	0.67
49	19.44	0.47	54	54.63	0.70
50	45.37	0.73	55	37.04	0.68
51	43.52	0.65	56	57.41	0.74

Kuder-Richardson Reliability = 0.77

ORAL TEST

Items 1-10 *Pronunciation* *(10 items)*

Item Number	Difficulty	Discrimination	Item Number	Difficulty	Discrimination
1	78.05	0.49	6	46.34	0.54
2	65.85	0.55	7	65.85	0.48
3	58.54	0.49	8	63.41	0.64
4	48.78	0.57	9	80.49	0.42
5	80.49	0.37	10	43.90	0.35

Kuder-Richardson Reliability = 0.60

Items 11-15 *Intonation* *(5 items)*

11	82.80	0.64	14	65.59	0.79
12	67.74	0.57	15	55.91	0.78
13	66.67	0.71			

Kuder-Richardson Reliability = 0.60

Items 16-25 *Fluency A — General Questions* *(10 items)*

Item Number	Difficulty	Discrimination	Item Number	Difficulty	Discrimination
16	78.49	0.61	21	68.82	0.63
17	77.42	0.65	22	66.67	0.73
18	76.34	0.60	23	78.49	0.49
19	76.34	0.62	24	79.57	0.52
20	79.57	0.44	25	79.57	0.60

Kuder-Richardson Reliability = 0.72

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Items 26-30 *Fluency B - Role Playing* *(5 items)*

Item No.	Difficulty	Discrimination	Item No.	Difficulty	Discrimination
26	66.67	0.74	29	76.34	0.64
27	66.89	0.76	30	75.27	0.70
28	77.42	0.62			

Kuder-Richardson Reliability = 0.59

Items 31-46 *Grammatical Accuracy* *(15 items)*

Item No.	Difficulty	Discrimination	Item No.	Difficulty	Discrimination
31	75.27	0.63	39	68.82	0.63
32	66.67	0.60	40	50.54	0.62
33	45.16	0.63	41	45.16	0.42
34	58.82	0.57	42	61.29	0.55
35	62.37	0.63	43	39.78	0.62
36	43.01	0.62	44	58.06	0.60
37	52.82	0.40	45	49.46	0.64
38	58.06	0.51			

Kuder-Richardson Reliability = 0.81

The factors which govern the frequency distribution are item difficulty and item discrimination. The item difficulty analysis showed the proportion of students answering each item correctly. The item discrimination analysis showed the consistency with which each item assigned students to the correct group i.e. the group to which they were assigned by their total test score. The items, therefore, were selected from each subtest on the basis of an acceptable level of difficulty and the maximum discrimination insofar as these did not distort prior reasoning on the nature of the test.

The reliability of each subtest and test section also was calculated, using the Kuder-Richardson Formula. The reliability of an item or a sub-test or a test is the consistency with which it measures what it claims to measure. A highly reliable test will produce consistent or almost consistent results when used repeatedly in a relatively unchanging situation. Subtests of relatively low reliability may be included, provided they do not bring the overall test reliability below an accepted level and provided that the subtests scores are not used singly for decision-making. Thus, while the reliability of individual subtests in both the Oral and the Aural Tests became quite low when the number of items was reduced (i.e. when selections were made), the overall reliability in both sections, containing 56 and 35 items respectively, is .91 and .90 and is thus high. The K.R. reliability of the oral and aural combined can be assumed to be appreciably higher, given that an increase in the number of items brings increase in reliability. Traditional type tests in the written skills often show reliability co-efficients of .50 and lower on appropriate reliability calculations. The table of Pearson Correlations, which follows, shows the relationships among the sub-tests and between the sub-tests and the total scores.

PEARSON CORRELATION CO-EFFICIENTS FOR SELECTION OF ITEMS IN I.T.E. EXPERIMENTAL EXAMINATION

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1.	Auditory Perception		.42	.47	.38	.47	.69	.76	.20	.37	.63	.49	.40	.56	.60	.79	.75	.65
2.	Comprehension A			.62	.41	.73	.63	.74	-.06	.15	.43	.45	.28	.39	.39	.64	.60	.49
3.	Comprehension B				.38	.78	.62	.78	.38	.32	.49	.40	.37	.48	.46	.70	.67	.69
4.	Comprehension C					.62	.44	.60	-.16	-.10	.34	.32	.15	.22	.41	.48	.42	.19
5.	Comprehension A-C						.59	.90	.16	.17	.49	.40	.37	.45	.54	.78	.72	.72
6.	Dictation							.84	.20	.38	.58	.46	.51	.60	.58	.83	.79	.71
*7.	Total Aural								.27	.36	.64	.50	.50	.62	.66	.92	.87	.85
8.	Pronunciation									.53	.49	.47	.42	.63	.65	.53	.58	.63
9.	Intonation										.49	.40	.49	.69	.41	.57	.62	.60
*10.	Fluency A											.62	.57	.83	.77	.82	.85	.85
11.	Fluency B												.38	.69	.60	.67	.69	.53
12.	Grammatical Accuracy													.88	.53	.75	.80	.65
13.	Total Oral														.71	.88	.93	.89
14.	Total Ratings															.75	.75	.66
*15.	Total Aural + Total Oral																.99	.99
*16.	Weighted Totals (Aural + Oral)																	.99
*17.	Total Aural + Total Oral + Pronunciation 1																	

*7. Total Aural has Auditory Perception B scaled down from 15 to 9.

*10. Fluency A + B is scaled up from 15 to 20.

*15. Total Aural + Total Oral are final test less 10 Pronunciation items.

*16. Weighting of 15:25 given to Aural and Oral.

*17. Statistics of 15 but computed on number of candidates who took Pronunciation 1 (41 candidates)

In the above table the shaded correlations are spurious to the extent that they represent corrections between sub-tests and test or total test scores of which each sub-test is a part.

CORRELATIONS: While the item discrimination shows the relationship between individual item responses and total test scores, it is useful for a more complete picture of a test composed of sub-tests to establish the relationships among the sub-tests and between the sub-tests and total scores. These correlations show whether the overall test is internally consistent and how much the sub-tests, which purport to measure different aspects, actually do so.

Correlations of	.90 - 1 (v. high)	show very strong relationship
	.70 - .90 (high)	show marked relationship
	.40 - .70 (mod.)	show substantial relationship
	.20 - .40 (low)	show definite relationship but a small one
	.20 or less (slight)	show relationship so small as to be negligible.

Sub-tests should correlate only moderately with each other, otherwise they are doing the same job and all but one are superfluous. The correlations between subtests and between subtests and totals were calculated by the Pearson method. By the above definition the subtests in the Aural correlate moderately with each other — dictation correlating most highly of any of the aural sub-tests with all the aural subtests. The oral subtests correlate moderately with each other — the fluency and grammatical accuracy correlating most highly of the subtests, not only with their own section but across into the Aural section. Were psychometric and practical considerations the sole criteria in the test, two subtests, dictation and grammatical accuracy could have been retained as economical, objective and reliable instruments to summarise the sub-skills within oral and aural proficiency respectively. The other sub-tests were, however, retained not only on grounds of validity but because they were, in the context of the total examination, relatively independent sources of information. Thus the interplay of intercorrelations of scores on subtest, test and total test can be seen to have been used to monitor the relative homogeneity within the oral and aural sections and the relative heterogeneity across the sections.

In summary, the individual subtests, while markedly different from each other, correlate highly with their total sections. This indicates a coherence within the two sections, derived from a combination of contributions from each sub-test and shows clearly the value of discrete point testing in both Aural and Oral aspects of language. It also indicates that this test, while devised as a Norm Referenced Test, has potential for use of a Criterion Referenced nature.

PUPILS' FOREIGN LANGUAGE ERRORS AND TEACHERS' ERROR HANDLING PROCEDURES:

A DESCRIPTIVE MODEL

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with the way foreign language teachers in formal classroom settings handle the errors produced by their pupils. It is very much an account of work in progress; systems proposed for the categorisation of pupils' errors and of teachers' reactions to them are outlined, and their application illustrated in the analysis of a limited number of elementary foreign language lessons. On the basis of this analysis the strengths and limitations of the systems are discussed, and suggestions made for their possible development.

The context of this study of teachers' error handling procedures is a wider investigation of foreign language classroom teaching skills being undertaken at Stirling. The general orientation of the Stirling project towards the elucidation and analysis of a set of discrete, specific classroom teaching skills arises from the failure of more 'global' studies of foreign language teaching in schools to produce any definite conclusions regarding the relative effectiveness of rival total methodologies. One of the main data-gathering methods being used by the project as a whole is the systematic observation of the 'natural' classroom teaching of foreign languages; this paper outlines the systems we are developing to make sense of the classroom data, in relation to errors and error handling. The systems proposed here derive in part from those developed by other researchers working on error handling, in particular those of Fanselow (n.d.) and Chaudron (1977).

The Importance of Error Handling Strategies

Widely different prescriptions have been made by foreign language teaching methodologists regarding the 'right' way to react to pupils' errors. These range from exhortations to avoid the possibility of errors occurring in the first place (e.g. Politzer 1961), to suggestions for a wide range of positive remedial procedures (e.g. George 1972, Burt & Kiparsky 1972), and even the proposal that errors not impeding communication might simply be ignored (e.g. Cohen, 1975). These contradictory prescriptions have generally been derived from theoretical assumptions regarding the nature of the psycholinguistic process of foreign language acquisition, however, rather than from any concrete evidence regarding their relative effectiveness in promoting learning. While we ourselves make certain assumptions regarding the probable general nature of the foreign language learning process, accepting the view of the language learner as an active processor of linguistic information, a creator and tester of hypotheses regarding the structure of the target language, we considered such a theoretical model an inadequate basis for making prescriptions to teachers regarding the treatment of error. Thus we decided to seek evidence regarding the current error handling procedures of practising foreign language teachers, and to look for such indications of their relative effectiveness as might exist in the classroom situation.

In addition to attempting to describe the range of error handling strategies currently being used by teachers, we are looking for evidence in teachers' classroom behaviour regarding the degree of rationality which appears to govern their choice of strategies. Mehan (1974), and Allwright (1975) have suggested that teachers' reactions to error are unsystematic, unfair, and irrational; Chaudron on the other hand, in his study of French immersion classes, has shown the existence of systematic relationships between the academic focus of attention at a given time, and the teachers' treatment of pupil error. This issue is of interest, as any ultimate attempt to widen the teachers' repertoire of error handling procedures would be pointless unless some degree of rational control over reactive behaviour is assumed. Thus we are looking for any evidence produced by the analysis system regarding patterns of variation among error handling behaviours, and other aspects of classroom discourse, which might correlate with them.

Collection of Data

The data base for which the descriptive systems described here are being developed consists of a set of audio recordings made in first year French classes, in Scottish comprehensive schools. Fourteen experienced teachers have been recorded teaching a week's work to one class each, in the first term of the present school year. These same teachers will be revisited in the third term of the year, and a further week's work recorded. Thus for each teacher a ten- or twelve-lesson sample of his/her teaching behaviour will have been collected, at intervals selected so as to reflect any changes in teaching strategy, which may take place in the course of the first year. Scottish schoolchildren rarely study a foreign language at primary school; thus the material so far collected comes from a very early stage in the foreign language teaching process.

The Categorisation of Pupils' Errors

The first stage in the development of the coding system was the categorisation of the whole of the classroom discourse by language — French or English — and by speaker — teacher or pupil(s). This produced an indication of the total number of utterances produced by pupils in French, in the course of one week's work.

The next stage, the first one directly relevant to the current study, was that of describing the errors contained in the pupils' foreign language utterances. The first problem here is the development of a satisfactory definition of an 'error'. Who decides whether an error has been produced — the teacher or the researcher? And by what standard is the pupil's utterance to be judged —

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the variable standard of his teacher's own foreign language production, or some absolute notion of 'correct French'? The solution adopted here was to take as an absolute standard the descriptions and examples of French contained in the course materials, and to say an error had occurred whenever pupils' utterances were judged by the researcher to have deviated from this model. In the interests of comparison between the performance of different class groups, it was felt that some absolute standard of error was needed.

Pupils' utterances were judged correct or incorrect on three principal dimensions: those of structural accuracy, accuracy of content, and appropriacy to the discourse context. On this basis a list of eight principal error types was established:

Structure 1. Pronunciation;
2. Grammar;
3. Vocabulary;

Content 4. Factual content;

Appropriacy 5. Hesitation;
6. Comprehensibility;
7. Cohesion;
8. Teachers' special conditions.

The "errors of structure" are largely self-explanatory. "Pronunciation" includes errors of phonology, stress and intonation (an arbitrary decision was taken, however, to ignore a limited number of omnipresent phonological errors, such as the use of Scottish */l/* and */r/*, in the practical interest of keeping the data manageable). "Grammar" includes morphological as well as syntactic errors; "vocabulary" includes deformation of foreign language words to the point of semantic confusion, or substitution of L1 words in foreign language utterances, as well as the incorrect selection of foreign language words.

"Errors of appropriacy", in addition to hesitation and the production of incomprehensible utterances, consist of the production of foreign language utterances not structurally incorrect in themselves, but inappropriate to the discourse context in which they are produced. (Thus for example *"Il est dans le jardin"* is a structurally correct French utterance; it is, however, not an appropriate reply to the question *"Qui est-ce?"*). A further category of appropriacy error was considered necessary to take account of the frequent extra restrictions the foreign language teacher imposes on pupils' utterances, beyond those obtaining in non-teaching discourse: when, for instance, the teacher gives the instruction to "Answer with a complete sentence", and treats appropriate shorter but structurally correct answers as incorrect.

The "factual content" category provides for the categorisation of pupil utterances, which are factually inaccurate, though free of language errors.

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Application of the Error Categorisation System

The analysis of the full corpus of the first-term lessons is not yet complete. To illustrate the kind of descriptive information such a system can provide, the next table shows its application to the lessons taught by three teachers in a single school, during a single week and using the same course materials (Longman's Audio-Visual French, Unit 6).

Fig. 1 ERRORS OCCURRING IN 15 FIRST YEAR LESSONS

Teacher	Pupil FL utts.	Total errors	Pron.	Gramm.	Vocab.	Fact. content	Hesit.	Comp-rehension	Cohesion	Teacher con-dit.
J	1334	353 26.5%	159 45%	71 20%	10 2.8%	8 2.3%	55 15.6%	9 2.6%	15 4.2%	26 7.4%
H	414	111 26.8%	45 40.5%	46 41.4%	6 5.4%	— —	7 6.3%	2 1.8%	3 2.7%	2 1.8%
I	614	282 46%	145 51.4%	53 18.8%	8 2.8%	8 2.8%	38 13.5%	7 2.5%	11 3.9%	12 4.3%
Total	2362	746 31.6%	349 46.8%	170 22.8%	24 3.2%	16 2.1%	100 13.4%	18 2.4%	29 3.9%	40 5.4%

% of pupil FL utts.

% of total errors

This table shows the total number of foreign language utterances produced by pupils in the course of the week, in each of the three classes; the absolute number of errors contained in those utterances, and the same errors expressed as a percentage of total utterances. It goes on to show the distribution of the error total among the different error types. Perhaps the most striking feature is the high frequency of pronunciation errors; syntactic errors are also common, but errors of appropriacy are much less frequent, and those of fact almost non-existent.

The Categorisation of Teachers' Reactions

How did the teachers react to these patterns of pupil error? It will be necessary to introduce and explain a further categorisation system for the description of teachers' positive reactions and corrective feedback. But the first option open to the teacher when a pupil error is produced, is whether to react at all, or instead simply to ignore the error. The next table shows the extent to which teachers did in fact ignore errors identified by the researcher according to the absolute standards outlined above.

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Fig. 2 ERRORS IGNORED BY TEACHERS IN 15 FIRST YEAR LESSONS

Teacher	Total errors	Total errors ignored	Pronunciation	Grammar	Vocabulary	Factual content	Hesitation	Comprehensibility	Cohesion	Teachers' conditions
J	353	155 43.9%	79.2%	35.2%	20%	—	—	—	13%	—
H	111	26 23.4%	46.7%	8.7%	—	—	—	—	33%	—
I	282	113 40%	71.7%	11%	25%	—	2.6%	—	—	—
Total	746	294 39.4%	71.9%	20.5%	16.7%	—	1%	—	10.3%	—

% of total errors

% of errors by type

From these figures it is evident that a substantial proportion of pupil errors were passed over by the teachers. The teacher whose pupils talked most also ignored most errors — almost half of those identifiable on the tape. Whether the teachers did not consider an error had occurred, or whether they were taking conscious decisions to ignore errors they did notice, cannot be determined from the data available. But the detail of the table shows that the propensity of the teacher to ignore errors varied very much with the type of error involved. The three teachers examined here were very tolerant of pronunciation errors, whereas syntactic errors, the other common structural error type, received a lot of corrective attention. Errors of appropriacy were also rarely ignored; the few errors of fact were all corrected.

In reacting to pupil errors in a positive manner, the foreign language teacher has three basic feedback options. The teacher can simply let the pupil know that his/her utterance was unsatisfactory in some respect, and that he/she must try again; or the teacher can model the required "correct answer", for the pupil to imitate; or some sort of additional explanatory information or exemplificatory material can be provided, as a basis for further pupil attempts to construct an error-free utterance. From these three basic options the following error handling classification system is derived:

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Negative Indication
1. Repeats cue;
2. Indicates fact of error;
3. Indicates fact and location of error;
4. Indicates fact, location and type of error;

Modelling
5. Supplies model response;
6. Supplies part model response;
7. Calls on another pupil;

Informing
8. Supplies alternative cue;
9. Provides comparative material or alternative responses;
10. Explains error (in FL or L1).

To illustrate the application of this system, the next table shows the categorisation of the error reactions of the same three teachers:

Fig. 3 TEACHERS' CHOICE OF ERROR HANDLING PROCEDURES IN 15 FIRST YEAR LESSONS

Teacher	Total strategies	Repeats cue	Fact of error indicated	Fact & location of error indicated	Fact, location & char. of error indicated	Models response	Models part response	Other pupil	Alternative cue	Comparative/ alternative	Explains error
J	270	32 11.8%	19 7%	27 10%	7 2.6%	58 21.5%	65 24%	8 3%	5 1.9%	14 5.2%	35 13%
H	116	12 10.3%	16 13.8%	6 5.2%	12 10.3%	32 27.6%	7 6%	11 9.5%	3 2.6%	— —	17 14.7%
I	220	27 12.3%	25 11.4%	20 9.1%	11 5%	66 30%	19 8.6%	28 12.7%	1 0.5%	— —	23 10.5%
Total	606	71 11.7%	60 9.9%	53 8.7%	30 5%	156 25.7%	91 15%	47 7.8%	9 1.5%	14 2.3%	75 12.4%

% of total strategies

That is, without going into the detail of the table too closely, of the errors the teachers decided to treat rather than to leave alone, almost one half were treated with some form of modelling — "giving the right answer". Another thirty-five percent or so were given a negative but non-informative reaction, leaving fifteen percent or so to get some sort of reaction providing additional

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information. Of this last group, the most favoured informative reaction was discussion or explanation in English; the provision of additional foreign language examples, comparative or contrastive, was resorted to in only two percent of cases.

Teachers' Immediate Correction Success

There are serious problems involved in any attempt to establish the relative efficiency of the various correction procedures available to teachers. One possibility, proposed by Chaudron (1977), is to look at the pupil foreign language utterances immediately following the teacher's corrective reactions, to see the extent to which corrected utterances are produced.

In the light of the strong tendency of foreign language teachers to favour modelling the right answer as their principal positive error handling procedure, not too much can be read into the immediate subsequent ability of pupils to produce corrected utterances. Even if the newly-correct utterance is the product of mental processes higher than those of simple imitation, capacity to generate it on the spot guarantees neither long-term retention of the structure nor assimilation of the generative rules, which will produce further utterances of its type.

However, this measure is the only one available for the estimation of immediate correction success; its integration into the analysis system proposed here presents no difficulty. The next table shows the number of errors successfully corrected, in this limited, short-term sense, as a proportion of the total number of errors, which the teachers chose to treat.

Fig. 4 SHORT-TERM SUCCESS OF ERROR HANDLING ACTIVITIES

Teacher	Total errors	Errors treated	Errors "corrected"
J	353	198 56.1%	122 61.6%
H	111	85 76.6%	47 55.3%
I	282	169 59.9%	83 49.1%
Total	746	452 60.6%	252 55.8%
		% of total errors	% of errors treated

From this table it is apparent that teachers are concerned with achieving immediate correction success, and will persist with error correction treatment until it is achieved, for the majority of errors they react to. A more detailed examination of the full data should tell us in more detail which of the correction procedures currently favoured by teachres are the more efficient, in terms of immediate success.

Discussion

The anlysis system proposed here, and exemplified with a limited data base, has certain limitations. It does not permit any detailed identification of the discourse context, within which error incidents occur; thus, for instance, it cannot show the relationship between the focus of the teacher's attention at a given moment — his intent to teach a particular language point — and possible differential treatment of errors related or unrelated to that point.

The error categorisation system also does not allow for the precise identification of specific common errors; these certainly exist, and must be formally categorised if patterns of change in pupils' error production are to be traced between the first and third term of the school year. The listing and tallying of common errors is an obvious, desirable development of the system.

The error handling system as it stands is limited in another way: it works through the identification and counting of isolated events, and, therefore, is not suitable for the detailed, sequential analysis of individual, error-handling incidents. In this it is a more primitive system than that proposed by Chaudron, for instance (1977). However, with all its limitations, I feel that in combination with the error classification system, the proposed error handling analysis system does generate useful patterns of evidence regarding teachers' classroom behaviour.

The three teachers, whose lessons have been described, are clearly limiting the possiblities for the occurrence of several types of error. The substance of what is talked about is kept simple enough to avoid most errors of fact, and even errors of vocabulary; the small number of errors of appropriacy (apart from hesitation errors) suggests strict limitation of the opportunity offered to pupils to string utterances together in any sequence longer than the two-step question and answer. Thus, the discourse is controlled so tightly, that the only substantial areas within which pupils have a chance to make large number of mistakes, are the language structure areas of grammar and pronunciation.

In the strict limitation of opportunities allowed for error, these Scottish teachers differ not only from the teachers of relatively advanced students in the immersion situations studied by Chaudron, but also from the EFL teachers studied by Fanselow, who apparently allowed a wider range of errors to occur. It will be interesting to see if by the third term of the school year, these same teachers are allowing their pupils to make a less restricted range of mistakes.

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These teachers clearly have different error handling strategies for the different types of structural errors which do occur in their classes. For pronunciation errors, little correction occurs, whereas for syntactic errors the "ignore" strategy is much less common. There is some indication that "modelling" is less popular as a treatment strategy for syntactic errrors than for others, and that the "informative" procedures are more so, though confirmation of this must await full analysis of the data.

From the data so far analysed, a certain number of "teachers' operating principles" can be hypothesised, although on a very speculative basis. These can be summarised as follows:

1. Pupils beginning foreign language study can cope with variety only within the FL utterance, and in relation to options of linguistic form.

2. The active correction of pronunciation errors is not a centrally important teaching procedure.

3. The active correction of grammatical errors is a central activity of foreign language teaching.

4. It is important to get students to correct themselves on the spot, and modelling is the most efficient way of achieving this.

Full anlaysis of the classroom data will show whether these "operating principles" in fact hold good for the full sample of teachers. If they do in fact reflect general assumptions,concerning the way foreign language learning works in the classroom, and if they are held by practising classroom teachers, and govern their classroom teaching behaviour, then these hypotheses, which are very different from those of psycholinguists and many methodologists, will be good candidates for further empirical investigation.

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DUBLIN COLLEGE OF SPEECH THERAPY

PROLEGOMENA TO A STUDY OF LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN IRISH

Séamus Mac Mathúna

Roinn na Nua-Ghaeilge, Ollscoil na Gaillimhe

Introduction

There has been a growing awareness in recent years of the importance language acquisition studies can play in increasing our understanding of what language is and of how it functions. These studies can, and indeed have, contributed to the perennial debate as to whether humans are born with an innate language faculty or whether language is acquired through experience with primary linguistic data. The debate has centred for the most part on the former as it is now a proven fact that an input of basic data is a necessary prerequisite to the attainment of language. It is also clear that just as there are various stages and levels of perception, of information storage capacity, and of cognitive abilities as the child grows, so are there similar milestones in the development of language. Furthermore, while strategies such as imitation obviously play an important role in language learning, the ability to speak and understand a language involves much more than this. This paper accepts the proposition that when a child learns a language he succeeds — by various strategies, albeit — in internalizing a system of rules (a grammar) which maps thoughts (or concepts) into words in case he is the speaker and decodes words into thoughts (or concepts) in case he is the listener.

Since language is chiefly used as a means of communicating ideas from one person to another, it goes without saying that the more we know about the language learning process, the more the benefit that will accrue to society in general. More specifically, the present paper will furnish some corroborative evidence for the view that the earlier the child is exposed to primary linguistic data in Irish and in English the easier it will be for him to become a competent bilingual. As is well-known, of course, second language teachers and learners can glean a lot from acquisition studies; in fact, teaching techniques have been largely based on the insights gained over the years from these studies.

It is rather unfortunate in the light of the foregoing remarks that research into language acquisition in Irish lags so far behind the rest of the field. It is imperative in the Irish context that we should realize the importance of such research and undertake to remedy the deficiency with all due speed. If we do not hasten our step, it may be too late by the time we get around to it. The slate may have been wiped clean.

The aim of the present paper, which is based on on-going research into the subject, is to make an initial modest offering in this direction. The paper will be divided into two distinct but nevertheless interrelated parts, the first setting the scene for the second. In the first part attention will be focussed on a particular segment of a *Gaeltacht* community; an attempt will be made to assess the present state of the language there among the younger age groups; and a rough classification of possible informant types will be set up.

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In the second part, after a brief discussion of language acquisition in general, an analysis will be made of the speech of two children from the area under consideration. One of the children was about to begin Stage I when the data was collected and the emphasis in this particular case is on phonology; she was not yet at two-word utterances proper. The other child, by way of contrast, was highly developed for his age and was well into Stage IV.[1] Emphasis in this case is on syntax.

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The *Gaeltacht* community under investigation is a segment of the *Cois Fhairrge* district which stretches from the village of Bearna, some four miles west of Galway city, to Casla (Costello), approximately twenty miles therefrom along the coast road. In his study *The Irish of Chois Fhairrge* (1945), Tomás de Bhaldraithe was able to make the strong claim that "apart from the street in the villages of Bearna and An Spidéal, Cois Fhairrge is practically one-hundred per cent Irish-speaking".[2] Needless to say, the situation has changed considerably since that time. This has been due to a number of different interacting factors, the primary ones being:-

(i) the growth of Galway's suburban tail to include the majority of the stretch from Bearna to Furbo and a deal beyond this;

(ii) closer contact with the city and with outside influence due to the changing nature of the society and the growth of road and telecommunication services, the motor car and the television particularly;

(iii) the influx of immigrants, both native and non-native, during the sixties and early seventies.

In the Survey of the Galway Gaeltacht carried out between the years 1966 and 1969, four districts were studied to ascertain the influence of newcomers. The areas concerned were Furbo, Spiddal, Killanin and Salerna, the latter two being in the parish of *An Cnoc*. The total population of these was 2697 in 1966. 85 adults, of whom four-fifths were female, were non-native, .i. 3.15% of the population. English was the native language of 83 out of these 85 and over half knew no Irish at all. 64 spoke English to their children and 69 spoke English to the native people. When we add children into the reckoning we are talking about upwards to 10% of the entire language community of the four areas

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[1] Stages are defined not so much by age as by mean utterance length. In this paper I follow Brown (loc.cit.) in taking Stage I to be characterized by an average length of one and a half to two morphemes. Our first subject (Méadhbh) was still at the one word holophrastic stage (also called Stage I by some commentators), notwithstanding the fact that she could imitate two-word utterances without much difficulty. Our second subject (Máirtín) was at what I call Stage IV here, a stage characterized by four to six word utterances and containing the structures outlined in the body of the paper in addition to fairly simple co-ordinate structures and the tag question, *nach ea*?

[2] Tomás de Bhaldraithe, *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge*, p.ix.

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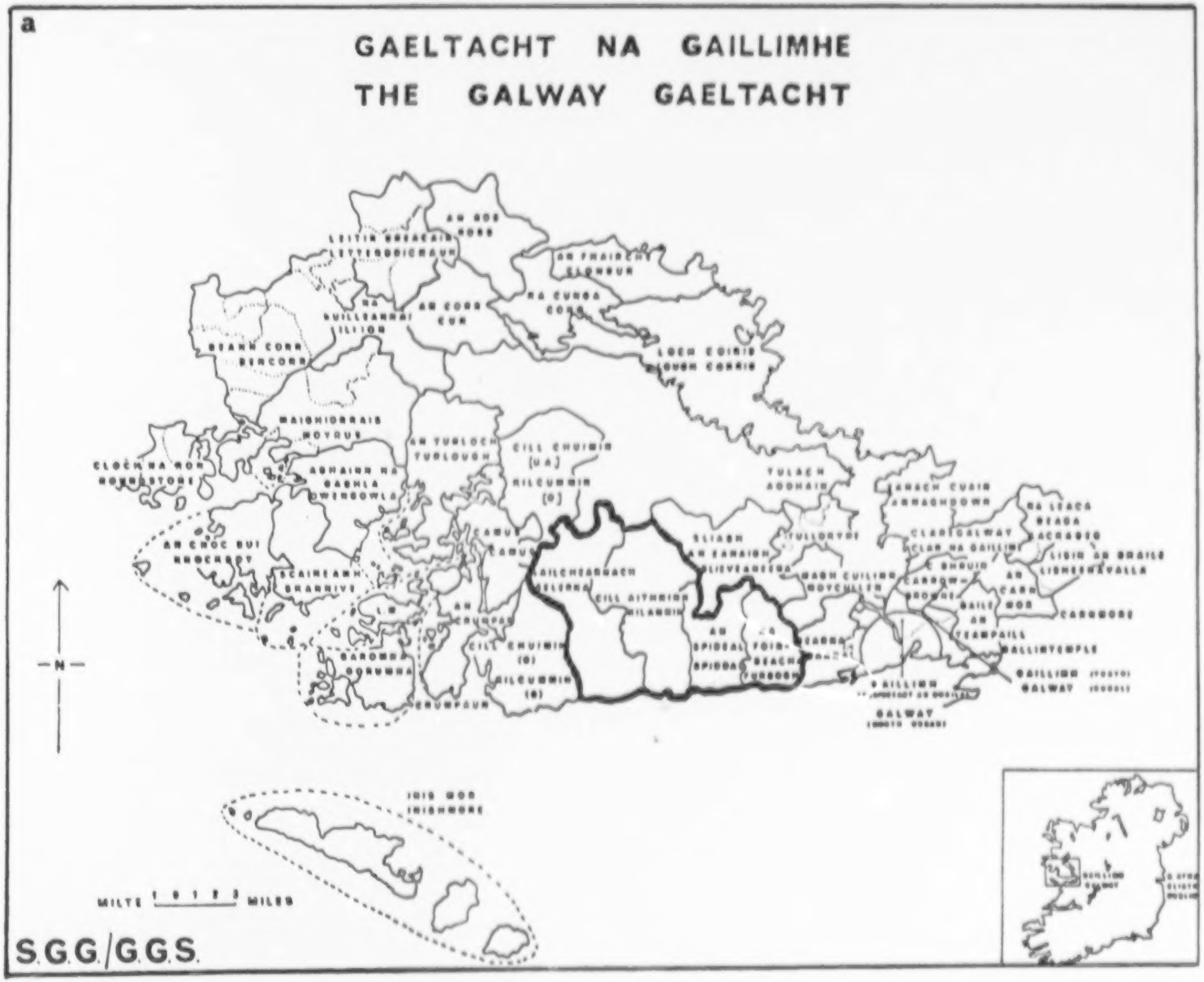

GAELTACHT NA GAILLIMHE
THE GALWAY GAELTACHT

a
AN ROS
ROSS
LEITIR BREACAIN
LETTERBRICKAUN
AN FHAIRCHE
CLONBUR
NA CUNGA
CONG
NA BUILLEANNAI
ILLION
AN CORR
CUR
BEANN CORR
BENCORR
LOCH COIRIB
LOUGH CORRIB
MAIGHIORRAIS
MOYRUS
AN TUBLOCH
TURLOUGH
CILL CHUIMIN
[UA]
KILCUMMIN
[O]
CLOCH NA RON
ROUNDSTONE
ABHAINN NA
GABHLA
OWENGOWLA
TULACH
ADDHAIN
EANACH CUAIN
ANNAGHDOWN
NA LEACA
BEAGA
LACKAGH
AN CNOC BUI
KNOCKBOY
CAMUS
CAMUS
SLIABH
AN AONAIGH
SLIEVEANEENA
TULLOKYNE
CLARE GALWAY
CLAR NA GAILLIMHE
LISIN AN BHAILE
LISHEENAVALLA
SCAINEAMH
SHANNIVE
CAILCHEARNACH
ELLERNA
CILL AITHNIN
KILANNIN
MAGH CUILINN
MOYCULLEN
CEATHRU BHRUIN
CARROW-BROWNE
AN
CARN
MOR
CARNMORE
LE
AN
CRUMPAS
AN
SPIDEAL
SPIDDAL
NA
FOIR-BEACHA
FURBOGH
BEARNA
BARNA
BAILE
AN
TEAMPAILL
BALLINTEMPLE
GAROMNA
GORUMNA
CILL CHUIMIN
(O)
KILCUMMIN
(O)
CRUMPAUN
GAILLIMH
GALWAY
GAILLIMH
GALWAY
N
INIS MOR
INISHMORE
MILTE MILES
S.G.G./G.G.S.

who spoke English as their basic means of communication.[3] The same survey noted that some 895 television licences were held by people in the Galway Gaeltacht at this time: this is one set per twenty-three persons. The country as a whole showed a one per eleven ratio at the same time and the latter is a much more realistic figure for the present state of the Gaeltacht area.

My investigations point to a definite deterioration in the percentage of Irish speakers in Cois Fhairrge since the 1969 Survey. This has been as a result of an accentuation of the factors enumerated above. The early seventies, for example, saw a new wave of immigration into the area as many old emigrants returned home due to the prospects of work in the native community. And it is true to say that employment opportunities are much better now than they have ever been before, thanks to the efforts of semi-state bodies such as Gaeltarra Éireann — who originally aimed for full employment in the Gaeltacht areas as a whole by 1986 — and of the local co-operative. The language of the returning emigrant families was in nearly all cases English and this, coupled with the inflow of personnel (non-natives) attached to the new industries, has been a significant factor in the balance of power between the two languages. It is easy to agree with the *Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research* (1975) when they say that "people who were born and reared outside the Gaeltacht are much less likely to be favourable to Irish as an ethnic symbol and are much less likely to be committed to its use. They are also much less favourable towards Irish as it has been taught in the schools. Immigrants into the Gaeltacht, therefore, appear to be a significant force for weakening the language there".[4]

The segment of the Cois Fhairrge Gaeltacht which I am presently concerned with is the parish of *An Cnoc (Knock)*. It stretches from Spiddal village (including the townlands of *Bothúna* and *Boluisce*) to Teach Mór, approximately seven to ten miles along the coast road to the west. The parish may serve as a microcosm of the Gaeltacht in its entirety although it is still stronger than a number of other such Gaeltacht communities. Irish is the predominant language in most speech event activities in the parish and is particularly strong in the home-neighbourhood domain *among the older age groups*. There is also a high level of commitment towards the use of Irish, this loyalty being greatly fostered by the local co-operative (*Comharchumann Chois Fhairrge Teo.*), by the local parish council, by the teachers, the church, and by Raidió na Gaeltachta. Against this, however, we must face the reality of the very strong dynamic being produced by English,especially among the younger age groups.

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[3] Prof. Mac Aodha (Director of Survey) does not quote the 10% figure in his survey but I have had the opportunity of consulting him on the question and he takes the figure to be approximately correct, although not scientifically verifiable. I am grateful to Prof. Mac Aodha and The Social Sciences Research Centre at University College, Galway for allowing me to make use of their findings and for permission to publish the map of the four areas under review.

[4] *Report of Committee on Irish Language Attitudes* (1975), p. 104. For more up-to-date figures, facts and trends on the position of Irish and English in Gaeltacht areas, see Hilary Tovey's important article: *The Use of Irish in Gaeltacht Areas: Maintenance and Erosion*, in *Teangeolas* (Autumn 1977), No. 6 pp. 15-20.

The infant classes in the National School were split approximately 50:50 between Irish and English when the data for the present paper was being collected.[5] This is nothing exceptional for this parish. If anything, English is stronger in other Gaeltacht schools. In any event, two important conclusions emerge fron an examination of the speech patterns of children in our parish; in the first instance, nearly all children are bilingual to some degree — to a greater rather than lesser degree, I should say — by the age of six or seven, and it will be argued infra that the process of bilingualism probably begins at the earliest stage of language acquisition. Secondly, about half the children between the ages of two and seven find the reinforcement for Irish outside the home domain. With respect to these children, it seems that they acquire their bilingualism more through the co-ordinate mode than through the compound type.[6] This group,generally, includes the children of returned emigrants and those of non-natives who have taken up residence in the area. While a certain amount of compound bilingualism and code switching would occur in these households due to the influence of relatives, neighbours, or one or other of the parents, English would probably predominate in the home neighbourhood domain while Irish would be the norm in the classroom, at church, and at official functions in the parish. Exceptions, of course, occur as in the case of highly motivated non-natives, who have come to the parish, in order to bring up their families through the medium of Irish. Many natives of the area who have never been out of the parish for any considerable period also speak English to the children in the home domain, so that the overall trend in the final analysis appears to be towards the co-ordinate mode with English taking over the crucial home domain. I allow these remarks to speak for themselves as it is not the aim of the present paper to suggest any plans of action. My concern with the evidence at present, for what it is worth, is the extent to which it impinges upon the study of language acquisition in Irish in the parish and of the necessity for the researcher to analyse the various groupings of informants. Competence in either language will be directly related to the amount of exposure in the home and among close friends and relatives. As the child increases in age, the number of possible speech events also increases and this brings him into contact with more people in the community. He also becomes aware of the feelings and aspirations of the community in general and can make intellectual decisions based on his observations. It should be noted in this respect that Irish is much stronger among the older children in our area.

Returning to the classification of informants, who will ultimately become bilingual in Irish and English, the researcher should acquaint himself with the speech patterns of the home domain in the first instance. In our area, for example, we have the following rough groupings:-

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[5] I have been recently informed that the position this year has improved over last year. Indeed, the school is a veritable breeding ground for Irish speakers. Within six months, children who come into the school with little Irish, are capable of taking and passing the £10 Gaeltacht grant examination, irrespective of whether they meet the other requirements necessary for the attainment of this grant. This is an excellent achievement. It is imperative that the 50:50 ratio be maintained, or the assimilation of the incoming English speakers will prove impossible.

[6] See Máirtín Ó Murchú, *Language and Community*, p. 15ff. I am not claiming here that there are no monolingual children but the point must be stressed that one would be hard-pressed to find such children over the age of five.

1. Irish is the language of both parents which they speak to the children. Grandparents and immediate relatives also Irish-speaking. Code switching and interference minimal. Reinforcement of English comes from outside the home domain.[7]

2. Irish is the language of both parents but they speak English to children, frequently Irish between themselves and with parents, relatives and friends. Grandparents of children and immediate relatives Irish speaking. Competence in Irish dependent on latter. Reinforcement of Irish may come later from these and from other agencies outside the home domain.

3. Irish is the language of one parent, English of the other. Grandparents and immediate relatives Irish-speaking. English dominant (except among highly motivated parents in some instances) but code switching common, in extended family situation. Reinforcement of Irish comes from outside the home domain.

4. Both parents English-speaking. Reinforcement of Irish comes from outside the home domain. Bilingualism achieved slightly later in this group than in any other.

Since the children in groups 2, 3 and 4 speak English for the most part between themselves, and since there is an on-going shift from group 1 to group 2, it would appear that the community is on its way to monolingualism in English unless the trend changes in the very near future. However, as has already been stated, we are still at the bilingual stage and this fact must play a large part in any study into language acquisition in Irish.

Earlier studies into bilingualism tended to be primarily interested in interference or language contact, and concentrated on how bilinguals mixed their languages.[8] Interference has been shown to be a potent force in language change and when it is combined with child language, as is the case in the majority of my informants, we encounter a most fruitful and stimulating area of linguistic research. Let us look briefly at one fairly extreme example:

MÁIRE

Máire, who is a non-native of the parish, is three and a half years old. She is already a relatively fluent speaker of English which she has been exposed to both at home and at a day-school in Galway. She has also been exposed to a limited but consistent amount of Irish since birth from one of the parents as have her brothers and sisters. The latter speak English between themselves although they have a good grasp of Irish also. The extent of Máire's

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[7] I take it that all these rough groupings will have subdivisions. For example, I include in Group 1 households in which parents speak Irish for the most part among themselves and to their children irrespective of whether the two parents are native Irish speakers. Thus I would include Máirtín in this group. This is, of course, an arbitrary decision; a new grouping could also be created to cover such subjects.

[8] See Ó Murchú, op.cit., p.13ff.

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exposure has not been sufficient for her to acquire the basic syntactic structures of Irish. She mostly, but not always, imposes Irish lexical items on to a basic English word order. She does however, have a certain number of pivot words in Irish which she combines with either Irish or English words. Her main pivot words are *leatsa* and *mise*. *Leatsa* is used as (a) subject personal pronoun: e.g. *leatsa dána* "you are bold"; (b) object personal pronoun: e.g. *mise mhaith leatsa* "I want you", and (c) possessive pronoun: e.g. *níl sin leatsa* "That's not yours". She is more likely to place the substantive verb in initial position if it is negative as in (c) which is codeswitched with English wording *not that yours* and *that not yours* and this can be compared with utterances like *ní mhaith mé leat* "I don't like you", *not that yours* is a direct translation as it seems from her Irish *níl sin leatsa* and we have comparable substrate Irish syntax in examples such as *what for it?* "Céard le haghaidh é?". Interrogatives are mostly English — *where, who's,* and *what'(s)* although *what'(s)* is constantly switched with Irish *céard:* e.g. *céard é sin?, whats é seo (sin)?* I have also noted the following examples from her corpus: who's *é sin* school?; where is *leatsa?*, and where *leatsa anois*? The following examples with *mise* as pivot have been recorded: *mise* have pockets; *mise* can't walk; *mise mhaith le* page. Much more could be said about Máire's speech but the following example showing the logicality of her system will have to suffice for the present: mise mhaith le *talk with* leatsa *again.*[9]

We shall proceed now to our next chapter in which something will be said about language acquisition in general and in which two case studies will be discussed.

II

The onset of language occurs at about the same time in every healthy child, beginning at approximately eighteen months when he starts to join two words together. Before this, however, he has already gone through a number of stages, which usually overlap, cooing, babbling, and use of single words from about the twelfth month on in some instances. In the neonatal period, the sounds produced by the child are as a result of changes in his physiological and anatomical structure, and particularly of the mechanisms of respiration and phonation. During these first months, cries, coos and chuckles are the order of the day. As he matures, his physiological structure also changes and this enables him to increase his sound repertory. Babbling with consonantal sounds begins usually in the sixth month. It starts with single syllable utterances but quickly moves to a stage characterized by the repetition of the same syllable until finally long sequences of strings are produced, with varying intonational patterns. It overlaps with the one word stage in most instances and may indeed continue a little longer. The babbling period usually ends, however, by the time the child is eighteen months old. Although there appears to be some doubt as to the significance of the babbling period for the learning of a language's sound system, there is no doubt as to the fact that the child is using phonatory and articulating organs — and is also producing certain sounds — which he will later use in the production of the sounds of his native language or languages.

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[9] Máire never uses *leatsa* in the meaning 'with' although she clearly knows that it can be equated with that English preposition; nor does she use it with certain verbs that normally require it. For example, her *talk with leatsa* underlines this point nicely as she has in this case imposed an English wording on an underlying Irish structure: *caint/labhairt le.* She has already overgeneralized most generously but if she allowed herself such structures as *mise mhaith le labhairt le leatsa* she would soon generalize her vocabulary out of existence.

Acquisition and Development of Phonological Systems

Lewis (1936) and Kaplan (1969) have claimed that the child begins to differentiate between intonation patterns by the eighth month and that he is also able to imitate his parents' patterns around about the same time. The association of these patterns with specific situations can be said to lead to the use of words as responses to parental or adult speech. It appears to have been generally accepted and corroborated then that the child has certain prosodic features of language before he develops his phonological system proper. His imitation of the sounds of adults, especially of the mother, leads eventually to single-word utterances, although it should be added here that the first word may not be a direct imitation but may be due to the child's juggling with certain sound patterns until he arrives at one that has some semantic content for him. Imitation, however, clearly plays a major role in the acquisition of the sound system of a language, and while one might not agree entirely with Fry's (1966) account of what is involved in acquiring a new word, he cannot be far off the mark:

> First, the baby hears a group of sounds associated with a given situation; second, he learns to recognize the sounds; third, he makes his own attempt at reproducing the word, at first without associating it with the situation; fourth, he says the word in the situation in order to call forth a response; fifth, he changes his own utterance to make it match the pattern he has heard in order to obtain more certain and more satisfactory responses; sixth, he continues the modification process until the word gains the desired response from all listeners in all appropriate situations.

The phonological system of a language is acquired by degrees and is usually complete by the age of six or seven. In the earliest utterances, only two or three phonemes are involved. The order in which the phonemes are added depends on their relative articulatory difficulty and on their informational loading. The latter point is important, because in order to decode the sounds the child must do more than simply imitate; he must learn which sounds signal a difference in meaning. Inductive intellectual reasoning and imitation are prerequisites then to the acquisition of the phonological system of any human language.[10]

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[10] It should be clear here that the imitation and reinforcement thesis concerning the acquisition of phonology is not the one being advanced in this paper, although it could be argued that Fry's account appears to accept that hypothesis. However, Fry has other things to say about the question and no-one would seriously dispute the view anyway that imitation is an important strategy in the acquisition process. There is a strongly held view that phonology is acquired according to the systematic application of phonological rules. This is no doubt true but the question arises as to when the child actually begins to form such rules. Does imitation precede the differentiation between, say, distinctive feature bundles and redundant features? See Jakobson (1941) on the distinctive feature theory hypothesis.

We shall now proceed to our first informant in this chapter. We will be concerned with a number of things in this discussion but particularly with how her phoneme inventory tallies with that of other children, whose acquisition and development of phonology has been studied in monolingual communities. It is held, for example, that the child will probably have eight to ten vowels in his vowel system, including one or two diphthongs, by the age of eighteen months. How about Méadhbh?

MÉADHBH

Méadhbh, who was eighteen months old when the following data was collected, is a native of the parish of *An Cnoc*. Both her parents are native Irish speakers, one born and reared in our parish, the other from an Irish speaking parish to the west. Close relatives live nearby and one grandparent lives in with the family. The child has a number of brothers, all older and of school going age. Irish is the language of the home domain but all the family are bilingual. Méadhbh fits nicely into group 1 of our classification outlined above. It might be added here that there is a television in the house which gets a number of contact hours per day.

The data below is based on personal contact, on information supplied by the mother, and on tape recordings made by the mother and father with the child at my request. Monologues have not been recorded. Four extracts from her corpus have been chosen and we will deal with each of these in turn.

Extract 1

In this first extract three vowel phonemes occur, /a/, /i/, and /o/; some short, others long, one diphthong /ai/ (with long /a/), and two consonants /b/, and /d/. Note that the mother is going through the English alphabet /a:/, /bi:/, /si:/ etc. and that the /d/ is of the English variety. The dialogue, if we can so call it, — and I think we can, — had already begun when the tape was switched on. Méadhbh's initial /a:/, /bi:/, /a:/ shows that she has successfully imitated the opening cues. Despite the following cues of the mother, however, she practises (?) certain sounds of her own, namely /a:/ and /o/, before taking the /di:/ cue in hand with intensity and effort, the /d/ being heavily loaded: (In the following Méadhbh is abbreviated M and O stands for mother).

M: /a:/, /bi:/, /a:/	O: /bi:/
M: /a:/	O: /bi:/
M: /a:/	O: /si:/
M: /a:i/, /a:i/	O: /si:/
M: /o/	O: /di:/, /abir´di:/
M: [d^{h}i:h]	O: /i:/
M: /o/	

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Extract 2

In this extract a new vowel, /e:/, is added and it is combined directly in the word /be:bi:/ which was the first occurrence of a word in this particular recording. The child appears to be practising short and long varieties of certain vowels here, notably /i/, /i:/, /o/, and /o:/, and these she uses in various combinations with the consonant /b/. Of particular interest is her word (?) /o:bih/. It is to be noted that she has clearly taken the initiative from the mother whom she cues for /i:/ and /o:/ and that, when the first word proper appears, it is not a direct imitation:

O: /d´as/	M: /o:/
O: /d´as/	M: /o/, /bih/, /bi:/
O: /i:/	M: /o:bih/
O: /o:/	M: /bi:/
O: /bi:/	M: /a:/, /bih/
O: /a:/, /bi:/	M: /be:bi:/
O: /be:bi:/	M: /o:/
O: /o:/, /be:bi:/	M: /be:bi:/
O: /be:bi:/	

Extract 3

This extract has been chosen for the following reasons: the use of English /d/ in the words /de:rdřə/ and /do:di:/ (pet name for Déirdre); the introduction of the new phoneme /r/ which, if my ear doesn't deceive me, is of the retroflex variety in its second occurrence in the word /de:rdřə/; and the imitation of the word /bo:/ which occurs ten times in succession:

O: /taig´/	M: /de:rdřə/
O: /do:di:/	M: /do:di:/
O: /dadi:/	M: /baba/
O: /baba/, /kɑ:wil´ baba/ *Cá bhfuil baba?*	M: /be:bi:/
O: /be:bi:/,/tɑ: baba aNʃin´/ *Tá baba ansin.*	M: /be:bi:/
O: /be:bi:/. /a: bo:/ (*bó* heavily loaded; There is a pause between /a:/ and /bo:/ also).	M: /bi:h/
O: /bo:/	M: /bo:/
O: /bo:/	M: /bo:/, /bo:/
O: /bo:/, /ʃin´ bo:/	M: /bo:/
O: /bo:/	M: /bo:/

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Extract 4

In the following extract the vowel /u:/ and the consonants /ʃ/ (which appears to be acquired before /s/), and /n/ are added to the phoneme inventory. Note also here the use of the negative verbal response /no:/:

O: /du:n suas/	M: /ʃu: ʃu:/
O: /du:n suas/	M: /no:/
O: /no / (with rising intonation); /du:n suas/	M: /no:/

REMARKS

In all the recorded material from Méadhbh, I have counted some seven vowel phonemes including the central /ə/ vowel, one diphthong, and at least ten consonants. Her vowels are /i/ /e/ /a/ /ɔ/ /o/ /u/ /ə/; the diphthong is /ai/; and the consonants include /b/ /d/ /d´/ /dʒ/ /p/ /m/ /f/ /r/ /n/ /ʃ/ (and possibly /t/ and /g/ if her mother is right in saying that she can pronounce *Tadhg*). One should also include /h/ and the semi-vowel /w/ in the reckoning. She has also learned something about the restrictions placed on the distribution of phoneme sequences. For example, she used the sequence /pw-/ on a couple of occasions, but was corrected each time with the effect that she discontinued using it.

Méadhbh's lexicon includes the words *Mammy, Daddy, Dody, Diddy, baby, baba, George, wuffi* and *no* to name but a few. She can imitate the phrases *shut up, dún suas, oíche mhaith*, and *suigh síos*, and has probably in the region of twenty to thirty words all told.

What emerges from this cursory look at Méadhbh's speech is that she would seem to be in the process of acquiring the basic units of the phonological systems of both Irish and English. This is apparent from her actual corpus of sounds, from the method of instruction on the part of the mother, and from the fact that her lexicon is fairly equally divided between the two languages. If she possesses a grammar at this stage, then it is a holophrastic one in the sense of Piaget, that is to say, words are taken to function as predications in that they assert or affirm something. It would be necessary, of course, to take into account the context in which her words are spoken as in Bloom (1970), if this were an in-depth study of Méadhbh's cognitive and linguistic ability. This is something, however, which has been left aside in the present paper since the aim has been to focus attention on the acquisition of phonology in the first instance.[11] It may be finally added here that while one can hardly speak

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[11] As the extracts in the present paper show, Méadhbh's single word utterances convey more than simple labelling. Her response to the command *dún suas* is conclusive witness to the fact that when she says *no!*, she means, *no, ní dhúnfaidh mé suas* (no, I will not shut up), or something of the sort. Moreover, her affirmations and retorts in Extract 3, for example, are more involved than might appear at first sight. See Cromer (1974), p. 204ff., for discussion of this topic.

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of bilingualism in the normal sense, in Méadhbh's case at this point of time, I should think it is nevertheless clear that the phoneme inventory which she is now acquiring will stand her in good stead in becoming a competent bilingual later on.[12]

EARLY GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

A number of recent detailed longitudinal studies of the early grammatical structure of children's language have been made and researchers have attempted to write grammars, which would generate the possible utterances of the child, at different stages of development. There appeared to be a great deal of similarity in the records at the two-word utterance stage and two proposals were made to account for these. Brown (Brown and Fraser, 1963; Brown and Bellugi, 1964) used the term *telegraphic* to characterize two-word stage speech, while Braine (1963) and Miller and Ervin (1964) constructed what they termed *pivot grammars*. With respect to *telegraphic* speech Brown based his proposal on the analogy with adult language in telegrams, that is to say, only essential information necessary for decoding the message is given. He divided his grammatical categories into two classes, namely *contentives* (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) and *functors* (inflections, prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliaries); the former contains many members while function words are few and are frequently omitted. The *pivot grammars* are likewise divided into two classes of words: pivots (P) and an open class (O). Pivot words have high frequency (like contentives), have a fixed position, do not occur in isolation, and do not occur in combination with each other. Open words, on the other hand, can occur in any position, in isolation, in combination with any pivot or with each other.

The recent studies of Bloom (1970), Bowerman (1973), and Brown (1973) do not bear out the claims of pivot grammar in particular. It has been shown that pivot words do occur both in combination and in isolation; that more than two-word classes occur at this early stage; and that children use the dominant word orders of their languages to express semantic functions. It is not my intention to dwell on this crucial two-word stage in this paper but researchers into the topic in Irish should bear in mind the very strong possibility that the acquisition of syntactic structures — of language, if you will — is dependent on the prior acquisition of certain cognitive abilities. In other words, semantics takes precedence over syntax.[13]

We proceed now to our next informant from the parish of *An Cnoc*.

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[12] I am overgeneralizing here to a certain degree in two respects. Firstly, by taking it that the corpus provides sufficient evidence for assuming that Méadhbh has acquired approximately the same number of vowels as have other children who have been studied in differing language communities. It is quite conceivable that she has more than seven vowels but that they have not turned up in our samples. (Back /ɑ/, however, is notable by its absence). In the second place, the *general* hypothesis forwarded here that the bilingual process begins in the very initial stages of phonological acquisition is based *specifically* on an analysis of Méadhbh's speech although it can be taken without further ado that the same would be true for children brought up in homes in which code-switching takes place. Group 1 type children are, at any rate, the most interesting in this respect and the hypothesis should be easily testable on them.

[13] This is not to say that language does not have its own dynamic. On the contrary, certain linguistic capabilities are essential in order to be able to express meanings that have already been acquired. See Cromer (*op.cit.*), p. 243ff. on this.

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MÁIRTÍN

Our discussion of Máirtín's speech is based on data collected when he was 33 months old, that is, some fifteen months older than Méadhbh. Máirtín's father is a native of the parish of *An Cnoc;* his mother is a non-native of the area who has learned Irish as her second language. Grandparents and close relatives of the father live close at hand and the boy spends a fair portion of his time with them. He also fits into our category 3 (see footnote 1). His linguistic development has been rapid with Irish dominating in the home domain despite a certain amount of code-switching with English also. He was already producing five to six word utterances when my recordings were made. There is apparently no question of a pivot type grammar being involved here since we are clearly dealing with the grammatical categories of adult grammar for the most part. However, he still does on occasions use two-word utterances to express his views on various situations, and it is usually fairly clear from the context what he has in mind. For example, on one or two occasions while himself and mother were involved in conversation (commenting on pictures in a book), father entered and attempted to take over the role of interlocutor. The child was having none of it and informed father quite curtly *sin Mamaí* (lit. that Mammy) which could be expanded as *déanann Mamaí (é) sin* (Mammy does that) or perhaps as *that book and what it involves has to do with Mammy / is Mammy's.* Again, when he wanted Mammy to speak to him on another occasion he simply said *Mamaí arís* (lit. Mammy again) but expanded this a couple of seconds later himself as *Beidh Mamaí ar ais arís* (lit. Mammy will be back again) which could convey the meaning *I want Mammy to come back again* or *Mammy must come back again* or *Let us have Mammy back again.*

Closely allied to this fairly sparse use of sentence words is his handling of function words, the article and prepositions in particular. He frequently omits both although it appears that he has a rule which allows him to either use or leave out the article as he wills, e.g. *cáil muc?* (where is the pig?), *cáil cata dearg?* (where is the red cat?); *sin an báda mór* (that is the big boat), *sin an fear mór mílteach dána* (that is the great big bold man). Although he understands a number of other prepositions he uses only two consistently, *í* 'in' and *ar* 'on'. The former is always combined with the article usually in the phonological shapes of *sa (sa siopa)* and *isa (isa mbád)*, these being also used for the indefinite form *i(n)* and sometimes for *ar* also.[14] The following show his omission of certain prepositions:

(i) *tá mé dul Mamó anois* (I'm going to Mamó now);

(ii) *Níl mé dul toilet* (I'm not going to the toilet);

(iii) *tá siad sin áit incint* (They are somewhere/sentence repeated by mother as: *tá siad sin in áit éicint*).

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[14] One instance each of *san* and *insan* have been recorded, both before vowel sounds and both in non-imitative contexts: *Tá siad san abhainn/Crann insan fharraige*. Note that in Brown's data only *in* and *on* were used sufficiently frequently in English at the early stages to be analysable. See Cromer (op.cit.), p. 211ff. for discussion.

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Máirtín also has a rule which allows him to omit the substantive verb in the present tense. For example, consider the following excerpt from a conversation between himself and his mother concerning a giant in the picture book: (M: stands for Máirtín, O: for mother):

O:	Cén t-ainm atá air?	M:	*Sé dána.*
O:	Sea, sin an fear dána.	M:	Sea.
O:	Cén t-ainm atá air?	M:	*Sé mór.*
O:	Tá sé mór. Cén t-ainm atá ar an bhfear mór dána?	M:	*Tá sé dána.*
O:	Tá; fathach, nach ea?	M:	Sea.

A number of further instances of the same phenomenon occurs in the recordings and I think that we can cover his uses of the substantive verb and the article by assuming that he has a rule such as the following in his grammar:

S ⟶ (V sub.) + (Art) NP + Adj./Prep. Phrase[15]

At the earliest stage verbs are not marked for tense — durative present, future, past — although the situational context has led researchers to believe that such meanings are indeed present or intended in children's two-word utterances. As regards Máirtín, he often marks present temporary duration by using the verbal noun, sometimes preceded by *ag*, sometimes not: *Céard tá sé dhíana? (déanamh); tá mé ag díana rud eile; tá sé a splasháil* etc. Intentionality or imminence is usually expressed by *g'iarra (ag iarraidh)* or *dul*. He has in addition mastered the future tense of the substantive verb as can be seen from the following extracts:

O: Bhfuil tú a dhul síos go dtí Mamó *amáireach?*

M: *Beidh mé.*

O: Cé eile bhéas ann?

M: *Tá* mé dhul Mamó *anois.*

Compare the above with this piece; (father (F) talking to Máirtín):

M: Sin Mamaí arís.

F: Ó, ar ball, beidh Mamaí arís againn, sea.

M: Sea.

F: Máirtín

M: *Beidh Maírtín air amárach.*

I have no instance of the past tense being marked but this could be due to a lack of material. Moreover, he has not mastered the future tense suffixes and endings of other verbs as yet although he recognizes them when addressed.

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[15] If expanded in full this rewriting rule (for such rules, see Chomsky, 1965) would generate structures such as (i) *Tá an fear mór dána* and (ii) *Tá an crann san fharraige*. The expansion ART + NP + Adj./Prep. Phrase has not been recorded in Máirtín's corpus (that is, a structure like **an crann san fharraige*) and there may be some constraint at work here. NP (-ART) + Adj./Prep. Phrase is, of course, common, e.g. *crann san fharraige/sé dána* etc.

He differentiates at all times between the substantive verb and the copula, *no* and *níl* occurring in free variation as negative of the former. It is worth noting also that *sea* and *ní hea* are used as responses not merely to copula type questions but also to other verbs. Perhaps this potent use of the forms in child language has something to do with their development into *yes/no* equivalents.[16]

Máirtín is presently at the stage of acquiring the construction *Tá X ag Y*. In the earlier recordings he clearly had difficulty in understanding the construction as witness the following:

O: Bhfuil cat ag Máirtín?	M: Eh!
O: Bhfuil cat ag Máirtín?	M: Eh! Ah!
O: Bhfuil?	M: Ó! Ah! Tá.

And later:

O: An bhfuil cat dearg ag Mamó?	M: Tá.
O: Níl.	

Compare with this still later extract:

O: Is cad é sin.	M: Teddy.
O: Teddy. Cá bhfuil Teddy?	M: Sin é.
O: Sea, cá bhfuil sé? Cad é an rud sin?	M: *Tá sé Aoife*.
O: Tá, tá an rud sin *ag Aoife* allright. Cad é?	M: *Sin é — ag Aoife*.
O: Tá an rud sin *ag Aoife* allright. Cad é?	M: Tá.
O: Sin *dribbler*, nach ea?	M: Sea, *dribbler — Aoife.*
O: *Tá dribbler ag Aoife*.	

To go into a lengthy discussion here about the construction *Tá X ag Y* on the one hand, and *is le X Y* on the other would take us beyond the scope of the present paper. In any event, Máirtín does not as yet according to any data have the structure *is le X Y*. On the other hand, however, it is equally clear that he can express the concept by using other structures, for example, by combining two noun phrases as in *cat Mamó* (Mamó's cat).

It would seem that transformations occur at a fairly late stage in child speech and this rather superficial study of one child's speech in Irish appears to bear this out. The question demands a much more detailed analysis than can be allotted to it here. The present paper will suffice with just one clear example from Máirtín's speech. It turned up in a copula classificatory structure and was creative and non-imitative in the context, which goes to show that Máirtín had incorporated it as a rule of his grammar:

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[16] See Mícheál Ó Siadhail (1973) on this topic.

O: Agus cad é sin?

M: Muc.

O: Ay!

M: *Sin muc a cola* (= Sin muc ina codladh)

O: Is cén t-ainm atá air sin?

M: *Muc a cola é sin.*

This is as a good a point as any for us to close this survey of Máirtín's syntactic development as the acquisition of this particularly productive transformation in Irish — in conjunction with what has already been said about his speech patterns — demonstrates that he is well on his way to becoming a fluent and competent speaker of the Irish language. Like transformations, morphophonemics are also acquired quite late but this final excerpt from a conversation between father and son serves to remind us that syntax and phonology should not be divorced from one another:

F: Cáil Beairtle?

M: Tá sé thíos sa teach.

F: Cén teach?

M: sa teach.

F: Is cá bhfuil sé? Ina shuí síos sa gcathaoir?

M: *sa cola.*

F: Ó, *ina chola*. Cén áit?

M: sa *c*athaoir.

F: sa *gc*athaoir nó sa leabhar?

M: nó ... sa *gc*athaoir.

F: *Tá sé ina chola ar a(n) gcathaoir.*

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SECTION 111

REMEDIAL LINGUISTICS

REMEDIAL LINGUISTICS

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Introduction

This lecture is addressed to several groups of people, to those of you who are concerned with the remediation of speech and language disorders, to those of you involved in various types of first-language teaching, and to those of you who are interested in clinical work mainly insofar as it provides data for evaluating various theories in linguistics.

Remedial linguistics can be tentatively defined as a branch of applied linguistics which aims to provide practical guidelines for assessing, diagnosing and treating speech and language disorders. It is related to those branches of applied linguistics dealing with the learning of first and second languages by normal children and adults but differs from them in several ways. First, it deals with a very specialized form of first-language learning by those who are unable to learn their first language in the normal way or by those who have to reacquire it or retrieve it. This group of people I will call patients for the present, that is, children and adults referred to the clinician. Second, remedial linguistics focusses on the individual patient, not on groups. Third, it tries to account for acquisition and dissolution of language in terms of anatomical, physiological and neurological correlates.

Remedial linguistics can be distinguished from clinical linguistics. The former is poised between the academic search for greater insight into the nature of human language and the practical alleviation of disorders of verbal communication. The latter is a branch of theoretical linguistics, whose aim is to describe and explain the nature of language as revealed by clinical data.

Although linguists such as Jakobson (1977), are interested in the theoretical implications of clinical data, very few of them have provided specific procedures to help the speech therapist or the teacher of the deaf in the clinic or classroom. Speech pathologists are more aware of the contribution of linguistics to their work. One example is Lee (1974), who has provided clinicians with a very useful assessment procedure for children's acquisition of grammar called *"Developmental Sentence Scoring"*. Russell, Quigley and Power (1976), is another example of how useful linguistics can be in the description of the language of the hearing-impaired. One group of linguists who make a practical contribution are Crystal, Fletcher and Garman (1976). They have provided a linguistically principled procedure (LARSP) for assessing grammatical development in children, and have also indicated techniques to be used in remediation.

According to Corder (1973), there are three orders in the application of linguistic theory to language teaching:-

(a) description;

(b) selection;

(c) organisation and presentation of syllabus and teaching materials.

Corder's distinction between these orders of application is useful in the context of the type of language teaching that occurs in the clinic. In this lecture only the first two orders of application will be discussed. The third order, that dealing with the syllabus and teaching materials, demands the close co-operation of many specialists. Remedial linguistics must come to the aid of the psychologist by specifying the language component but must be aware of the various learning and teaching strategies involved in the acquisition and reacquisition of a first language. Just as there are many kinds of second-language learners, so also there is great variation in the ability of first-language learners. In the planning of teaching materials, remedial linguists must also take into account the world of social interaction. The patient must be able to talk to his family, his peers, and all the members of the speech community around about him.

Description

The first order of application of linguistics to remediation is description. A linguistic theory is applied to the data uttered by the patient and gives a description of these data, which serves as a basis for assessment and remediation. However, a description of the patient's utterances is not enough in the work of remediation. Two other kinds of description are necessary: a description of normal adult language and a description of normal language acquisition. Each of the three descriptions must be relevant in the clinical situation and comprehensive enough in its coverage to be useful to the clinician. Each of the descriptions should consider language as a set of forms used to convey meanings in social interaction.

Until recently linguists were very much concerned with the description of forms. Descriptions of normal adult language neglected to specify the meanings of forms described. With the advent of a greater interest in semantics, linguists began to pay greater attention to the relationships between forms and their meanings. A more recent trend is for linguists to show interest in the way that forms and their meanings are used in the complex interplay of participants in conversational interaction.

Normal adult language description

A description of normal adult language is necessary in order to assess the extent of the adult patient's deviation from normal verbal competence and performance, and in order to provide a realistic target for remediation purposes so that the patient becomes, if at all possible, a fully fledged member of the adult speech community. Such a description is also necessary in the case of clinical children, because they too must eventually reach the same language maturity.

As Crystal (1972) mentions, there are a number of descriptions which give a fairly straightforward inventory of the facts about the sounds, grammar and vocabulary of adult language. Such descriptions, however, contain a wealth of material that may be quite irrelevant to the clinician. In phonology, for example, detailed descriptions of vowel variation in regional and social accents may not be entirely relevant except to make the clinician aware of the complexity of normal language variation.

What is needed is a clinically useful description of adult language so arranged as to reveal patterns of interest in assessment and remediation, a description that is based on a linguistic theory sensitive to clinical data. One such example, for adult grammar, is that of Crystal, Fletcher and Garman (1976), who give a very useful fourteen-page summary of the main points of adult grammar.

Normal language acquisition

A description of normal language acquisition is necessary in order to provide norms for assessing the language-disordered child. Normal children go through different stages in the acquisition of the sounds, grammar and vocabulary of their native language. Language learning takes time. A description of each of these stages for each of the major components of language is needed as well as an indication of the length of time taken by the normal child at each stage on the route towards maturity. Once the stages are explicitly stated, assessment procedures can pinpoint where exactly the clinical child has arrived and how far he is from normal development. It follows that remedial goals can be much more precise.

The presumption is, of course, that the clinical child will learn his language in due course by following the same path as the normal child. This may not be the case. Hopefully, too, we are right in presuming that the adult patient can relearn or retrieve his language by passing through stages similar to those taken by normal children. This may not be necessarily true.

There is need for an increased understanding of how adults keep on acquiring their language as they grow older. Such knowledge of the learning strategies used by them could help in planning remediation programmes for clinical adults.

Mittler (cf. Berry, 1976) has stated that despite all the research on child language, there is little interest shown by researchers in the kind of information required by the first-language teacher. A fully comprehensive description of the stages of normal language acquisition does not yet exist.

An adequate description of child language must show how the child acquires the ability to use forms and meanings in a socially acceptable way when in interaction with children and adults. Assessment and remediation involves all three aspects of development: forms, meanings, uses. Bloom and Lahey (Forthcoming), as reviewed by Berko-Gleason (1977), take all three aspects into account in their description of child language. It is of little use to the child to teach him the negative forms *no* and *not* unless he is at a stage in semantic development when he is able to understand the meaning of negation and wants to express it. Teaching him the socially appropriate ways of expressing negation can be efficiently done only when he has reached a certain stage in the socialization process.

A description of child language must be relevant to the needs of the clinician. The theoretical linguist, fascinated by the intricacy of verb phrase development in children, may be carried away by the more interesting details in the later stages of such development and may neglect the more clinically relevant earlier stages. He may propose five stages as follows:-

Stage 1: Main verb on its own, e.g. *He watches.*

Stage 2: One auxiliary and main verb, e.g. *He will watch.*

Stage 3: Two auxiliaries and main verb, e.g. *He should have watched.*

Stage 4: Three auxiliaries and main verb, e.g. *He should have been watched.*

Stage 5: Four auxiliaries and main verb, e.g. *He should have been being watched.*

The clinician, however, is mainly concerned with the initial stages of verb phrase development and needs far more detail about these stages than is available at present.

Description of the patient's idiolect

A description of the patient's utterances is required at regular intervals, initially for assessment purposes, and at various points in the remediation programme to evaluate the effectiveness of the intervention.

Not only must the patient's expressive abilities be studied and a description made of the corpus of his utterances, but his language comprehension must also be investigated in order to determine how much he understands of the language used in his environment.

Descriptions will vary from patient to patient and will naturally depend on the type of disorder. In remedial linguistics the patient is not regarded as a representative of a speech community, as a typical informant along traditional lines, who sums up in his speech the patterns present in the speech of other members of his speech community. If each patient differs, then not only must a description be made of his own idiolect, but at least part of the remediation programme must take his individual needs into account. Both descriptions and remedial guidelines, for the present at least, must be patient-specific.

There are very few linguistically adequate descriptions of patient idiolects available. Those that do exist are only partial descriptions and are more concerned with the application of some linguistic theory to a corpus of utterances in order to show the usefulness of such a theory, than they are with the usefulness of such a description for remedial purposes. Furthermore, they are generally descriptions of expressive abilities.

According to Crystal, Fletcher and Garman (1976), seven stages can be distinguished in the remediation of grammar:-

1. Sampling;
2. Transcription;
3. Grammatical analysis;
4. Structure count;

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5. Pattern evaluation;
6. Statement of remedial goals;
7. Statement of remedial procedures.

These seven stages, mutatis mutandis, can also be distinguished in the implementation of other procedures such as the remediation of phonological problems. The first four stages belong to the first order of application, namely, description.

Sampling

The sample of both expressive and receptive abilities must be respresentative of the patient's general verbal competence and performance. It must also be adequate as a basis for the type of treatment envisaged.

Methods of obtaining speech samples to assess the child's command of the sounds of his language are critically evaluated by Ingram (1976), who classifies them into three main kinds; naming methods in which the child is asked to name objects, pictures, etc., and finally spontaneous speech samples in which the child is allowed to talk freely.

The role of remedial linguistics is to indicate the areas of phonology to be assessed: the system, distribution and realization of phonemes, stress, intonation and the phenomena of connected speech.

The child's command of grammar can be assessed by using elicitation techniques such as phrase repetition or sentence repetition, or by sampling spontaneous speech in conversations. According to Crystal, Fletcher and Garman (1976), a thirty-minute sample of the child's spontaneous speech is quite adequate. Care must be taken, however, to ensure that the child is not inhibited by factors in the clinical setting which reduce the amount of spontaneous speech he utters. Social interaction often demands the abolition of silence in conversational encounters. Because of this, there is a great temptation to fill in for the less talkative or silent partner. This attempt to reduce the intervals of silence may lead to what has been called "turn grabbing" on the part of the clinician taking the sample and so bias the results. Written transcripts of clinical sessions, in which the utterances of both the patient and the clinician are found, may lead to a greater awareness of the tendency we all have to speak for the patient, when we should allow him more time to express himself.

There are various types of conversations even in the clinic. Conversation about toys may bring out the child's fluency more than talk about pictures. The immediate play-situation may lend itself to one type of conversation, whereas a discussion of the child's activities outside the clinic may lead to a different type of interaction between clinical child and speech therapist.

Methods of obtaining samples of adult speech vary. Traditional sampling by remedial personnel has been criticized by Jakobson (1977). Preliminary medical sampling for certain types of adult patients consisted in asking questions and giving directions such as the following:

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What's your name?
Where do you live?
Say the Lord's Prayer.
Count from one to ten.
Name the following objects....

Jewesbury gives a recording of dysarthric patients repeating complicated tongue twisters such as:-

> **"Eleven benevolent elephants made a preliminary investigation at the Methodist Episcopal Hospital".**

There are two important considerations here. One is that repetition on demand happens to be only one type of verbal behaviour and is not representative of the general verbal behaviour of the adult. Another point is that nobody talks to a doctor the same way he talks to his family and close acquaintances. The spontaneous speech of the patient, when at ease in social interaction with his peers and friends, must also be sampled in order to have a more accurate collection of utterances.

The type of disorder will also dictate the type of sampling procedure to be followed. The stutterer differs from the dysarthric patient, so the sampling procedures should differ as well. For the stutterer an adequate sample could be a few hundred words of solo speech, a few hundred words of conversation and a few hundred words of reading.

Transcription

Once a representative and adequate sample of the patient's speech has been obtained it has to be properly transcribed. A readable and accurate transcript is needed so that the clinician can see at a glance a visual record of the patient's speech without having to replay the tape recording. Details of good transcriptions are given by Ingram (1976), and Crystal, Fletcher and Garman (1976).

Analysis of samples

Consider the following speech samples from a five-year old child referred to a speech therapist:

shoe	/ʃu/	pronounced as	[du]
boat	/bot/	pronounced as	[bo]
plane	/plen/	pronounced as	[ben]
nose	/noz/	pronounced as	[no]
zoo	/zu/	pronounced as	[du]
coat	/kot/	pronounced as	[do]

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bat	/bat/	pronounced as	[baʔ]
room	/rum/	pronounced as	[jum̃]

A small speech sample such as the above, in which eight adult words are pronounced by the child, can be analysed in various ways. One type of analysis is to examine the sound substitutions, omissions, distortions and metatheses found in the child's pronunciations. It is clear in the above sample that there are many sound substitutions, a number of omissions of final consonants and no distortions nor metatheses. Another analysis would pay greater attention to the number of phonemic contrasts signalled by the child. One such adult contrast, the distinction between *shoe* and *zoo* is not signalled at all, both words being pronounced [du].

A third way of analysing the speech sample is to examine the phonological processes used by the child (Ingram, 1976). Notice the following:-

1. Consonant cluster reduction, e.g. /pl/ as [b].
2. Deletion of certain final consonants, e.g. *nose* as [no]; *boat* as [bo]; *coat* as [do].
3. Stopping, e.g. /z/ pronounced as [d] in *zoo*.
4. Fronting, e.g. /k/ pronounced as [d] in *coat*.

In the case of the clinical child, comparison must also be made between that child's utterances and those expected from a normal child. Is it normal, for instance, for a five-year-old child to use the phonological processes of simplification discussed above? Most children by age three have acquired the ability to pronounce word-final consonants in CVC structures.

Once these systematic comparisons have been made, there can be a selection of those items which have to be learned by the patient and taught by the clinician. The patient cannot learn all the items immediately nor can the clinician be expected to provide instant remediateion of all problems in one clinical session. However, there must be some explicitly principled basis for such a selection.

Several criteria for selection are mentioned in the literature on applied linguistics and second-language learning (Corder, 1973). These could be applied also to this type of language learning.

Usefulness to the learner is one such criterion. Those forms should be selected which are most useful to the patient. Given the seven phonological processes operating in the five-year-old child's speech sample above, the process most useful should be selected first for remediation. Stopping is one type of simplification, which greatly increases the number of homophones used by children. Should this process be the first to be eliminated? Or should one focus attention on prevocalic voicing, which is also a source of a large number of homophones? The reduction of many CVC-type syllables to CV-type syllables is also high on the list of priorities, as this too reduces the number of distinctions between words.

5. Prevocalic voicing, e.g. /k/ as [d] in *coat*.
6. Glotalling, e.g. /t/ as [ʔ] in *bat*.
7. Palatalling, e.g. /r/ as [j] in *room*.

Apart from the qualitative analyses mentioned above, there is a need for a quantitative analysis as well. For instance, there are three occurrences of word-final /t/ in the adult words given above, in the words *boat, coat and bat*. The child omitted the final consonant in his pronunciation of the first two words but substituted the glottal stop for the adult /t/ in his pronunciation of *bat* as [baʔ].

Consider the following sample of grammar from a four-year-old child referred to a speech therapist:-

1. *Boy ball window.* (= 'The boy kicked the ball through the window').
2. *My Daddy gone.* (= 'My Daddy's gone').
3. *Put doll chair.* (= 'Put the doll on the chair').
4. *Big doggie nice.* (= 'The big doggie is nice').
5. *She not like me.* (= 'She doesn't like me').

One traditional form of analysis would be to count the number of words in each sentence and to estimate the mean length of utterance in the speech sample. This is one type of quantitative analysis, which has its uses in the very early stages of normal language development.

Another traditional way of analysing is to study the parts of speech or form-classes that occur in the sample, nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc.

Another type of analysis will focus attention on all the omissions in the speech sample:-

1. Omission of the verb *kicked*.
2. Omissions of the copula.
3. Omission of the definite article.
4. Omission of the prepositions *on* and *through*.
5. Omission of the auxiliary *do*.

A less negative method of analysing the child's corpus of utterances is to concentrate on what he has acquired and to use it as a basis for remediation. At the level of clause the child has acquired subject (S), verb (V), object (O), adverbial (A), complement (C). The child shows the ability to put three clause-level elements together in one sentence. Consider the structure of each sentence:-

SOA: *Boy ball window.*
SV: *My Daddy gone.*
VOA: *Put doll chair.*
SC: *Big doggie nice.*
SVO: *He not like me.*

At the level of the phrase, the child shows his ability to put two phrase-level elements together, e.g. *My Daddy, big doggie, not like.*

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The two speech samples given above and the various phonological and grammatical analyses briefly discussed indicate that the job of description is not an easy one even when the samples are very short. The role of remedial linguistics is to provide a principled and systematic analysis of much longer and more representative samples.

Selection

Once the patient's idiolect has been described, it must be compared to that of the normal adult in order to determine what is to be learned and what is to be taught. This was alluded to above when discussing the child's pronunciation of *shoe* and *zoo* as [du]. The child has to learn to distinguish the two adult phonemes /ʃ/ and /z/ so as to differentiate the meaning of words such as *ash* and *as*, *fishing* and *fizzing*, etc.

Another criterion of selection is difference. Those items which cause great differences between the patient's speech and that of normal adults or children should be considered first before sorting out minor differences. In the speech of the four-year-old child mentioned above, the sentence most different from that of the normal child of four is *"Boy ball window"*, which leaves out the appropriate form of the verb *kick* as well as the definite article and the preposition *through*. The other four sentences are much more interpretable. It seems then that such a sentence consisting of the clause structure SOA, should be singled out as inadequate and the child should be taught to expand it into a SVOA structure as soon as possible.

A very relevant criterion is that of difficulty, although such a psychological notion and all it entails must be considered as outside the bounds of remedial linguistics as presently conceived. The easiest items should be taught first. A rank ordering of items from easiest to most difficult is a desideratum in all aspects of remediation work, but it still remains to be thoroughly investigated. It is true of course that the first three stages in the acquisition of syntax are distinguished by means of length in the analysis presented by Crystal, Fletcher and Garman (1976). It follows that the shortest items seem to be the easiest, a two-element sentence being easier than a three-element sentence, etc. It does not follow, however, that the longer the sentence the more difficult it will be.

Conclusions

Remedial linguistics, in close liaison with other disciplines concerned with remediation, must attempt to bridge the gap between assessment and remediation. As Tanz (1974), points out, there are cognitive, as well as linguistic, principles underlying children's difficulties with certain pronouns having subject and object forms such as *she, her*. Moran and Byrne (1977), in their study of one hundred and twenty children acquiring the appropriate forms of the verb for signalling past, present and future time provide some interesting information about the differences between normal children in regular classrooms and learning-disabled children in special classrooms. There is some evidence from their results that learning-

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disabled children differ in a number of ways. For instance, they are three times as likely as normal children to use the uninflected form of the verb to indicate past tense.

Remedial linguistics is unable at present to give all the guidelines necessary for making an explicitly principled selection of items to be learned and taught. But it has a very important contribution to make to assessment, insofar as it provides theories, which can be applied in the description of samples of patient idiolect.

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THE ADVANTAGES OF LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS IN PROGRAMMING THERAPY IN A CASE OF LINGUISTIC DEFICITS

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You have heard Dr. Mac Éinrí speak on Remedial Linguistics, I propose to describe its application in the clinical situation.

Great changes have taken place in the past two decades in assessment and treatment of linguistic disorders. In the early 1960s few, if any, forms of standardised assessment tools were available to the speech therapist and one had to rely on subjective assessments, in conjunction with case history and observation, in the making of a diagnosis and establishing a level of competence. The case history and observation, I would like to stress, remain two valid and important factors in assessment, and subjective assessment, also, still has a certain place in the clinic. Generally, however, subjective assessments have been replaced by standardised tests and by the mid 1970s there was a large variety on the market. Recently the word 'scale' has tended to replace 'test', it being considered that one is attempting to place an individual's linguistic ability on a scale of normality, as opposed to examining to see whether they pass or fail on a particular item.

Broadly speaking one can divide these assessment tools into two categories, those assessing receptive abilities and those assessing expressive abilities. One can also think of them as either scales, which provide information that can be used as a basis for therapy i.e. The Preschool Language Scale, and those, which are limited to giving information about the individual in relation to the norm, i.e. The English Picture Vocabulary Test.

Many problems exist in relation to standardised tests, as those of you working in the field of remedial work will be well aware. Many of the tests have been standardised on very small populations, while others are standardised on groups, representative of only one section of the community - often the children of the colleagues of the test designer; others still have been devised by theorists, who have little, some even no experience in the clinical field. A further problem as McKenna (1971) states, 'tests standardised in one culture lose a degree of their reliability when translated to another culture" - the degree of contamination being dependent on the degree of cultural difference between the two populations.

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To date we have no tools for language assessment standardised on Irish children – I will be asking for your co-operation in this matter! However, even if such a thing as a perfect assessment tool existed, results obtained through its use would only be as good as the use made of it by the clinician and the extent of co-operation of the individual being tested.

Several factors have led to the development of a new assessment tool – that of linguistic analysis, as detailed by the previous speaker: dissatisfaction with the available assessment tools, the growth of the discipline of linguistics and in particular, the interest of some linguists in the area of what we choose to term remedial linguistics and of some speech therapists in the area of linguistics. It is interesting that the main forms of linguistic analysis described by Fr. Fidélis, were designed, one by a speech therapist with a linguistic orientation, Laura Lee, and the other by a linguist with an interest in speech therapy, David Crystal. Many other forms of linguistic analysis are available and only this week I saw a very useful one devised by Roy McConkey for recording two-word utterances, designed primarily for use with mentally retarded children. The main point of my paper is to describe the use of linguistic analysis for the practising clinician. Linguistic analysis can be a time-consuming method of assessment and unfortunately this deters some therapists from using it, thinking that time could be more profitably spent on therapy. I would like to emphasise that detailed linguistic analysis is by no means necessary or indeed useful for the majority of patients, and in those cases where it is useful, the time is well spent. It ensures that the therapist has the information required for designing his/her remedial programme for the patient, that he/she is not spending treatment time in attempting to elicit structures way beyond the patient's competence, nor working on structures already acquired. So in fact, one could say that the time spent is time saved! Also many different forms of analysis exist, some being more detailed than others and, therefore, more time-consuming. Of course from a practical point of view the more experience one gets in carrying out linguistic analysis, the less time it takes.

The case I wish to present is that of a child with a partial hearing loss, who was five and a half years of age on referral to the speech clinic.

A. Mc. M.:

Date of Birth – 26th November 1970
Date of Admission – 4th May, 1976

Referred by Peripatetic Teacher of Deaf and G.P.

History of Rubella in Pregnancy. Birth induced, normal, mile stones – other than speech.

First words – at 13/12, Mama, Dada, all gone.

Phrases and sentences quite a few at 5 years.

Hearing loss suspected by parents at 2 years 9 months.

Hearing aid issued in August 1974. (C.A. 3.9).

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ASSESSMENTS

Preschool Language Scale:			
	Chronological age	-	5 yrs. 6 mnths.
	Auditory Comprehension	-	5 yrs. 0 mnths.
	Verbal age	-	4 yrs. 1½ mnths.
	Language age	-	4 yrs. 6 mnths.

Boehn Test of Basic Concepts

	SPACE	QUANTITY	TIME	MISC.
Total	16	9	7	1
Errors	7	5	4	0

Hearing for speech:	-	using picture cards from Stycar Hearing Test.
+H.A., + L.R.	-	2 errors out of 30
+H.A., - L.R.		7 " " " "
-H.A., + L.R.		1 error " " "
-H.A., - L.R.		No response

(Hearing Aid Lip Reading)

As regards phonology she was signalling the following sounds incorrectly /s, t , z, d /. Work was carried out on discrimination between these fricatives and the plosive sounds, which A. used, to signal them. Work was also done on the production of /s/.

Some general work on language was carried out between October and early December, a few concepts were taught but no great progress was seen in the area of syntax. In November a language sample was taken consisting of 95 utterances. This sample was elicited by a student, using miniature toys, a puppet and story book. Eliciting a sample with young children requires skill and practice, especially to obtain spontaneous language. Sometimes this can be seen more clearly when expertise is lacking. Recently a student took a language sample, did an analysis and found that the young patient had achieved a lower score than when assessed six months previously. Knowing the student and the child I suggested that she may have spoken too fast and too much, and that when the child paused she possibly started talking again, not giving him the opportunity to use language to his potential. The taking and analysing of a further sample proved this to be so. One also has to be careful to stimulate the child so as to ensure the production of original utterances as opposed to echoed utterances – this can often best be done through the use of forced alternatives. It is necessary also to note what the child is doing when making an utterance, as this can make the difference between accepting an utterance as valid for inclusion in the sample or of excluding it. This will be seen when we look at a short sample of the language of the child in question. Ideally a video tape-recorder should be used when taking a sample, however, most clinicians must, at least for the present, make do with an audio tape-recorder – the Canon Repeat recorder being the most useful instrument for this purpose. It will be necessary in this case to note activities during collection of the sample.

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We will now look at part of the sample taken to obtain the linguistic analysis.

CONTINUOUS SPEECH SAMPLE FOR LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

4th November, 1976

MAJOR/MINOR	UTTERANCE	ACTIVITY	PHRASE	CLAUSE
	T. *Can you hear me?*			
Elipitical Major	P. *A little bit.*	Points to switch on speech trainer	D Adj. N	A
	T. *Is that the right one?*			
Minor	P. *No.*			
Major	P. *I got one like that.*	T. picks up book	Pron Pr L	SVO
	T. *What do you do with that?*	P. picks up toy bed		
Elip. Major	P. *Go to bed.*		Pr N	VA
	T. *And in bed?*			
Elip. Major	P. *You sleep.*			SV
	T. *What are you doing?*			
Elip. Major	P. *Trying to open them.*			VO/vo
	T. *What is it for?*			
Major	P. *You can put things in it.*		(Aux V Pr Pron.	SVOC
	T. *And what's this?*			
Elip. Major	P. *A thing for party.*		DN Pr N	C
Minor	P. *These things the same.*		DN D Pron	SC
Major	P. *look it broken*		Aux (?) V	V -SV
	T. *Oh - what happened?*			
Major	P. *I didn't*		V Neg	SV
	T. *No it was another little girl.*			
Minor	P. *Too fat*	P. picks up doll	Int Adj	
Major	P. *She got a fat one*	puts doll in front of mirror	Aux (?) VDA Pron	SVO
Minor	P. *Looking at the mirror*		Pr D	VA
	T. *I can see her*			
Major	P. *I can see myself.*	picks up plate	Aux V	SVO
Major	P. *Put it in here.*		Pr A	VOC

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Results of Analysis 4/11/1976

A	**Unanalysed**			**Problematic**	
	1 Unintelligible 1	2 Symbolic Noise	3 Deviant	1 Incomplete 5	2 Ambiguous

B	**Responses**				Normal Response						Abnormal		
					Elliptical Major				Full Major	Minor	Structural	Ø	Problems
	Stimulus Type		Totals	Repetitions	1	2	3	4					
	39	Questions	39		11	5	2		12	9			
	4	Others	4		1				2				1
C	**Spontaneous**		63		4	Others 59							

	Sentence Type						
	Minor 9			*Social* 9	*Stereotypes*	*Problems*	
	Major 101			Sentence Structure			
	Excl.	*Comm.*	*Quest.*	*Statement*			
Stage I (0;9–1;6)		·V· 4	·Q· 2	·V· 1 ·N·	Other 1	Problems	
				Conn.	Clause	Phrase	Word
Stage II (1;6–2;0)		V*X*	Q*X*		SV 10 S C/O 2 Neg *X* V C/O 7 A*X* 3 Other	DN Adj N NN PrN VV V part Int *X* Other	-ing 9 pl 5 -ed 11
Stage III (2;0–2;6)		V*XY* 6 *let XY* *do XY*	Q*XY* VS		*X* + S:NP 6 *X* + V:VP 10 SVC/O 36 SVA 3 Neg *XY* 1 VC/OA 4 VO_dO_i 1 Other 2	*X* + C/O:NP 36 *X* + A:AP 6 D Adj N 5 Adj Adj N Pr DN 5 N Adj N 1 Cop 16 Aux 9 Pron 86 Other 8	-en 3 3s 10 gen
Stage IV (2;6–3;0)		+ S	QVS 2 Q*XYZ*		*XY* + S:NP *XY* + V:VP SVC/OA 4 SVO_dO_i AA*XY* Other 3	*XY* + C/O:NP *XY* + A:AP N Pr NP 1 Pr D Adj N c*X* 2 *X*c*X* 6 Neg V 4 Neg *X* 2 Aux Other 8	n't 4 'cop 18 'aux 4
Stage V (3;0–3;6)	*how* *what*		tag	*and* 8 c 3 s Other	Coord. 1 4 1+ 2 Subord. 1 1+ Clause: S Clause: C/O Comparative	Postmod. clause 1 1+ Postmod phrase 1+	-est -er -ly

	(+)			(−)				
	NP	*VP*	*Clause*	*NP*		*VP*	*Clause*
Stage VI (3;6–4;6)	Initiator Coord	Complex	Passive Complement	Pron 1 Det	Adj seq N irreg	Modal Tense V irreg 1	Concord A position W order
	Other			Other			
Stage VII (4;6+)	*Discourse*			*Syntactic Comprehension*			
	A Connectivity Comment Clause Emphatic Order	*it* *there* 1 Other		*Style*			

Total No. Sentences 95	Mean No. Sentences Per Turn 3	Mean Sentence Length 3.2

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You will note that in two instances it was difficult to ascertain if the patient used structures containing the phoneme /s/, *"Look it broken"* and *"She got a fat one"*. Thus, it can be seen how deviant phonology can effect syntax. Now we will look at the result of the analysis of the sample. You will see that the majority of stage 3 structures, at both phrase and clause level, are being used, as are some stage 4 structures at phrase and clause level. She is also using coordinated structures — stage 5 level. Word level development shows gaps; this is very likely due to her hearing loss resulting in problems with the high frequency sounds, and thus affecting plurals and genitives, demonstrating one of the ways in which phonology affects syntax. She also shows delay in acquiring the structures *-er*, *-est*, and *-ly*. The patterns of deviant, in addition to delayed language is typical of the child with a partial hearing loss.

From January to March a programme of syntactic development was carried out, based on the information of this linguistic analysis. The following structures were taught:

Adj Adj N = *Big red book.*
V O_d O_1 = *Give the card to Mammy.*
Neg X Y = *(No, it is the biggest./No, it is bigger.*
N Adj N = *Daddy's blue car./Mammy's big boy.*
2 Aux = *He has been crying.*
He has been there.
A A X Y = *Down there — over there — up here*
Q X Y Z = *How many legs does he have.*
Pl = *1 cup - 3 cups*
'COP = *He eats nuts*
gen = *Daddy's blue car*

X Y Z = Symbols for elements of structures.
'COP = Contracted copula Form.

A. McM. made good progress and by March, (approximately 3 months later), was using a number of level 4 structures and some structures from levels 5, 6 and even 7. In therapy, picture cards and stories with modelled imitation and forced alternatives were used to elicit the structures. At that time she was still having difficulty with *"which"* and *"how"* and in the use of two auxiliaries. A linguistic analysis in March 1977 can be seen on the chart on page 110.

The structures acquired since the November analysis are underlined __, and those used with far greater frequency (at least 50%) ___. It will be seen that she progressed approximately 12 months during 3 months therapy.

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Results of Analysis 3/3/1977

A	**Unanalysed** 1 Unintelligible 2 · 2 Symbolic Noise 3 · 3 Deviant 1	**Problematic** 1 Incomplete 9 · 2 Ambiguous

B	**Responses**			Normal Response						Abnormal		
				Elliptical Major								
	Stimulus Type	Totals	Repetitions	1	2	3	4	Full Major	Minor	Structural	∅	Problems
	49 Questions			7	3	2	2	20	19			4
	1 Others											1
C	**Spontaneous** 76			Others 72								4

Stage	Sentence Type	Excl.	Comm.	Quest.	Conn.	Clause	Phrase	Word
Stage I (0;9–1;6)	**Minor**	*Social* 19	*Stereotypes*	*Problems*				
	Major	*Excl.*	*Comm.*	*Quest.*	*Statement*			
			'V'	'Q' 2	'V'	'N' 1	Other 21	Problems
Stage II (1;6–2;0)			VX	QX		SV 7 S C/O Neg X V C/O 1 AX Other	DN 40 Adj N 4 NN PrN VV V part 5 Int X Other	-ing 10 pl 1 -ed 23
Stage III (2;0–2;6)			VXY 1 let XY do XY	QXY VS 7		X + S:NP 11 X + V:VP 13 SVC/O 43 SVA 10 Neg XY 3 VC/OA 1 VO_dO_i Other 1	X + C/O:NP 27 X + A:AP 10 D Adj N 18 Adj Adj N 1 Pr DN 14 N Adj N 1 Cop 25 Aux 29 Pron 132 Other 10	-en 4 3s 26 errors are stabilising gen
Stage IV (2;6–3;0)			+ S 5	QVS 5 QXYZ		XY + S:NP 5 XY + V:VP SVC/OA 16 SVO_iO_d 1 AAXY 5 Other 1	XY + C/O:NP 2 XY + A:AP 20 N Pr NP 7 Pr D Adj N 3 cX 13 XcX 14 Neg V 14 Neg X 1 2 Aux Other 6	n't 14 'cop 13 'aux 3
Stage V (3;0–3;6)		how what		tag	and 11 c 1 s 9 Other 7	Coord. 1 9 1 · 5 Subord. 1 1 1 · Clause: S Clause: C/O Comparative	Postmod. clause 1 1 1 · Postmod phrase 1 · 1	-est -er -ly noted outside sample

Stage VI (3;6–4;6)	(+)			(−)		
	NP	VP	Clause	NP	VP	Clause
	Initiator Coord	Complex	Passive Complement	Pron 5 Det Adj seq N irreg Noted outside sample	Modal Tense V irreg 10	Concord 1 A position W order
	Other			Other		

Stage VII (4;6+)		
	Discourse	*Syntactic Comprehension*
	A Connectivity 4 Comment Clause 1 Emphatic Order *it* *there* Other here's	*Style*

Total No. Sentences 126	Mean No. Sentences Per Turn approx. 2	Mean Sentence Length approx. 8 words

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It is extremely unlikely that such progress would have been achieved had not formal teaching of the structures taken place. Also,one must add that she was fortunate in having parents who were capable and willing to work with her at home,and a nursery school teacher who reinforced in school work carried out in the clinic.

During this period work was also successfully carried out on the acquisition of those concepts which she was slow in acquiring, and also on the correct use of those phonemes signalled deviantly.

I have attempted to demonstrate the usefulness of linguistic analysis when used as a tool to programme therapy. It should be obvious that techniques of linguistic analysis are useless, unless one knows how to avail of the results in planning and carrying out therapy. Similar techniques of linguistic analysis have been devised for use with adult patients, i.e. patients who have suffered loss of linguistic competence due to CVA or RTA etc.

It will be seen that linguistic analysis is concerned mainly with syntax and that work on semantics -- verbal concepts -- needs to be carried out simultaneously with work on remedial syntax; additional remedial work on phonology may also be required. Generally one can combine the exercises so as to increase vocabulary, and at the same time work on remedial syntax. Linguistic analysis as an objective tool can be extremely useful, provided that the clinician is aware of its strengths and limitations.

DUBLIN COLLEGE OF SPEECH THERAPY

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HOW KNOWLEDGE OF PHONOLOGY HELPS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF PHONOLOGICAL DISORDERS

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Before going on to discuss a particular case, I want to talk initially about phonology in general. In the treatment of phonological disorders, therapists have generally worked on the basis of the developmental sequence in the acquisition of phonemes or on the selection of those sounds that are most easy to produce. The logic behind this would probably seem to indicate that individual phonemes develop in a definite sequence, possibly based on the order of difficulty of production. However, Jakobson 1941, suggested that a child does not simply learn individual phonemes, rather his phonemic acquisition is a function of feature-contrast acquisition. There is a developmental sequence in these features and production of some of the features is prerequisite for, and facilitates the production of later features.

A feature encompasses a group of phonemes e.g. the feature voice includes the phonemes /b/, /d/ and /g/ among others. The child learns the phonemes of a feature because he gradually learns to contrast the smallest distinctive meaningful unit of sounds i.e. distinctive features, and as more features are learnt so will more phonemes be added to the child's phonemic system. The implications of this theory for therapy are important. If we assume that a child acquires features rather than single phonemes, should we then concentrate on teaching features to those children with phonological disorders rather than training them in the acquisition of single phonemes based on the order of development of phonemes? At present, not very much conclusive evidence is available as to the advantages of applying such a theory to the remediation of phonological disorders. However, if one decides to choose distinctive feature theory as a basis for remediation, one selects a target sound (a) by examining the features a child is and is not using and (b) by choosing a phoneme that is composed of a feature he is already using, and also of the feature that one is attempting to elicit. For example, consider the child who substitutes velar plosives by alveolar plosives, i.e. uses /t/ and /d/ for /k/ and /g/, respectively. It is hoped by establishing the correct use of the /k/ phoneme, which contains the velaric feature, that spontaneous generalisation of this feature to other sounds it encompasses will occur. The question is, however, does generalisation of the feature being trained spontaneously transfer to the other phonemes within that feature? McReynolds and Bennett 1972, developed procedures to obtain information regarding feature generalisation during acquisition and results of their studies indicate that, in general, this does happen.

/ .....

Figure 1

ADULT SYSTEM	CONTEXT SIGNALLED		CONTEXT NOT SIGNALLED
	non-deviantly	deviantly	
p	p-		
b	b-, -b-, -b	p-, f-, v-	
t	t-, -t-, -t	ch-, -sh-, -p, -sh, -ch	
d	d-, -d-, -d	t-, k-, g-	
		s-, z-, -s-, -v-, -s, -z	
k	-k	-p-, -p, -g	
g	-g-, -g	-k-, -f-, -j	
f			
v			
s			
s			-z-
sh			
ch			
j	j-		
l	l-		L-
r			-r
w	w-	r-, -r-	
h			h-
y			
m	m-, -m-, -m	-n	
n	n-, -n		
ng	-ng-, -ng		

In Figure 1, I have illustrated the phonemic system of a four year old patient F., who is currently attending my clinic. F. has normal intelligence and hearing; but her expressive language, both syntax and especially phonology, is severely disordered and her speech is at times totally unintelligible. The adult phonemic system is listed in the extreme left-hand column. Consonant clusters are omitted principally because F.'s system contains no clusters. F. correctly produces the adult vowel system. In the next column, headed *Non-Deviant*, are listed those phonemes which F. uses correctly in her system — the dashes indicate the positions of the phonemes in words i.e. /b-/ means /b/ initially, /-b-/ means /b/ medially and so on. From this column it is evident that many of the adult phonemes are omitted entirely from F.'s system. In the next column, headed *Deviant*, are listed those phonemes which F. produces correctly but are distributed incorrectly in her system, e.g. consider /b/. From the column headed *Non-Deviant* it is evident that F. produces /b/ correctly in all positions but, as the next column indicates, F. also produces /b/ incorrectly to signal the phonemes /p/, /f/ and /v/ in word initial position. Finally, in the right-hand column headed *context not signalled*, are included those sounds which F. does not use in her system but neither does she substitute any other sound in their place.

I would like to look briefly at the sequence of acquisition of features for the normal child. McReynolds and Engmann 1975, suggested the following sequence:-

/ ....

(i) Vocalic/consonant contrast – the difference between vowels and consonants;

(ii) Nasal/oral contrast;

[illegible] Separation of nasal and oral sounds on the basis of place;

and (iv) distinction of phonemes within a class.

With this pattern in mind, we can examine F.'s system. It is evident that the first two steps in feature acquisition have been established, i.e. she correctly contrasts consonant and vowel sounds and oral and nasal sounds. Manner of sounds produced is extremely limited – her oral sounds being limited to plosives, frictionless continuants and the liquid /l/ only. Fricatives and affricates are entirely absent from her system at present. This initial sample was obtained by getting F. to name pictures of common objects. Production of the same words in imitation of the examiner showed no change in their realisation. Another sample, this time of spontaneous speech, was then recorded during a period of free-play at the clinic and in Figure 2 are listed some of the words transcribed from that recording.

Figure 2

SAMPLE OF WORDS TAKEN FROM SPONTANEOUS CONVERSATION

1.	cup	[kʌp] → [dʌk]
2.	did	[dɪd] → [dɪ]
3.	some	[sʌm] → [dʌm]
4.	please	[pliz] → [plit]
5.	ball	[bɔl] → [bɔ]
6.	five	[fəɪv] → [bəɪ]
7.	short	[ʃɔt] → [dɔ]
8.	dog	[dɑg] → [dɑg]
9.	fish	[fɪʃ] → [bɪ]
10.	like	[ləɪk] → [ləɪ]
11.	shop	[ʃɑp] → [dɑt]
12.	water	[wɔtər] → [wɔtɪ]
13.	hen	[hɛn] → [ɛm]
14.	win	[wɪn] → [wɪm]
15.	lamb	[lam] → [jəm]
16.	one	[wʌn] → [wʌm]
17.	yes	[jɛs] → [jɛt]
18.	pipe	[pəɪp] → [bəɪb]
19.	chop	[tʃɑp] → [dɑp]
20.	mug	[mʌg] → [mʌk]

I will consider these in relation to the features of place, manner and voice.

Difficulties in place of articulation:

(i) Nasal: [wɪn] → [wɪm] : [hɛn] → [hɛm]

Here /n/ is realised as /m/, and whether it is due to labial assimilation in "win" or not, is hard to say.

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(ii) Oral:

[fɪʃ] → [bɪ] : [kʌp] → [dʌk]
(fish) (cup)

Both of these examples also indicate a difficulty for F. in establishing correct place of production of phonemes.

Manner difficulties:

F. is using plosives to signal fricative phonemes, e.g.:-

[sʌm] → [dʌm] : [ʃɔrt] → [dɔ] : [fəɪv] → [bəɪ]
(some) (short) (five)

Let us go on and look at the feature voice. On examination of the samples of words obtained in spontaneous speech, it is evident that at no stage in word initial position are voiceless phonemes used e.g.:-

[tʃɑp] → [dɑp]
(chop)

where the voiceless /tʃ/ is replaced by the voiced /d/. There are several other examples of this.

In addition to all these problems, we can see that F. contains many inconsistencies in her speech, e.g. consider /p/ in word final position in the following three words where it has three different phonetic realisations:

[kʌp] → [dʌk] : [ʃɑp] → [dɑt] : [tʃɑp] → [dɑp]
(cup) (shop) (chop)

A possibility in relation to this inconsistency may be that F. is now in the process of establishing the sound correctly in her system, so that she is half way to acquiring it, but has not quite taken it into her system completely and stabilised it.

Finally, another aspect of F.'s system, which is significant, is the frequent omission of final consonants of words, so that:-

[dɪd] → [dɪ] : [bɔl] → [bɔ]
(did) (ball)

Ingram, in his examination of child phonology, says that children very often in the process of acquiring phonology, use a number of processes on their way to acquiring the adult system.

I will look briefly at some of the processes that F. is using in her speech. (There are several more that Ingram mentions in his examination of phonology but I am referring only to those relevant to this case).

Firstly, as previously mentioned, there is *deletion of final consonants* – a common normal stage in the acquisition of phonology at an early age but which should be resolved by four years of age. Yet F. appears to be 'stuck' at this lower level, inappropriate for her age. Secondly, *consonant cluster*

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reduction is also a common feature in the developmental sequence of phonology. No examples are included in the Figures, but F. simplifies all clusters in her system. Interestingly, you will see in her realisation of 'please', included in Figure 2, she does actually produce the full cluster but this is unusual for her and included here to illustrate how inconsistent the system is. Thirdly, *assimilation*, again a common feature in child phonology, is also a feature of F.'s speech. Here is a rather interesting example: *pipe* is produced as *bibe* and what is probably happening is that /p/ is substituted by a voiced plosive in word initial position, and /p/ in word final position is then assimilated to the initial phoneme, and so is also replaced by a voiced plosive.

Fourthly, we will consider *stopping*, i.e. substitution of plosives for other phonemes. Many of the examples referred to earlier indicate this phenomenon e.g. the fricatives /s/.being replaced by a plosive in the production of the word *some*. Fifthly, with reference to the development of *liquids*, Ingram mentions three stages of development. According to this scale, F. is at stage two i.e. where liquids are replaced by glides, so that:-

[lam] → [jam] : [rʌn] → [wʌm]
(lamb) (run)

The sixth process, obvious in F.'s system is that of *pre-vocalic voicing*. This was referred to earlier when discussing the use of voiced phonemes only in word initial position. The last process to be included here is that of *fronting*, where we get the initial consonant being replaced by another sound produced further forward in the mouth e.g., the /tʃ/ of *chop* is brought forward and realised as /d/ and similarily /f/ of *fish* is brought forward to a /b/. Many unpredictable things are also, however, happening in F.'s speech which at first glance seem to be unaccountable. Not alone is F.'s phonological development delayed, it also in some instances seems to be developing along deviant lines i.e. it includes processes not normally apparent in the sequence of development of phonology of the majority of children. F., therefore, appears to be doing two things – she is at a lower level of development than most four year olds and she is also developing at a tangent in that she does not always develop along the expected developmental sequence.

The implications of all this for therapy are important. Where, for instance, does remediation begin? Edwards and Bernhart 1973, made three suggestions:-

(a) One may decide to begin with those processes which result in the greatest unintelligibility;

or (b) if this is not possible, one should select those processes that are optional i.e. that only occur occasionally;

or (c) if neither of these are possible, one should work on those processes most characteristic of young children.

With regard to F.'s speech, both the process of *pre-vocalic voicing* and that of *stopping*, appear to be occurring over and over again in the realisation

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of the majority of words included in the sample. Therefore, it could be suggested that either of these would be a suitable start in remediation. For example, with reference to *stopping*, one might decide to work on the phonemes /d/ and /f/ with the expectation that feature generalisation would occur gradually and that the other phonemes of the feature would begin to be included spontaneously in F.'s speech.

Therapeutic procedures to bring the above change in F.'s speech have altered slightly over the past few years, in that there is a shift of emphasis from the training of production to the training, firstly, of perception. Ingram 1976, stated that perception precedes production, although it is not fully established for a number of years. Edwards 1974, also indicated from findings of texts involving discrimination tasks for twenty eight children, that children as late as three years do not have complete phonemic perception. Phonemic perception develops gradually in advance of production and the order of acquisition tends towards uniformity but is not universal. Therefore, from this, one expects that training for F. will initially involve training of perceptual skills rather than immediately teaching or attempting to teach correct production of sounds. It is hoped that once perceptual skills are improved, with the notion that perception precedes production in mind, spontaneous progress in the acquisition and production of phonemes of the adult system may occur.

As yet, it is too early to say how successful this type of remedial programme will be for F. as she has only attended the clinic for four sessions to date. She is having difficulty in attention and has poor concentration, so at present I am simply trying to improve her attention and concentration. However, prognosis is good: F. has normal mental ability, is bright and co-operative, has excellent parents who are helpful and interested. Therefore, the next twelve months should show a considerable amount of progress.

PARENTAL SPEECH TO YOUNG DOWN'S SYNDROME CHILDREN

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Introduction

In spite of the recent emphasis on the importance of the child's verbal environment in the development of language skills (Cross, 1976: Snow, 1972), relatively little is known as yet about the language parents use to their mentally handicapped children. This is all the more surprising given the inevitability of a delay or disruption in language acquisition with these children.

We lack information on two important topics. Firstly, in common with most studies involving children, only maternal speech has been studied. But information concerning fathers' use of language is needed to ascertain whether the children experience different and possibly conflicting linguistic environments. Marked differences could make it harder for the child to learn language.

The second topic, which has been largely neglected, is the effect of context on parents' language usage. Studies with normal children (e.g. Dunn et al., 1977) suggest that parents do vary their language according to the activity they are engaged in. Previous studies with mentally handicapped children have not investigated this effect, and indeed, have tended to suggest that parents of these children have rather stereotyped language strategies.

Observation study

This study involved 11 Down's Syndrome children (6 girls and 5 boys) with a mean chronological age of 58 months (range 33 - 69 months). All could be credited with using 20 clear words; they could imitate single words and were able to follow simple commands. During play sessions with their parents checks were made on their M.L.U. These fell within the range 1.00 to 1.89 words.

The parents -- Twenty parents took part in the study. This group was made up of 11 mothers (mean age 35 years; range 27 to 44 years) and 9 fathers (mean age 37 years; range 30 - 55 years). The socio-economic status of the families was as follows – 2 families were in Class II (managerial); 8 in

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Class III (skilled manual and non-manual) and 1 in class IV (semi-skilled).

Procedure: Two different sets of toys were used; picture-bricks (15, 3" cubes with pictures of common objects on four sides) and doll play materials (2 rag dolls and accessories – bed, cup etc.). We chose these as both had been used in previous language facilitation work, the former in the learning of object names and the latter in the learning of action words (Jeffree & McConkey, 1976).

The parents were asked to play with each set of toys on eight different occasions over a period of two weeks; four sessions with mother and child, four with father and child. Each session was to be about 10 minutes long. The sessions were held in the home and audiotaped by the parents.

Data Analysis: The parents' tapes were then transcribed and coded. In all we had 35 measures of parent language. These measures covered three aspects of adult language – structural (e.g. parent's M.L.U.; utterances without a verb), functional (the reason for talking, e.g. to make demands, to give feedback) and interactional (e.g. using language to initiate an interaction or responding to the child's use of language with an expansion of his utterance).

Results

Mother-father differences: On all but one measure (that of expansions) there were no significant differences between mothers and fathers. On the exceptional variable of expansions, fathers had a higher score than mothers with the bricks than with the dolls, whereas with mothers it was the converse.

The effect of context: Several changes were evident in the parents' language according to whether they were using dolls or bricks. By and large these seemed to be directly attributable to the properties of the play materials. For example, with the picture bricks the parents used significantly more single-word utterances, fewer closed questions, more statements, more utterances without verbs and responded to fewer non-verbal behaviours.

Conclusions: Contrary to the implications of earlier research in this area (e.g. Buium et al., 1974), these results tend to confirm Rondal's (1977) conclusion that parents provide a language environment for their mentally handicapped child, which is at least comparable to that provided by parents of normal children at a similar stage of language development. Furthermore, our results show that parents tailor their language to the situation and materials provided, they are consistent in their use of language and mother-father pairs tend to use language in similar ways.

Objective study

Thus, it would seem that parents of mentally handicapped children are doing just as much as parents of normal children to help their child learn language. Is there anything more they could do? Recent studies in language

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facilitation with the mentally handicapped child would suggest that there is. The argument used is that because the language of the mentally handicapped is developing so slowly, they are more dependent on their parents to initiate change in the interaction, i.e. change in the parents' use of language precedes developments in the child's language. But past studies have tended to confound two variables. Not only have they given parents a language objective to work towards but they have also instructed parents on how to interact with their child, so as to attain this objective. And while these studies show that parents can change the way in which they talk to their child (McConkey et al., 1978), they are experimenter-initiated changes. Could parents initiate their own changes in order to achieve a desired objective? This was the theme of our second study.

Procedure: Seven children were chosen from the first study, so that all the parents could be given the same or very similar objectives. During the observation study we had noted that these children used very few verbs in expressive language. Their vocabulary was mostly labels. The objective chosen was to encourage the children to use words like *gone, give me, down*. (For the other four children in the observation study, we felt that this objective could have been too advanced.)

Two mother-father pairs took part in this study; with 4 children it was mother only and with 1 child it was father only. The parents were given the choice of either using the dolls or the picture-bricks but this time it was suggested that they concentrate on the objective and to do this in whatever way they thought best. No instructions or suggestions were given. Again, they were asked to record at least 4 ten minute sessions over a two-week period.

Results: Three of the children started to use the new words but four did not. The parents were then divided into two groups; those whose children had improved (N=4) and those whose children did not improve (N=5). The parents' use of language was then compared; particular attention being paid to the parents' use of the target words. Although the 'improved' group tended to use them more often, the difference was not significant but the way in which they used the target words was very different. Without exception, the parents in the improved group frequently used the target word in statements; the mean percentage of all target word utterances, which were statements was 69% (range 64% - 79%), whereas comparable figures for the non-improved group was 15% (range 3% to 30%). However, the parents of the 'non-improvers' did change their language strategies too. The parents opted for a verbal demand strategy (e.g. "Say, Ball gone"),; another used questions (e.g. "show me where the ball has gone"), while another gave the child commands (e.g. "you make the ball go".)

Conclusions: These results indicate that there are some parents, who, if given an appropriate objective to work towards with their child, do successfully change their language strategies. One change is most effective; using the target words in short statements.

In a third study, we were able to bring about changes in the 'unsuccessful' parents' use of language with the result that these children too improved (Cheseldine & McConkey, 1978).

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Implication for language facilitation work

On the basis of these studies it is possible to draw some tentative but nonetheless important implications for future language facilitation work with mentally handicapped children:

1. Parents on the whole provide a very suitable language learning environment for their children. It is both logical and feasible to build upon this and implement language facilitation programmes in the child's home, thereby overcoming the problems of generalisation, which have beset previous approaches.
2. As the children's expressive language is developing slowly and at times may even be static, the initiative for change may well have to come from the parent. Thus parental expectancies and the selection of *appropriate* learning objectives is crucial. However, there are some parents, who, if given this information, will bring about the change in their child's language. They do not need to be told how they should act, only what they should expect.
3. From our studies it would seem that the two strategies often used in previous language facilitation work, i.e. verbal demands and questions (e.g. McDonald et al., 1974) are not particularly effective, at least with the learning of verbs, over a short time span. Instead, an information giving strategy, i.e. providing the child with models of the language you want him to use, seems preferable. It this respect, our findings would tend to concur with Bandura's (1971) social learning approach to language and are contrary to the operant approaches to language learning (e.g. Guess et al., 1974). However, a great deal more information is needed on the type of parental language usage, which is most conducive to helping a child's learning of language. This applies just as much to normal, as to mentally handicapped children.

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LANGUAGE IN AUTISTIC CHILDREN

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Autistic children have difficulty in understanding and in using speech. The impairment in autism affects all areas of communication. Autistic children cannot compensate by understanding and using gesture, mime, or facial expression as deaf children can. The impairment of communication skills may be manifested in widely varying degrees of severity, and thus much confusion arises in considering what and how to teach language to autistic children. Some children may be mute, and remain mute all their lives. Some children may eventually develop the use of grammar appropriate to their age level, but even this small group of children will have communication problems. They can speak on simple concrete subjects but become confused or silent when a more complex topic is discussed such as when they are asked to give an opinion or discuss an idea, or plan for a future activity. When asked about what book they enjoy best they may respond by giving a recital of all the books they have, rather than choosing a favourite book.

Language problems of the autistic vary greatly and include the following problems. Speech may be entirely absent, and the child may be mute. He may say very few, if any, speech sounds. Some mute children may have had some words and then stop speaking at an early age. Speech may be present, but the child may use fragments and contractions of words which make it difficult for others to understand him. These fragments may have been preceded by the correct whole word or phrase. A child may say table and then later refer to it as 'ble'.

Very simple speech similar to that of a two or three year old may be used. The child may repeat an adult's phrase, but when he tries to produce his own phrases these will often be very slow and halting attempts. The autistic child may also use a special voice especially in repeating another's speech. The words and phrases he generates himself though may be in his normal voice. Often the child has difficulty in producing anything except the simplest labels, and will take the adult by the hand and lead him to what he wants. This reliance on a non-verbal form of communication can lead to a dependence on co-operative adults, and lessen the possiblity of any speech developing.

The parrot-like echoing of other peoples words is well known. This gives rise to the reversal of pronouns and the use of incorrect statements, such as the child asking for juice who says, "Do you want juice?" as he is echoing his mother's words. Children may have a mixture of echolalic and spontaneous speech. In teaching the child, one must be careful to encourage the spontaneous words and discourage the bizarre echolalic content.

In teaching the autistic child, other problems arise such as difficulties in volume control. A child may become inaudible. Shaping of sounds may be very poor. Pronunciation is often poor with words truncated. Attention may be poor due to interfering behaviour such as temper tantrums, and also due to motivation problems. Previously mastered material will often be lost, and so constant practice and repetition is necessary.

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Generalisation

Poor generalisation has been noted in work with autistic children. Speech training with one person in a room may not generalise to another person or setting. Thus the child may need to be taught by a variety of people, in more than one setting, not just in an experimental setting as sometimes has been the case. Teachers and therapists need to involve parents, so that generalisation from the training situation to home is increased. Initial learning can be extremely slow: autistic children may require numerous trials to learn a word or a phrase. The generalisation of speech training has been found to be more successful with younger children than with older children. Some of the older children Lovaas (1973), reported on, took hundreds of trials to learn words and phrases. Younger autistic children, about ages three to five (Lovaas 1977), seem to learn faster and generalise better. Provided the teacher is aware of the possibility of poor generalisation, this problem can be overcome by teaching generalisation through communication with the parents, and by direct teaching in several settings, by more than one person. This incidentally would lead me to question the somewhat traditional idea that a one-to-one therapist who forms a special relationship with the autistic child is necessary. Perhaps a one-to-one ratio is beneficial in the initial stages of learning, but in order to improve generalisation such a ration with a specially loved therapist would not be the ideal.

Bizarre Content and Repetition

The content of the language of an older child, who has speech, but who has not had the benefit of skilled teaching, may sound bizarre. However, the skilled observer will often be able to make sense out of the child's speech. The child may be repeating a phrase heard a week ago; he may be asking for something when he says "You want orange juice". Additionally, if the child possesses some islet of ability this may have been developed by parents and teachers, and the child may constantly express his one skill, which often appears very odd to casual observers. A child may spell words with blocks constantly, or a child may constantly talk about algebra problems.

Research in Autism

Studies mainly fall in two categories — those which are more theoretical, and those which are mainly practical but controlled efforts to teach children. For those interested in arriving at the theory to explain autism, or to ascertain the basic defects of autism the work of Hermelin and O'Connor (1970), and Frith (1970), should be consulted. Wing (1975) is also a very good text to consult on the diagnosis and treatment of autism.

As there are a number of people here today with an interest in and great expertise in linguistics, the recent work by Pierce and Bartolucci (1977), may be of special interest. These authors examined the appearance of phonemes in an autistic and a retarded group. The autistic children showed a delayed but normal sequence in the appearance of phonemes. The mastery of syntax in autistic children lagged behind both young normal and retarded children of similar performance abilities. Autistic children also used less complex language, in terms of transformation types, than normal children matched for performance ability. Autistic children appeared to be able to construct rules similar to linguistic rules, but are deficient in the ability to apply these rules. Thus, the authors concluded that autistic children's grammar is rule governed but less complex than retarded or young normal children. Some bizarreness of language was seen as due to extreme delay, such as the case of an eleven year old speaking at a stage similar to a two year old child.

Teaching the autistic child to speak

The initial step in teaching an autistic child is to train attention. Usually some type of interfering behaviour will have to be eliminated such as self-stimulation, acts like jumping, or banging, or finger flicking. Once attention can be maintained for short periods, even for two or three minutes, teaching can begin. The second difficulty is then to provide some motivation for which the child will work. Some children require a concrete motivation such as a reward like a sweet, or biscuit. Other children will respond to a social stimulus such as a smile. However, a very distinctive reward may be required, and a strong smell or taste may appeal to the child. Bits of strongly flavoured onion, for example, worked well in one case — much to the horror of all those who worked with the child.

The first step for the young autistic child is verbal imitation. If you work with a child of about three years, who is not speaking, you have to somehow get a response, in order to use behavioural principles. If there is no response forthcoming, you are really stuck, because no matter how nice a reward you have, you cannot give it. With a very young child who is not speaking, or who only has just a few words or a few sounds in his repertoire, the sort of programme necessary will be playing with the child, tickling him and then if you get any sounds at all, reinforcing these. In the literature the area of starting off with a child who has no speech at all is not really dealt with. There is a book written by a parent (Kaufman 1976), which goes through the steps which these parents used in order to arrive at the first stage of getting sounds and getting words. Once the child does produce sounds, then you can go on to teach words to label objects.

Usually one starts with motor imitation and uses no verbal cues at all: just sit opposite the child with a suitable reward for which he is willing to work and start off by getting him to touch his ears, or his nose, and so on. The trainer does the actions. If the child will not imitate the motor actions, you need a second person who may be used as a model, or who may put the child through the actions. The step between non-verbal imitation and verbal imitation is a very large one. Some autistic children make the transition, others do not. It is not clear how or why children progress from motor to verbal imitation. An interesting study would be to compare the results of teaching a group, which did not do motor imitation, but went straight into verbal imitation with a second group, who did both motor and verbal imitation, and judge by the results whether motor imitation is a beneficial or a necessary initial step. But unfortunately it is very difficult to do verbal imitation with a child who will do nothing: you are just sitting there getting a blank response. In practice, I find that if I do motor imitation, it gives the teacher and the child something to do, something to start on and it is usually possible then to make the transition to verbal imitation.

As soon as verbal imitation is established, the teaching of labelling words without meaning is usually possible. Next the child is taught the meaning of these labels, and also taught that the labels can apply to another setting. In the case of the word *'chair'* the label would be paired with a variety of chairs, in several rooms, and the parents would be asked to reinforce the use of the word chair at home.

After the first words have been taught, it is necessary to teach the relationship between events and words. Prepositions, pronouns, time-related words such as *first, last,* and useful concepts such as *yes* or *no* can be tackled. Kent (1974), gives a lesson by lesson approach to teaching some of these words. A number of autistic children will master these words and concepts. For these children a further programme to make speech spontaneous and appropriate in new situations is necessary. Lovaas (1977), outlines the training of spontaneity and conversational speech. However, this sort of spontaneity training should not be viewed as the final step in a programme.

Spontaneity training should form a part of the autistic child's programme even from early on. To do this you can start with pictures and ask the child "Tell me about the picture", "Tell me about your toys" and give general open-ended questions, although this is particularly difficult for autistic children to cope with. They can answer a question which is very specific, for instance, if you ask "What did you do at school to-day?", they simply do not know how to answer, whereas, if you ask the question "Did you do number work to-day?", they can answer correctly. Spontaneity training using general open-ended questions is possible from the early stages of teaching language. This type of spontaneity training leads on to story telling, looking at pictures and telling the story.

Echolalia

When one is teaching verbal imitation, echolalia can be quite useful, if it is already within the child's repertoire. You can utilise it and get the child to echo what you wish him to learn. The trouble is that sometimes, later on, when the child has developed a flow of speech, he cannot stop echoing and everything the teacher says, the child echoes. If you say, "Would you close the door" the child will probably reply "Would you close the door" and go and do the correct action thereby showing comprehension. Thus, echolalia if it continues will have to be stopped. One technique of doing this is to use volume cueing. Pronounce the words you want the child to echo or imitate loudly and pronounce the words you do not want him to imitate softly. Some autistic children will benefit from learning the rule, "Do not echo". It is probably easier to utilise a model and say "Do not echo, close the door", and then have the model go and close the door. Thus the autistic child learns the cue "Do not echo" and gradually he learns to do actions without echoing. Later on, the cue "Do not echo" can be utilised in wholly verbal situations. In general, it would seem that the autistic child who has progressed through a stage of echolalia does better than a child who has been mute or almost mute. The presence of echolalia in a young child should be seen as a somewhat positive sign for language training. The child, who is mute at about age four or older, and who subsequently

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learns to speak as a result of language training, seems to develop a rather narrow range of language so that much of what he says is tied to exactly what he has been taught in specific situations.

The older autistic child

As autism has only recently begun to receive attention in Ireland, little opportunity has been available for the intensive teaching of young autistic children of age three and four. We still come across autistic children of ten years and older, who have not had the benefit of intensive education, and these children pose great problems. In the case of an older child, who does possess some skill or some ability, it is possible sometimes to use that ability to help communication. A child of fourteen had from early childhood a particular ability of spelling words using alphabet blocks and yet he did not speak. His spelling was very good, and if you spelt out a word wrongly with the blocks, he would correct you. This particular skill could be utilised, even at the late age of fourteen, to try and establish some sort of communication with him. Suggestions were made that instead of allowing him to spell words of his own choice always, to get him to spell some pivot words such as *"I want"* or *"I like"*, rather than letting him spell a word which he enjoyed. The blocks which he used were one-inch cubes, and so very small flat letters like *Scrabble* letters were suggested. It is possible, even with older children, if they do have some skill, to try and channel it into more useful communication.

Any response a severely sub-normal child, who is also autistic makes, should be utilised. One of the children I was working with on a toilet-training programme, made a clicking sound. This sound was most annoying to everybody and teachers would say "I am going to get rid of that sound". It was very tempting to draw up a behaviour modification programme for staff, so as to eliminate this clicking sound. We did not though, because that was his only sound, that was the only sort of response he could make and eventually, when he was partially toilet trained, we were able to utilise this clicking sound. When he said "Click, click" with his tongue, that meant toilet. This was not a hundred percent successful, but some of the time he would utilise his click sound and that was a cue to take him to the toilet. For this particular boy and his parents and teachers, that was a very big advance. If you are faced with an older autistic child, one has to be very careful to look at the skills present no matter how few they are, and see if one can utilise even what initially may appear rather an annoying response.

In summary, it is possible, given massive amounts of time and practice, to teach autistic children to speak. Lovaas and his colleagues (1977), mention the figure of fifteen hours a week of intensive therapy. This was usually carried out by a post-graduate student working with three or four under-graduates, so that the fifteen hours represented a very intensive teaching effort. A major variable seems to be the motivation and enthusiasm of the teacher or person working with the child. Autistic children can be unrewarding to work with as they give very little, or they seem to give very few responses in return. Although enthusiasm is very important, a programme for teaching language to autistic children requires the skills of a highly trained and competent professional teacher. Such a teacher may be able to avail of parents, students, or others to supplement his skilled teaching. Enthusiastic workers could assist by giving intensive follow-up practice after the initial teaching.

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Réamhrá

Tá lúchair orainn a fhógairt go bhfuil TEANGA II ar an tsaol. Baineann an t-ábhar atá san eagrán seo le trí sheimineár a bhí ag IRAAL le dhá bhliain anuas. Tugadh na páipéir atá i ROINN I ag seimineár a bhí ann ar an 10/3/1979. Cuireadh na cinn atá i ROINN 2 i láthair ag seimineár ar 18/10/1980. Baineann siad sin atá i ROINN 3A agus 3B le seimineár a reáchtáladh ar 7/3/1981. Tá tuilleadh páipéar óna seimineáir sin nach raibh ar fáil againn in am ach cuirfear i gcló iad i dTEANGA III.

An tEagarthóir

Introduction

We are glad to announce the appearance of TEANGA II. The material in this edition is taken from three different seminars held by IRAAL in the last two years. The papers in SECTION I were delivered at a seminar on 7/3/1979. Those in SECTION II were presented at a seminar on 18/10/1980. The papers appearing under SECTION 3A and 3B were given at a seminar held on 7/3/1981. There are a number of papers from the three seminars that hadn't reached us in time for publication in Teanga II. They will be published in TEANGA III.

The Editor

SECTION/ROINN I

Evaluating Language Success in an Irish Context.

Dónall P. Ó Baoill

Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann.

My original idea when I thought of this lecture was to talk basically about testing and what exactly we are testing. As I began, however, to put my ideas down on paper, I thought it might be more beneficial not to talk about testing alone but to talk about what we actually do before we test. We must first of all evaluate and define what we teach before defining proper tests.

I would like now to try and show how we might reasonably evaluate language acquisition or learning in three groups.

(i) the average L_2 learner,

(ii) slow learners, and

(iii) deaf children.

Most of the discussion will be about L_2 learners but towards the end of my talk I will briefly outline the linguistic problems associated with the other two groups. I would also like to try during my lecture to focus on some of the research that is going on in Applied Linguistics and show how some of these ideas might apply to the situation obtaining in Ireland.

The first question I believe we must ask ourselves is what are we testing ? and how is this testing to be carried out. There are two basic areas in which one's linguistic competence could be tested.

(i) The four basic leanguage skills - comprehension, speaking, reading and writing could be evaluated to see how they have developed in relation to each other and the correlation between them examined.

(ii) We could also look at what level (if we can define level) of language is actually attained and define what exactly it means "to know" a language.

If we succeed in answering those two major questions, then we might want to ask Whether the answers to these questions lead us to a reanalysis of what is being taught and what we are actually teaching? The major part of what I have to say will be dealing with this reanalysis.

It seems to me that we have here in Ireland as in many other countries a dilemma between written and oral language, the emphasis being almost entirely on the written form. This is expecially true of deaf children and necessary because for many of them written language is their language. Why then do we place so much emphasis on the written form in the case of the average L_2 learner? Many factors contribute to this strategy:

(i) Tradition - it fits well into the Irish situation to continue the tradition of the classics - where one studies texts for comprehension, grammar mostly for translation purposes.

(ii) Teacher's own fears and incompetence in many spheres of oral language. This lack of competence is due to many influences including the teachers' own schooling and training. The social reality of Irish in Ireland is one of non-usage outside of well defined domains which on

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the whole are not very influential in spreading the use of the language. Such domains are curtailed and usually belong to the "inside world" of teaching, the Civil Service etc. and hence have very little influence on what goes on in the outside world in our cities and towns. One would expect that high competence in the oral use of Irish might penetrate or break down the barriers involved. This is not the case however. CLAR in its report in 1975 showed that only 33% of those with very high competence in Irish made use of this advantage in passing Irish onto their children at home. About 5% of the population covered in the report have high competence in the language - which leaves us with only 2% who use Irish frequently/always at home.

(iii) Writing is easier to evaluate. When one writes something down on paper it is easy to pinpoint errors and faults and to give a score. To evaluate a communicative effort by the same learner(s) is a much more difficult job because of the different dimensions of language etc. involved.

(iv) The large number of teachers involved in the teaching of Irish. Almost **all** of our teachers of Irish are themselves native speakers of English. They are trained within a system which is not geared to using Irish in normal everyday affairs and so they tend to follow tradition and this creates generations of learners competent in writing and comprehension but most inadequate in communication in a functional manner. Because of the large number of teachers being trained yearly and because of uneven standards attained by them - it seems the unending cycle will continue unless some drastic action is taken at the top by those involved in educational administration.

Let us now look at the four basic skills comprehension, speech, reading and writing and see how they develope in the normal child acquiring L_1.

First of all you have comprehension of speech and a lot of comprehension before any attempt is made at speaking. The acquisition of reading and writing normally takes place school and usually in that order. In most of the teaching that goes on throughout Ireland it seems that these skills come in the reverse order - writing, reading and then perhaps comprehension of speech. For this reason it seems to me that there is too much emphasis on the content of texts and on texts themselves and their evaluation and not enough emphasis on the oral production of language. This situation has also come about because of the types of examinations that we have. All the teachers have to do is to consult previous examination papers and infer from these an appropriate and variable content to be taught in their classes. The consequences of this approach are most destructive for the different kinds of skills involved because the skills involved in using oral and written language are quite different. I believe strongly that if we don't have oral language as a first priority and consolidate that with actual writing - that we can't show the learner the real connection between the spoken and the written forms of language.

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A good example of the consequences of using written language to the detriment of the spoken form is seen in the following histograms from the Error Analysis on written Irish at present being conducted in I.T.É.

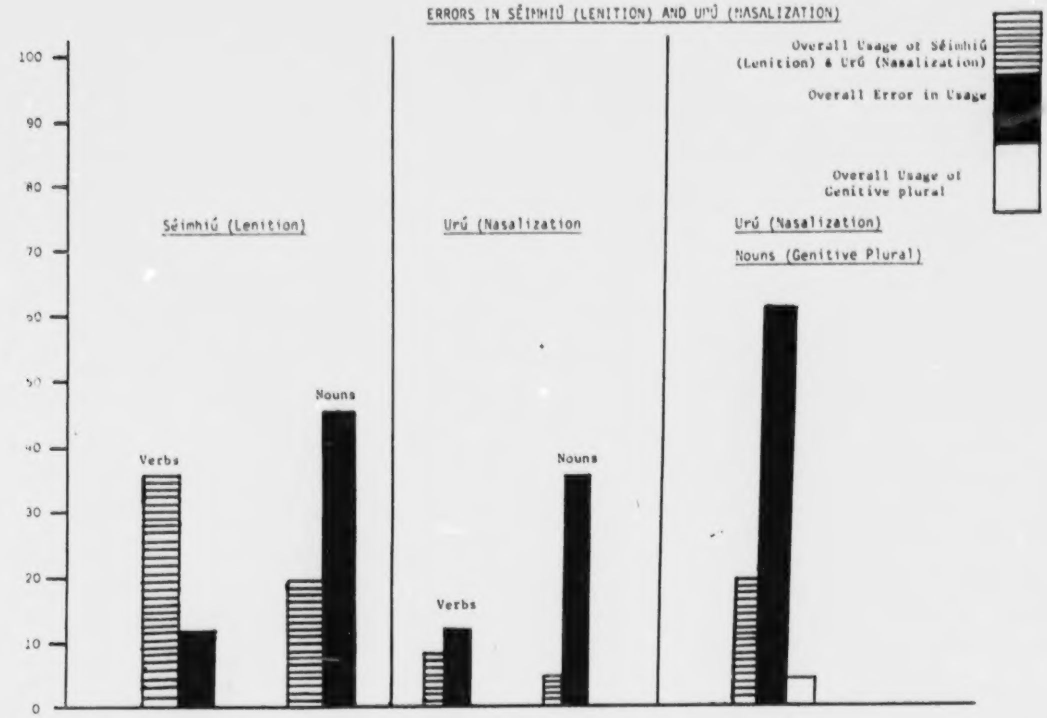

CHART NO. 1

The percentage of errors in the usage of certain categories is hardly better than chance. The use of Urú in the genitive plural is omitted 70% of the time - a very depressing statistic.

Although certain consonants may cause more trouble than others in terms of articulation, it is quite obvious that it is the processes of Séimhiú and Urú as a whole that are creating the difficulties.*

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* These processes are usually conditioned by prefixes or preceding particles but not necessarily so, especially in the verbs. The changes which are conditioned by Séimhiú and Urú are summarized in the following tables:

Séimhiú	Urú
All stops become fricatives; s → h and f → zero.	p, t, k → b, d, g and b, d, g → m, n, ŋ

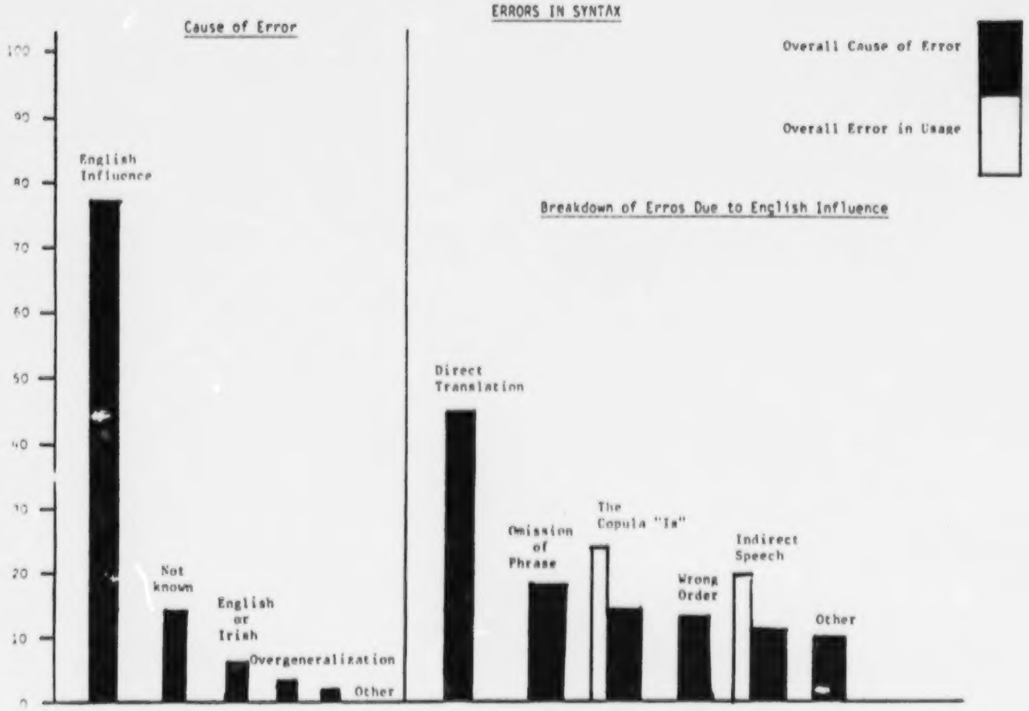

CHART NO. 3

In looking at the errors in syntax we see that the learner is guided more by his knowledge of English structures and semantics and tends to make use of such structures when s/he is unsure of a certain expression in Irish. If writing is this poor we can expect the spoken language to be much worse and recent studies and research bear this out. What then are the conclusions we can draw from such results? I think that we can argue that the oral discussion between teacher and pupil and especially between pupils is of the utmost importance in language learning. This oral discussion is far more useful than the stage of writing and should be an integral part of every language lesson. In this way we would eliminate many error types such as those we have been discussing here. I have no doubt at all but that it is best to

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see the writing as consolidation of the oral stage. As a guiding principle one might suggest that any lesson in which at least half of the time is not given to oral work is a wasted opportunity for learning.

Hamayan et al. (1977) have concluded from their research that (a) learning a second language is more effective when the language is practised and (b) the interaction of the 2nd language among students encourages sociability which may be more beneficial to the 2nd language learning process. This social usage is a particular problem in the case of Irish, because of the social patterns already established, through the use of English.

TESTING:

Before we can test someone we must ask ourselves what we expect of the learner. What does it mean to know a language? What it means in an Irish context is that you must be able to answer questions in writing, mostly. If we want to break this chain of events and help learners use the language, we must aim to encourage students to interact through the new language about things that vitally concern them, here and now, in the classroom rather than with native speakers in some far away communication in the future. This is an important fact and we must always ask ourselves how likely it is that any of our students will ever visit the Gaeltacht, France etc. and even when they do are they likely to use the language as native speakers do?

Teaching should not in my opinion be defined by the language syllabus the learner should know or find useful, but by his social psychological development as an individual. Should this occur it might restore a central educational role to language teaching in addition to its academic and utilitarian roles. We must also I think reconcile ourselves to the fact that some students above the age of about twelve may never lose their foreign accents. If the learners speech is comprehensible, we should not insist on allophonic or intonational perfection unless the student is planning to teach or to become a radio broadcaster. Heresy! perhaps; but our acceptance of that suggestion would save us and our students endless frustation. Rosalind Mitchell's conclusuions in her paper (TEANGA I,1979) are very interesting with regard to the preceding comments. Her conclusions are based on observations of teachers working in the classroom. She concludes: "The active correction of pronunciation errors is not a centrally important teaching procedure" but "The active correction of grammatical errors is a central activity of foreign language teaching".

This state of affairs - the non-correction of pronunciation and greater emphasis on grammar correction - must affect testing and the evaluation of language. The tests that result will place all the emphasis on grammar and perhaps meaning in the production of spoken language.

However, in Ireland modern languages including Irish are taught in a non-supportive environment, often created by suspicious or hostile attitudes on the part of parents and school administrators, unrealistic expectations on the part of the learners themselves, low value assigned to a knowledge of modern languages by the community, etc. In that learning context it may be that the achievement of even a minimal level of communicative ability serves as potent motivation and is a more suitable objective for the average learner. Indeed, students often recognise active oral production as a central objective in foreign language study, and state a preference for course options that stress it. Though they would scarcely have the opportunity to engage in authentic speech acts Irish second language learners may assign a high surrender

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value to a minimal level of ability in the use of the second language. By granting minimal achievement in the language a high priority at the early stages of instruction, they might be induced to persevere and, in this way, attain greater overall profiency and knowledge than if oral practice were deferred to more advanced levels.

The syllabus design that underlies the current design for 2nd language materials and classroom practices is totally incompatible with the attainment of communicative ability. Foreign and 2nd language instruction is dominated by the teaching of language structure for its own sake. At the end of the nineteenth century there arose, in reaction to the innovative foreign language teaching approaches stressing the acquisition of functional skills championed by Henry Sweet and F. Gouin among others, emphasis on the teaching of grammar for its own sake. Since then, syllabus design practices have given a central place to structural features of language (phonological, syntactic and lexical). Firstly, the number of features selected for presentation at any level is overwhelming, and far beyond the capabilities of the learners to cognise let alone internalise. Secondly even in materials that adopt a situational format, the situation presented, usually in the form of a dialogue serves primarily as a vehicle for the introduction of grammatical features that will be drilled in a particular unit.

SYLLABUS DESIGN:

In the absence of knowledge about psycholinguistic processes that guide 2nd language learners and about the organisation and structure of speech acts, it is difficult to abandon linguistic features in the design of syllabuses. Four new orientations may be followed that lead more directly to language use than to monolithic and paradigm-oriented linguistic features:

- a) frequency and utility indexes,
- b) intralinguistic analysis,
- c) language acquisition and processing universals and
- d) observation of second language learners.

Many learners of L_2 reach a stage when their use of language becomes fossilised. If this period of fossilitation is extended over a long period - then the motivation to change in the direction of the target language is weakened. This state of affairs creates certain tensions between teacher and learner and the problems that arise are seldom solved satisfactorily. One of the factors that helps the defossilisation programme is some extrinsic motivational aspect - such as gaining entry to certain jobs or to third level educational institutions.

ACQUIRING versus LEARNING L_2:

We must now ask ourselves is what we are doing actually impossible? Is it possible to create 'native speakers' in a language learning environment such as at school? It is highly unlikely that our success rate is going to be very high and this is expected when we consider all the handicaps that the learner of L_2 has to overcome. The student and the adult already possess an effective method of communication and have **already** formed concepts about their environment. They do not hear the 2nd or foreign language continually: for them, learning a second language is usually a collective, part-time activity in artificial surroundings. Their attemts to communicate in the 2nd language are more often than not thwarted by their selfconsciousness, their lack of knowledge or the disapproval of the teacher when they make incorrect responses. They are expected to make fast progress in a language the sounds, structures and concepts of which differ considerably from those of their first language. Although they may have other considerations to spur them on, they have neither the compelling motivation nor the unique situational opportunity of the languageless infant.

The two situations being so dissimilar, it would be unreasonable to suggest that the order in which the child learns his mother tongue should nevertheless be adopted for learning a second language. It may well be that it is the most logical and the most effective method of learning a foreign language but it is equally possible that teenagers and adults learn more rapidly from visual than from aural materials (or from a combination of the two) and that a different order of presentation and a different method of exploitation would therefore be advisable. There is no evidence that one approach is superior to the other.

WHY DO ACQUIRING AND LEARNING DIFFER?

Why do children acquire languages efficiently while adults learn them inefficiently or so it would seem? Let us look at some socio-psychological and neurophysiological factors that are involved.

SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS:

Young children, whether they acquire one language or more than one language, enjoy socio-psychological conditions optimally suited to their task. Without these conditions, the biological bases for language acquisition cannot express themselves properly, as can be seen in so called "attic" children who do not have language because of prolonged isolation from human contact. Let us see what the major factors are:

a) Adults gear their speech to children by pronouncing distinctly, by using simple grammatical structures, by referring to simple and concrete concepts, and by often repeating essential items or whole utterances.
b) The immediate family members are attentive and indulgent, and provide warm emotional support to children. Children's 'errors' are objects of delight, not of ridicule.
c) Sentences used with children are disambiguated-they are hardly ever ambiguous.
d) The language is used continually in their environment.
e) The language is used by almost everybody that they know.
f) And last but most important of all, we must realise that the language(s) they are learning is/are the only means of communication and they must use these languages in everyday activities - asking, arguing, denying etc.

It is impossible,therefore, to have all these optimal and supportive social-psychological factors behind you in learning L_2. So the 2nd language learner is already 'doomed' to fail to a certain degree.

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION - CRITICAL PERIODS:

Not only does a critical period for language acquisition exist, but indeed there may be a series of them. In the earliest period up to age six, the brain rapidly matures while remaining very plastic. In this period most phonetics, simple syntax and (concrete) semantics are established and people who learn their second language before this age are often taken for native speakers, especially in terms of their use of the sounds, intonation and rhythm of L_2. After this period it is nore difficult to acquire a nativelike competence in the area of phonology.

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The phonetic system is masterd earliest because it is the most basic yet simplest component of language. There are only twelve to seventy phonemes in any language, and almost all of them have to be put to use in any speech act, allowing them sufficient time for consolidation. At this stage children are incapable of, and have no need of, complex syntax and abstract semantics.

In the next period, between ages seven and nine, the brain is still in the process of maturation, and hence is plastic, though less so than at an earlier age. Even subtle phonological rules are mastered during this period. Such complex sytactic features as passive negatives and embeddings are established, building on the already established basic components. Semantics of course grows continually.

In the third critical period, between ages ten to fourteen (and this is the time at which many of our children begin to learn L_2) a child's syntax is mastered to an adult level. In semantics use and organisation of words based on abstract markers develop up to the age of puberty.

The suggested series of critical periods for L_1 acquisition has implication for L_2acquisition and learning. A child younger than six is in the first critical period. He has a good chance of acquiring nativelike competence in the phonetics and basic syntax of L_2, including the use of simple grammatical morphemes, because he is still in the process of establishing these components in his L_1. The earliest established component, namely, the phonetic system of L_1, may cause some slight persistent interference ae early as age six or seven, but it causes more and more persistent interference as the learner's age increases. Some grammatical morphemes cause subtle but persistent interference perhaps from age nine on. Semantics causes occasional interference mainly in the form of overloaded L_1 words coming to mind instead of L_2 words. Learning abstract semantic markers, for which the critical period ends at a relatively late age, if at all, should not pose difficulties for adults. I think we must bear all these things in mind when we are evaluating the language used by our learners of L_2.

SLOW LEARNERS:

There is another group of important learners about which I would like now to say a few words, namely, the slow learners. They make up about 10-20% (or even higher) of our students, especially in the first three years of the postprimary cycle. Such learners are problematic and the type of curriculum that we have often ignores entirely the problems that they face. The following six characteristics are usually associated with slow learners:

i) They have difficulty in recognising patterns in language.
ii) They cannot focus directly on anything - by sight or through listening.
iii) Their attention is very poor - they are easily disturbed.
iv) They take a long time to grasp new ideas.
v) Their's is a short term memory - they tend to get bored very easily.
vi) Since language is learned bit by bit, they make no headway at all.

It is quite obvious from looking at those six characteristics that slow learners must be given a longer time to master new material and new skills.

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Slow learners should not be excluded from second language learning but their needs may be very different from those of the abler students.

I would like now to argue strongly for an entirely new syllabus for slow learners - as there is a strong case for redefining objectives to meet the pupils' different needs. Clear and limited objectives should produce more satisfactory results in their case.

There is one important fact we should bear in mind about language learning , namely, that a very low correlation if any at all, exists between the comprehension of language and I.Q. Bearing that in mind it seems to me that the main emphasis for the slow learner should be on comprehension of speech and that this skill should be developed to a very high degree. This also points to a non-academic approach to L_2 plus reading and a small amount of oral practice. Teaching for them must be cyclic so that certain structures etc. are repeated over and over again. The best way of assessing them is by continuous evaluation and not to have them write everything down - which creates all sorts of extra difficulties. The evaluation should be carried out by their own teachers

EVALUATING THE LANGUAGE OF DEAF CHILDREN:

This is a most difficult job. We can divide deaf children into two groups - those with a hearing loss of 90db or more and those with a hearing loss in the range 50-80 db. The latter group can hear a lot of language with the help of a hearing aid but still have a lot of problems with certain sounds etc. The former group are quite isolated and the amount of language they hear is minimal. They depend entirely on lip-reading for comprehension. Reading is a recording of the oral conversation for deaf children. They can often pronounce words without really understanding what they mean. Deaf children in general have three main problems in using oral langauge:

i) Faulty Rhythm which causes 30% of their speech to be incomprehensible. Included in this is the proper use of stress which is so important in English.
ii) Deletion and epenthesis of sounds which causes changes in rhythm - hence blow becomes below etc.
iii) Word order and agreement or concord between certain words or parts of a sentence. There is also a problem of semantics especially in verb particle/preposition groups - run off, eat up etc. The use of Tense and Aspect in the verb are extremely difficult for them. To the deaf child in the chair, the chair in seem to be pretty much the same. So why all the emphasis on word order?

There are no reliable tests that are satisfactory for the evaluating the language of deaf children. The tests that do exist are vocabulary and comprehension tests - but because of the poor production of speech by the deaf child and the way in which such tests are scored - I must admit I find such testing most unsatisfactory. What we need are continuous evaluation sheets - filled in by their teachers who understand them and work with them daily.

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So what can we conclude from all this? As I have said if the emphasis is on written language, then obviously our testing is going to be based on the written form. The consequences of this may be quite destructive to the learning of normal communicative oral language. I have also tried to show that acquiring L_1 and learning L_2 may seem parallel in many ways but that a great deal of caution is to be exercised in drawing conclusions about shared similarities. The goals or objectives we set for our learners must be attainable, well graded and realistic - above all the teacher has to recognise the active contribution made by the learner regardless of what the teacher wants him/her to do.

We might, therefore, come to terms with some general principles or guidelines and draw some conclusions from what I have outlined for you based on the most recent research in applied linguistics:

a) I would suggest language learning should be meaningful and realistic.
b) Translation, which is often used, is a specialised skill and is inappropriate for the beginning language learner - to rely on as a method of language learning. The problem with it is that it gets harder and harder to throw away the longer you stick with it. If you are reasonably competent in the language then you may find it quite useful for certain purposes.
c) Language teaching should be done mostly in the target language.
d) Mimicry and memorisation and drill practice do not teach language- they may sometimes be appropriate for a variety of classroom needs- but generally disfavoured because of their mechanically, meaningless nature, and their overuse by teachers. They are also boring and stilted.
e) The learning of vocabulary should be dealt with in meaningful context. Retention is not required of all items but continuous appropriate usage is to be encouraged.
f) The first step in any language programme is to find out what the students need to learn and define the courses of instruction and the use of materials with these needs in mind.
g) Our basic aim should be to make every learner competent to some degree in using communicative everyday language.
h) I would like also to suggest that language learning will not occur unless the student is able, wants to and makes a personal commitment to learn. No matter how you define motivation, it will be the student's choice and decision that will determine his language learning success.

The expectations of the teachers and the support of the parents will greatly influence that decision.

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LECTURE TO IRALL - 10th March, 1979

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"Facilitation of Language Development in the Deaf Child"

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I would like to begin by expressing gratitude to the members of IRAAL who are NOT working in the field of speech and language pathology for the sharing which takes place at these meetings. For many years, teachers of handicapped children; especially teachers of the deaf, had to soldier along in a very difficult field, without help from other disciplines. Happily, this has all changed. My hope, is that what I have to say may be of some little help to those of you who are not concerned mainly with the treatment and education of language handicapped children.

The title of my talk has been chosen with deliberation. It indicates a shift of emphasis in the approach to the development of language in the child who, because of a hearing loss, fails to benefit from the linguistic stimulation in his environment. I use language in the sense of the child's inborn capacity to talk or to learn a mother tongue. As you know, a baby who hears the language with which he is surrounded can, through a combination of pretty complicated physiological, neurological, emotional and social events, learn to understand what is said to him and to speak his native language. The process which takes place very early on in the life of the child is usually automatic. However, when we view it from the standpoint of children who have problems in learning their first language, then we realise that the task is quite a complicated one. We never refer to the TEACHING of a mother tongue to a non-deaf child yet in the history of the education of hearing impaired children we find that the teaching of language has been the main aim of parents and educators alike. Faced with a child who could neither hear nor speak, it was natural for the early educators to turn to the written form of language in order to help those who were utterly dependent on visual impressions. They invented an ingenious and unique system of non-vocal communications by spelling each letter of words on the hand or, as it were, a system of writing in the air, which involved the visual-motor channel rather than the auditory-vocal one. It is significant that this system of manual communication for the deaf was not widely developed until the 18th century. Up to that time, the problem of developing language in the deaf was considered insurmountable. Eventually, most forms of manual communication consisted of finger-spelling and sign language. Looking at the Irish system (1) which has been used here since 1846 - when it was imported from France and modified to reflect English syntax - we find that it consists of:-

1. Natural gestures
2. One hand finger-spelling

3. Methodic or conventional signs which are usually based on the initial letter of a word. These methodic signs include linguistic markers.

4. Signs which are a combination of natural gestures and methodic signs.

When a sign for a particular word is not available, finger-spelling is used. The Irish system of manual communication is systematic, derivative and has a modified linguistic structure. An American linguist - Professor Stokoe of Gallauded College, Washington D.C. - has noted similarities between it and "Signed English" currently used in the United States (2). This is not surprising because both systems stem from the French form of manual communication. Other early educators of the deaf emphasised the oral form of communication which consists of the use of lipreading or "speechreading" to develop receptive language and speech for expressive language. As in manual communication, the written language was used as a basis. In the teaching of speech an analytical approach or the articulatory method was used. Through the years this structured and programmed method of teaching language was used extensively. The child was taught gestures, finger-spelling, arbitrary signs and writing. He was helped to construct sentences according to a pattern - first in manual communication with or without speech and then in writing. In schools where the pure oral method was used, signs and finger spelling were excluded. The sentence was programmed. It was divorced from conversation and from the experience of the child. Nouns were taught first, then adjectives, verbs, pronouns, active and passive voice as well as a host of conjunctions and relatives. Grammatical terms were taught to seven year olds. Likewise, the approach to speech teaching was analytical - beginning with phonemes which were programmed so that there was a definite order in which they were taught. From phonemes the child progressed to syllables and finally to the utterance of words, phrases and sentences.

When I first entered the field of education of the deaf in Ireland, manual communication was used in the schools. The teaching of language was highly structured with emphasis on the grammar of the traditional linguists (3). We concluded that, by teaching language as we ourselves had learnt a foreign language, our pupils would develop a mother tongue. I had learnt French and Latin from the written form and this was considered a good preparation for the teaching of English to deaf children. At that time instruction began when the deaf child was seven years of age. There was no pre-school guidance for parents. Somehow, it was assumed that ONLY teachers could teach language to a hearing impaired child. In the school great stress was placed on the accuracy of the adult models of sign language. Teachers were expected to be proficient in signing as well as in reading back sign language. It was maintained that inadequate models used by adults constituted an additional handicap for the deaf child. As a young teacher, I was expected to sign in conventional English at all times - the order of the signs being the same as that of the words. It was, however, a great disappointment to me to discover that, among themselves, the children resorted to non-linguistic forms. The language they used was situation linked, crude and pictographic. When accuracy was required the message was written down. (In fact, this is still true in the case of even those deaf people who are expert signers). Stokoe refers to a low and high version of American Sign Language. The same can be said of the Irish system. I must confess that I used the low version when I wanted to get a message across quickly. Of course, I was then re-inforcing patterns which differed considerably from the acoustic language patterns of the environment. I was shattered when I discovered early on in my teaching career that my pupils did not always understand when I used correct sentence patterns. They singled out key words - usually nouns - while they failed to grasp the significance of structure words. I very quickly realised that I had to TEACH language.

There is much controversy today concerning the mode of communication best suited to the needs of the hearing impaired. Those who advocate the use of speech accompanied by manual communication or "total communication", as it is now called, maintain that it will enable deaf children to reach higher levels in language. This view is challenged by those who advocate a pure oral/auditory or an auditory/oral approach. While not wishing to dwell on the current controversy, I would like to say that, as a practitioner, I do not support the introduction of supplemental manual communication - be it systematic sign language, finger-spelling or cued speech (which is a manual system related to the phonemic system) - for pre-lingually deaf children as soon as deafness is diagnosed because I believe that perceptions are adversely affected when simultaneous oral and manual presentations are available to children who are developing a mother tongue. Neurologically speaking, it must be extremely difficult for the brain to cope with two quite different systems. If a child is to learn to use spontaneous speech he must be exposed to consistent, meaningful and pervasive rhythmic speech stimulation. His level of attainment will depend on maximum exposure to speech and on early speech production. Like the non-deaf child, the deaf child learns to talk by talking. When using 'total communication' I find that deaf children are more interested in manual communication than in speech signals. This is understandable. Manual communication is more attractive, is seen with comparative ease and is more static than running speech. In the 'total communication' environment, the deaf child tends to neglect the use of any remnants of hearing which he may have, with the result that signs and finger-spelling predominate in his thought processes so that speech is rarely spontaneous and his lip-reading skills are poor. This is a great disadvantage to the deaf person who, unfortunately for him, has to live in a hearing world. Research has clearly shown that deaf adults who speak and lip-read well have a higher professional standing and a wider range of vocational opportunities open to them.

Here I would like to refer briefly to hearing loss so that we may have an understanding of the term "deaf" as I use it. Hearing impairment may be regarded as a continuum ranging from a mild impairment to total deafness. Language and speech development will vary from the practically normal production of the child with the mild hearing loss to the laboured and unnatural speech quality and esoteric language patterns of the profoundly deaf. Even with the use of a hearing aid, the child with high frequency loss will characteristically omit the sibilants and some stop consonants. The child with the loss in the low tones will tend to produce incorrect vowel sounds. In the case of the mildly and moderately hard of hearing, perception of speech by audition may be appropriate; for the hard of hearing with a more severe loss, audition, supplemented by vision or "visual listening" may suffice. For the profoundly deaf, the main avenues for the speech code are vision, sound perception, touch and kinaesthesis. The 90 dB level is critical. Children who are hard of hearing are more auditory than visual. Their hearing loss is above 90 dB. They are "hearing beings" while the deaf are "visual beings". (Recording of filtered speech). I want to concentrate on the deaf because their hearing loss is so great that its implications from the point of view of language learning are hard to grasp. The child with an auditory channel which is almost completely blocked so that the auditory development and comprehension of speech and language, with or without amplification from an early age, are precluded, is one of the greatest educational challenges.

Since World War II, some drastic changes have taken place in the field of the education of the deaf. Because of technological advances we now have more powerful and more efficient hearing aids. Hearing loss in children can be diagnosed in the early months of life and a baby can be fitted with hearing aids in the first year of life so that he is experiencing sound at a time when he is physiologically constituted for the development of a mother tongue. The deaf child will not hear speech but he will receive sound cues which enable him to get information with regard to duration and intensity of speech. He will thus be helped to get rhythmic patterns which are essential for language development. Parent guidance is also available. The guidance is more parent than child-centred because the mother needs help to ensure that the linguistic environment is conducive to the development of language. Language and speech are not separated - speech is now treated as language behaviour. Our primary aim is not to improve speech - at least initially - because we are more interested in the psychological progresses which regulate speech. We are, in fact, facilitating the development of a mother tongue. Findings in the field of psycho-linguistics have helped teachers of the deaf, especially over the past ten to fifteen years. It stands to reason that data from normally hearing children should provide basic information against which the non-communicating child (or the one with deviant language patterns) can be compared. To me, the following factors which find support in psycho-linguistic theory are important if deaf children are to acquire language.

(a) The Quality of Environmental Language

There is sufficient evidence now to show that, if the speech input is right in the case of a deaf baby with intact central nervous system and no additional handicap, he will go through the normal stages of language development though, of course, his progress will be much slower than in the case of the baby with normal hearing.

Whereas in the 1940's we were told to fit children with hearing aids and, "talk, talk, talk" - now we are paying more attention to the quality of the speech stimulation. Recently, professional workers have been emphasising what Bruner (4) has referred to as "inter-subjectivity" between mother and child as an important ingredient in the language acquisition process. Early pre-language interaction is social and affective. It leads to the building-up of a world of attention between parent&/child. Mother observes the baby; she follows his attention; she assumes intention on his part as she verbalises. She carries on an endless conversation with the baby who is beginning to talk. There is a circular reaction process at work. Mother stimulates the baby who then responds. The response on the part of the child provides motivation for further stimulation by the mother. A Mother who receives no responses to her stimulation, as is the case when the baby is deaf, is under great stress. She is not likely to persist in interaction unless she receives support and special guidance in the early post-diagnostic period especially. Once deafness is suspected and confirmed the mother may change in her attitude towards the deaf child. This is one of the disastrous results of early profound deafness. Accumulated feelings of tension in parents are often the basis of poor language development in pre-school children. If a deaf child is to make progress, the parents need help to accept him and to provide an environment which will contribute to the development of healthy parent/child relationships. Conversation tends to develop automatically in the case of the non-deaf child but, in the case of the deaf child, it must be consciously developed by the mother. She uses what Van Uden (5) calls a "seizing method". She follows the child's interest. He makes a gesture "car". The mother responds - "You want to go in the car! Oh, Daddy did not come yet. Let's see. Open the door...........". The child's speech behaviour is shaped by the response of the environment. Helen Keller - who was deaf and blind from the age of eighteen months - was taught in this way by her teacher. Helen writes: "If I did not know the words and idioms necessary to express my thoughts, she supplied them; even suggesting conversation when I was unable to keep up my end of the dialogue". This is very different from the type of identification language which teachers of the deaf used in the past:- "This is a ball.... This is a baloon". Now we are advised to use anticipatory language. We want to teach the word 'car'. We ensure that the child has a toy one. One day we hide it; the child looks for it. Then we can introduce questions such as - "Where is the car", "Is the car upstairs?", "Is Daddy's car outside?". Another way is to advise the mother to change a daily routine in the life of the child. Try to explain - "Today we are going to see Granny". Produce a picture. We then wait for a reaction from the child - be it a gesture or a spoken word. A transformation of the child's utterance is then made. "We are going in the car. It is outside........" The same approach is followed in the Nursery class for deaf children. Teachers then keep a written record of conversations with the children. They can be written in comic strip form or in "baloon writing". The written language is more a support to the spoken language. These written conversations help the child who may have short term memory problems. They are intuitively understood by the deaf child as a result of experience which includes oral communication or conversation. To quote from Van Uden - "Only a method of language acquisition can be recognised as psycho-linguistically correct and effective which places conversation and not the sentence, in the centre of the entire didactic activity. The child does not learn language because he receives instruction in its use, but because it is part of his daily life and experience. Talk is the basic form in which language is manifested."

The type of speech patterns used in the environment is also important for the deaf child. We know that normally-hearing children who are learning to talk are exposed to parental language which differs considerably from family to family both in style and amount yet virtually all learn the grammar of their native language easily. McNeill (1966)(6) referred to adult speech, which children have to process, as being a completely random, haphazard sample, in no way contrived to instruct a child in grammar. Since then, several studies have shown that, on the contrary, there is a specific style of speech which is used in addressing young children learning to talk. It is adopted not only by parents but by other adults with little experience of children and even by children as young as five years if they are speaking to children under three. Drach (1969) (7) pointed out that the language everyone uses to young children has shorter, syntactically simpler sentences, a smaller vocabulary and slower delivery than adult to adult speech. It is also more repetative (Kobashiqawa, 1969) (8), more redundant, makes more use of concrete references, less use of pronouns and seems designed to assist the young child in identifying grammatical categories and phrase units within sentences (Snow 1972) (9); Frazer and Roberts - 1975) (10). The recent findings of Howarth (11) in the area of parent/child and teacher/child verbal interactions in the case of deaf children are similar. Formerly, teachers of the deaf and parents used very simple sentences and exaggerated speech patterns in their anxiety to get children to lipread. Now they are encouraged to use the normal adult pattern. It is essential that the rhythm of speech be present to a marked degree for children who, through their low note hearing, can perceive this important feature. The perception also of intensity as it relates to stress is possible for this type of child. In this way a lip-reader is helped to know the intention of the speaker. A deaf child, in the absence of these cues perceived through sound perception, is not aware, for instance, of the different meanings attached to the following sentences:

Mary will go home on Friday

Mary will go home on Friday

Mary will go home on Friday

Such acoustic information is a great help to the deaf child. The environmental language has a direct bearing, too, on the type of speech production among deaf children because perception and reproduction of speech must be regarded as two processes which are closely linked. All types of hearing impaired children learn to talk by talking as well as by observing the speech movements of adults and siblings. Speech production facilitates the perception of speech when both are trained together. Lipreading, for example, can be well nigh impossible for a deaf person who has never learnt to speak. The deaf child must have constant repetition so that he is able to transfer information gained through residual hearing, vision, vibration-feeling and tactile impressions, into his own speech movements or articulatory acts. He internalises for his own use what he has seen, heard and felt of his own speech movements as well as those in his environment. His parents and teachers act as monitors. Later he becomes dependent on an internalised model - or kineasesthesis - in order to check his production. In the case of the pre-school and nursery-school deaf child, speech acquisition is regarded as a developmental process. The child imitates the speech of his environment. His efforts will be approximate. When fluency has been established, intervention takes the form of isolating defective sounds and perfecting them. The correct form of the sound must be automatic as a result of therapy. As quickly as possible it is replaced in words, otherwise the utterance will be laboured and unnatural because a given speech sound is not represented by a fixed acoustic pattern in a speech wave. Automatic blinding of phonemes which results from practice in speech drill is necessary for intelligibility. By automaticity in articulation the deaf child will achieve a rate of utterance which approximates that of normal speech. There is a correlation between 'quick' speech and intelligibility in the case of the deaf child (12). This is an area where the teacher of the deaf is concerned with the production as distinct from perception. Some teachers, however, do not approve of any kind of intervention as they believe that the speech will be more natural if the child is allowed to make use of available cues rather than concentrate on individual speech sounds. I think that intervention is necessary but the time when it should be introduced depends on the quality of the child's utterances and his hearing loss. In teaching speech to hearing impaired children we realise that the production will deviate from the normal since their problems in perception affect their production. The speech of the child with residual hearing will be intelligible to naive listeners while that of the profoundly deaf will be understood by the family, a particular school, friends and co-workers. Inexperienced listeners will not understand the speech patterns until they become familiar with them. The various studies that have been undertaken since 1940 have shown that poor levels of speech achievement among hearing impaired children are commonplace. The typical errors relate to respiration, phonation and the rate of utterance.

One of the important developments in the field of the education of the deaf which one would like to see in the future is the production of a satisfactory model for the production of intelligible speech. This may be achieved if a developmental approach, coupled with an emphasis on the phonetic level, is used. If, in phonetic practice, the child is enabled to produce sound patterns automatically, then, in phonological speech, conscious attention can be directed to what the child wants to say. With a set purpose in producing speech, rate of utterance, phonation and respiration will be dynamic. I have called this approach "natural intervention", suited to the age level and the speech quality of the child. It will not work, however, without suitable and adequate environmental stimulation from an early age. Frequency of language usage is an essential component of the linguistic environment of a child. It is missing in the case of the deaf child so that steps have to be taken to make up for this serious deprivation. Reading is one of the main ways of compensating. For him, reading of dialogue can make up for the lack of incidental conversation in his life. This type of reading has been referred to as "visualised conversation". For young children it is a reading of a conversation which has been understood and which is related to personal experience. For older children it is a means of entering into conversation with an author.

(b) Discovering the Structure of Language

To me, the most startling change in our approach to teaching language to the deaf is the use of natural methods and the emphasis on the deductive method in order to develop structure. The non-deaf child finds the structure of the language for himself. He discovers the rules. We know this because he often misapplies them. Following a developmental programme with the deaf child, we encourage him to discover structure only when he has established some oral language. The pupil may then be eight or nine years of age so that he is reading and writing. He reads aloud or his teacher reads to him. By this he is helped to find the accent groups. He makes a collection of similar structures. When he is ready to learn the rules by a process of deduction, he is given grammatical terms. This is a far cry from the structured approach referred to earlier. It is based on modern psycholinguistic principles. Yet, as far back as 1879 (13) an Irish teacher of the deaf - Father Thomas McNamara, C.M. wrote the following which I would like to read for you because I am convinced that it is relevant to all language learning.. "I have no hesitation in saying that the system that dispenses with grammar until the children have made considerable way in learning language is preferable to that which mixes up the learning of grammar with the learning of language. Grammar- what is its object? Is it not to regulate the use of language? But, language to be fixed and regulated must already be in existence. It was in this order that we, speaking people, learned language first and grammar after and, if we were required to learn grammar at the same time with language, our progress in the latter would have been very slow if at all possible.

The greater part of mankind dispenses with grammar in the use of language. Either they did not learn grammar at all or, if they did, they forget it. How few are capable of applying the rules of grammar or even would be able to recite the parts of speech? Yet they use language for the ordinary purpose for which it is destined.

We are witness here in Paris of constant examples bearing upon the subject. A family comes to spend a year or two chiefly on account of the young people, that they may learn French in the French capital.

They have a servant or two with them. What occurs? The best teachers are employed for the members of the family, to teach them scientifically according to grammar, whilst the servants are allowed to get on as well as they can amongst the servants of the hotel or the house. A year or two passes over and who are the most expert in speaking French? The young people of the family or the servants; those who are taught scientifically or those who are taught by the mere practice of speaking or, in other words, by the use of the language? Experience is there to give answer and to bear testimony in favour of the servants".

Language Disordered Children

Although my training and experience are mainly in the field of audiology and education of the deaf I am also interested in language disordered children - especially those with a predominantly receptive problem. In 1954 when I was working in a School for the Deaf I discovered that these were children enrolled in the classes who did not respond favourably to teaching methods found to be effective with their peers, despite the fact that there was empirical and clinical evidence to show that their intellectual potential was within normal limits. Their ability to solve environmental problems was as good, if not better, than that of the most successful oral pupils. It was possible to rule out emotional disturbance or lack of stimulation or motivation as primary factors related to their poor achievements in language learning. Faced with this paradoxical situation, a closer analysis of the children's functions was begun in order to determine the most appropriate type of educational treatment for them. This study (14) revealed some of the specific difficulties in the area of perception which are now considered characteristic of this group of neurologically impaired children that have been described as 'language disordered'. In the 1950's however, many questioned the very existence of a developmental language disorder, something that is now internationally recognised as a communication disorder in children.

Language disordered children have two main characteristics which I would like to refer to:-

(a) Impairments in aspects of auditory perception necessary for language learning.

There is evidence that the child with neurological disorders deals with incoming speech signals in a deviant manner. He cannot listen rapidly. In his case, peripheral deafness is often suspected because of his lack of interest in environmental speech and language. These children behave as if they have a hearing loss yet it is quite obvious that they respond to noise rather than speech. Audiometric evaluation shows three types of children in the group. Those who have normal thresholds for pure tones; those who have an established hearing loss which is usually in the higher frequencies and those who show a marked hearing loss. I have worked with all types. Most of them were wearing hearing aids but, after a period of intense training in listening in slow speech, isolated phonemes, syllables, words and finally sentences, I was satisfied that some of them had normal hearing. Yet they had previously accepted high amplification without showing discomfort, as if they suffered from recruitment of loudness in reverse! We have much to learn about the perceptual behaviour of children with neurological disorders.

(b) The second characteristic I have noted in language disordered children is defective short term memory for speech. They cannot remember a succession of sounds that make up a word. If we ask them to repeat a series of babble sounds, they cannot do so accurately. Oral dyspraxias are common among them. Their first repetition of a word may be correct but, because of poor memory span, they do not persist in producing the sounds accurately. Paula Menyuk (15) compared a group of normal children and a group of language disordered children in their ability to repeat sentences. Deviations were found among the latter group and Menyuk speculates that the difference appears to be due to defective memory for speech. She notes that, in some cases, the children repeated one or two words in a sentence - usually the final word or words. This is characteristic of the language disordered child. He forgets the beginning of a sentence by the time the final words are uttered. He appears to listen to every sound and then fails to hold these sounds in memory. He seems unable to anticipate or feed forward as in the case of a normal listener. As a result, he does not acquire language unless he receives intensive training in the phonological, syntactical and semantic aspects of it. If language disordered children are to be helped with the perception and reproduction of speech, they require an analytical approach. Instruction in perception and reproduction of speech begins with isolated phonemes. The child lip-reads, reads, writes, utters and listens to a particular phoneme until he is able to discriminate. Then phonemes are put together to form syllables and, finally words. There seems to be a concensus of opinion now that the language disordered child requires an analytical and highly structured approach. Eventually, the child reaches a stage when he can receive and produce environmental language. I am convinced that the initial exercises are crucial. Many teachers hurry over them because they are unused to such a structured approach. As in the case of the hearing impaired child, early intervention is essential. However, a conclusive diagnosis of a language disorder is usually not made until the child is about four years old. A team approach to diagnosis is essential. The milder forms of the problem are not easily recognised, yet all teachers should be aware of them as pupils who have a problem in learning a mother-tongue may be expected to reach normal levels in a second language with resultant stress for pupils, parents and teachers.

Deaf Children with Multiple Handicaps

Mentally handicapped deaf children and those with additional handicaps such as blindness and cerebral palsy need very special treatment if they are to reach their highest human level. With them, manual communication is used. Some will learn systematic sign language while others - such as the mentally handicapped deaf blind are capable of learning mere signals. In their case, a broad view of language is taken. That is, the sending of messages from one person to another. This includes facial expression, eyepointing, gestures, mime, finger-spelling, sign language, writing, drawing, lip-reading and speech.

Hearing impaired children are individuals whose educational treatment needs to be designed to suit their special communication problems. An individualistic approach by teachers who are well aware of psycho-linguistic principles can help.

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SECTION/ROINN 2

OBSERVATIONS ON THEMATIC INTERFERENCE BETWEEN IRISH AND ENGLISH

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The language situation in Ireland presents a fascinating field of study from a general linguistic point of view: what happens when two languages come into contact which have, first, a different basic word order (VSO and SVO) and, second, different THEMATIC systems? The two systems are, of course, interdependent to a large extent, as we will see.

By thematic systems I mean the language-specific devices that a speaker may use to organize his utterance as a message, which is syntactically and semantically well-formed and, besides that, appropriate in the given context. A central idea in this kind of pragmatic or functional approach is the division of clauses into "theme" and "rheme". In the definition of these I have adopted a position which originates from a Finnish linguist, Nils Erik Enkvist, and which is fairly close to that of Michael Halliday. A theme is defined as the FIRST part of the clause, extending usually up to the verb.[1] It may consist of a number of "subthemes", which are normally sentence-initial adverbials. A rheme is, quite simply, the rest of the clause in this binary system (Enkvist 1976, 63-4 n.).

Enkvist also makes an important distinction between the concepts theme and "topic", which are often used as synonyms. A topic is a constituent which also occurs at the very beginning of its clause, being preceded only by connectives and conjunctions, which at the same time can be regarded as having been FRONTED from some other, less MARKED, position, and which, finally, does not tolerate any other fronted constituent next to itself.[2] A clause-final constituent similarly moved to clause-final position would be called a "comment". If there is a topic in a clause, it is considered to be part of the theme (ibid.).

There is one more formal criterion which helps to distinguish between theme and topic: topicalizations, i.e., the fronting operations, never change the SYNTACTIC relations within a clause, as opposed to thematizations and rhematizations, i.e., the operations leading to the choice of theme and of rheme, which may (ibid.). The following examples perhaps clarify the point:

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[1] In a VSO language like Irish, the verb is usually the theme.

[2] Adverbials sometimes present special problems. Here, too, I have followed Enkvist's classification of adverbials into adverbials of "setting" and "valency" adverbials (for discussion, see Enkvist op.cit., 54-6). Another clue is the placement of main sentence stress (which marks the information focus): if it falls on a clause-initial adverbial (excluding the so-called sentence adverbials), we are dealing with adverbial topicalization.

1.a. These men built the house.
1.b. The house was built by these men.

In 1.b. the thematic structure of the clause has been reversed through a syntactic change (by choosing the passive). This is NOT an instance of topicalization; that occurs in 2.b.:

2.a. They were big giants of men in them days.
2.b. Big giants of men they were in them days.

Here the difference between a. and b. is not one in the syntactic functions; big giants of men remains the subject complement in b., which is thematically marked.

The functions of the theme-rheme and topic-comment systems are to help to embed a clause or a sentence in its textual and situational context. The theme is often - though not necessarily - "what the sentence is about", and it usually conveys "given" or "known" information. The rhematic part of the sentence often carries "new" information. Topicalization serves such purposes as emphasis, contrast, or the linking of a constituent with the previous text (ibid.).

The thematic systems of Irish and English differ in some crucial respects. First of all, the possibilities of thematization are more restricted in Irish than in English because of its very consistent verb-initial word order. Stenson (1976, 269) notes that Irish lacks most of those thematic movement rules which involve a change in "basic" word order or in syntactic relations within a clause such as Tough Movement, Raising, Dative Movement, There-Insertion, Passive, and Topicalization (in a narrow sense, cf. below), all of which are found in English and other Indo-European languages. Left Dislocation and Extraposition are both possible in Irish, but even they are subject to severe restrictions.

Another striking difference is in the ways in which contrast and emphasis are expressed. Irish again displays some peculiarities not shared by English or most other Indo-European languages. According to Professor Gearóid Mac Eoin (personal communication), Irish does not use sentence stress to convey contrast or emphasis; instead, either word order or certain synthetic particles are employed. Ahlqvist (1977, 274) also points out this special feature of Irish. What is meant by word order arrangements here, is the fronting of the constituent to be contrasted or emphasized, i.e., topicalization. Here, too, Irish has its own restrictions: the rigid VSO order and the consequent pressure of inserting a verbal element even before a fronted constituent has led to a near monopoly of the so-called copula (cleft) construction as the means of topicalization.[1] In compensation, the use of the copula permits the fronting of almost any constituent of a clause, with the notable exception of the finite verb, which would have to be transformed into a verbal noun in order to be clefted. (For a discussion of the limits of the Irish clefting system, see

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[1] I will be using the term "topicalization" to cover cleft constructions as well. The stresslessness of the copula is (and of the introductory it is in English) and its frequent omission point to the same basic fronting operation as in "simple" topicalization despite the surface-syntactic differences. It would hardly make sense to consider the copula as the theme of its clause, which would be the case with a "full" verb.

Stenson op.cit., 150-3). In English, topicalization, either with or without clefting, is often blocked by syntactic restrictions unknown in Irish. It is particularly hard to topicalize constituents which have a close bond with the predicate verb, or which belong to certain parts of speech. This is why contrastive or emphatic sentence stress alone, without any change in the word order, is used in English as an important alternative of thematic marking.

A third difference follows directly from the foregoing: in Irish, the THEMATIC part of the clause, the clause-initial field, is the most central and frequently used means of giving emphatic or contrastive colouring (through topicalization), whereas English employs - as it has to - more alternative means. The special role of the thematic field in Irish is also seen in certain clause-types, such as clauses expressing classification, ownership, or identification. These all share the peculiar feature that, in the unmarked case, the NEW information carried by the constituent immediately following the copula PRECEDES the GIVEN information conveyed by the rest of the clause. This is an obvious counterexample to the often cited universal principle (see also Stenson op.cit., 201 n.), and it may have had a certain influence on Hiberno-English.

It is these differences between Irish and English that have provided the theoretical basis for my empirical study of interference phenomena in Hiberno-English (H-E). In order to be better able to document traces of the substratum influence of Irish, I have compared three H-E dialects, those of Kerry, Wicklow, and Dublin.[1] A comparative method was chosen, because not all of the interference phenomena are QUALITATIVE, and even those which are have often a QUANTITATIVE aspect: they may have optional Standard English counterparts, or they may be only seldom used. The quantitative aspect is particularly relevant, since the interfering thematic systems of Irish and English are both structurally and functionally close to each other.

There were four informants from each dialect, their ages varying from 54 to 81 years. None of them had any more than National School education. No questionnaires were used in gathering the corpus, since the aim was to obtain discourse material which was as natural as possible. To further minimize the negative effect of an openly recorded interview, I worked under the pretext of studying the local traditions. The topics of the interview were, however, more or less the same: they included aspects of the personal life of the informant, local affairs, traditions, and views on the future. The lengths of the interviews varied from 25 minutes to 1½ hours, the totals being 4 h 25 min for Kerry, 3 h 45 min for Wicklow, and 2 h 35 min for Dublin.

The criterion for choosing these dialects was the assumed STRENGTH of Irish influence. Kerry, or more exactly the district round Caherdaniel near the Gaeltacht area of Ballinskelligs, represents here the most recent and most direct impact of Irish. All the informants had spent their childhood in a strongly bilingual environment. They still knew some Irish, although it is not spoken there any more. Their first language had always been English. Wicklow, and there the district of

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[1] I am indebted to Professor Alan Bliss of University College, Dublin, for his invaluable help in the planning of this project.

Calary, is a place in which Irish died out as early as the mid-eighteenth century. Here the informants had virtually no knowledge of Irish, and three out of the four had not even studied it at school. Dublin, finally, might be assumed to be at the weakest end of the continuum of Irish influence, being most open to the outside world. The informants here, too, had very little or no Irish.

In addition to the H-E dialects mentioned, I have gone through a British English corpus of 2½ hours of length. This was collected by one of my English colleagues, and it consists of the openly recorded interviews of five people whose speech can be taken to represent Educated Standard English. Their ages varied from 40 to 73 years.

In discussing the results of the comparison, I will limit myself to what appears to be the most prominent area of interference, viz., TOPICALIZATION. This includes both cleft constructions and frontings without clefting, as was noted above.

Cleft constructions taken as a whole turned out to be most frequent in the Kerry dialect, which was quite predictable. The relative frequencies have been counted in relation to a time unit, which is here 45 minutes (this being the recording length of one side of the type of tape used, and the most frequent length of interview). One could, of course, count the numbers of tone-groups, or even words, but I do not think that that would change the overall picture. In Table 1 I have given the average frequencies of clefts per speaker per 45 minutes. I have not included the so-called there-clefts, nor pseudoclefts; the former, incidentally, were also most frequent in Kerry.

Kerry	14,8
Wicklow	6,5
Dublin	5,3
British English	2,0

Table 1. Average frequency of clefts per speaker per 45 minutes.

On the basis of the above figures, one cannot discern any significant difference between Wicklow and Dublin, but Kerry English and British English seem to form categories of their own. This, I think, clearly points to the continuing influence of the thematic systems of Irish on Kerry speech, and, to a lesser extent, on H-E in general. Certain qualitative features of H-E clefts, which I will discuss below, provide more evidence towards the same conclusion.

Most of the H-E clefts serve the same functions as in Standard British English. In one type, the focal constituent receives contrastive or emphatic stress, and it usually represents information which is new or contrastive. The that-clause, on the other hand, is normally weakly stressed and generally carries information which is either known or knowable from the context. Prince (1978, 896) calls this type the "stressed-focus it-cleft". Ex. 3, which is from Kerry speech, illustrates this (for explanation of the transcription symbols used, see the appendix):

3. /since we got our own independence/.../it have died away/‸‸
/it is more English/‸/they are speaking now/

However, H-E clefts sometimes have qualitatively distinctive features, which in this particular type of cleft is manifested by greater syntactic freedom. The focal constituent may be a subject complement, an adverb of manner, or even (part of) a verb phrase just as in Irish (for a discussion of Standard English restrictions, see Quirk & al. 1972, 952; Emonds 1976, 133). There were very few instances of these in my corpus, but similar observations by Henry (1957, 193) support the existence of these patterns in H-E. In ex. 4 from Wicklow we have part of a periphrastic verb phrase as the focus. This sounded very odd to my two English colleagues, whose intuitive judgments I have relied on here.

4. /ah very little's (i.e., few farmers) give up farming round =
this area/^/it's looking for more land/ a lot of them are/

Another striking feature is the indifference to the sequence of tenses, which is seen in examples 5 and 6 from Kerry:

5. /I think/^/this year./^/this year he bought it/^^
Q/isn't it lately he bought that/

6. /I and my brothers didn' go to America/^/but all my./
/all my uncles went to America/^^/I remember/I remember =
when I going to school/^/I remember it's three of my uncles =
went away/ /three of'm/

The second major category of cleft constructions consists of cases in which, first, there is no implication of contrast, or at most an indirect one, and, second, the that-clause is normally stressed. As to the presuppositions, these clefts differ from the stressed-focus type in that the hearer is not expected to KNOW the information in the that-clause. According to Prince, "the whole point of these sentences is to INFORM the hearer of that very information" (Prince op.cit., 898). Rather more precisely, the function of such a sentence is to present a piece of information as FACT, as something which is commonly accepted and already known to some people, but not yet to the hearer (ibid., 899-900). For this kind of cleft Prince uses the term "informative-presupposition it-cleft". Surprisingly enough, grammarians have almost invariably overlooked this function of clefting.[1] Examples 7 and 8 from Prince (op.cit., 898, 902), and ex. 9 from my Kerry corpus perhaps make the distinction clear:

7. It was just about 50 years ago that Henry Ford gave us the weekend... he decided to establish a 40-hour week, giving his employees two days off instead of one.

8. But why is the topic so important? Apparently, it is the topic that enables the listener to compute the intended antecedents of each sentence in the paragraph.

9. /and there's a holy well there'n/ that well was that he./
/it is there he used bap./ he was a./err he was a monk/^
/a holy man/^/and it is there he used to baptize the =
children/

Note that in ex. 9, the focal adverb there does not receive contrastive stress (Prince's examples have been taken from written sources). Prince mentions some other characteristics of this type of cleft, which are also confirmed by my findings: they usually have an anaphoric focus, which is most often an adverbial of setting (defining the place or the time in which the action itself takes place) or a subject noun phrase (op.cit., 899). The focal constituent could be said to act as a kind of MARKED THEME, to which the subsequent bit of new information is attached.

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[1] Despite occasional borderline cases, the difference in presuppositions is usually clear enough to warrant the distinction.

Prince finally notes a tendency for informative-presupposition clefts to occur in formal, often written, discourse (ibid., 899). This receives indirect support from my results, since the instances of these were so few in my BE corpus. On the other hand, the same appears to be true of all kinds of clefts. In H-E, however, informative-presupposition clefts seem to be a characteristic feature of the spoken language. They are, in fact, proportionately more frequent in Kerry than in the other two dialects: well over half of all clefts were of this type there. In Wicklow and Dublin they accounted for about a third of the instances. If this was only an ARCHAIC feature of H-E, one would expect the Kerry and Wicklow figures to be at least a little nearer each other, since in many other respects the Wicklow dialect displays truly archaic features. Therefore, one is inclined to consider the possibility of Irish influence here, too.

The Irish cleft construction has, indeed, a function equivalent to that of the English informative-presupposition clefts.[1] Besides that, it has certain subsidiary functions, in which there is also no implication of contrast. Mac Cana (1973, 110) has observed that sometimes the marked character of a cleft sentence may apply to the total statement rather than to the focal constituent alone. He gives examples like the following, which according to him are extremely common in spoken Irish:

10. Is tú ariamh nár choisg do theangaidh "you never bridled your tongue" (lit. "it's you who never bridled your tongue").
11. Ba é a bhí cosamhail len' athair ar lorg a leicinn "he looked like his father from the side view" or "he was strikingly like his father ..." (lit. "it was he who ...").

(Mac Cana op.cit., 110)

There is a certain element of emphasis in these sentences, but it is not contrastive. A more suitable description would be EMOTIVE or EXPRESSIVE emphasis (Mac Cana, personal communication). Yet another area of usage, in which clefting is widely used without the customary implication of contrast, is RESPONSE-sentences of an explanatory nature (Mac Cana op.cit., 104). Here is Mac Cana's example:

12. "Faoi Dhia, goidé tháinig ort?" ars an t-athair. "Mícheál Rua a bhuail mé", ars an mac "In God's name, what happened to you?" asked the father. "Mícheál Rua gave me a beating", said the son (lit. "it was M.R. who ...").

(ibid., 106)

A few more constructions using the copula should be mentioned whose functions are also closely related to those of the informative-presupposition clefts, viz., is é rud, is amhlaidh "it is a thing that", "it is a fact that", and is é an chaoi "it is how". (For a comprehensive discussion of the different uses of these, see especially Ó Cadhlaigh 1940, 543-556). Reflections of these are sometimes met in Kerry speech in sentences where there is emphatic assertion of a fact (only the first it is-clause in ex. 15 is relevant here):

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[1] This conclusion was reached in discussions with both Professor Mac Eoin and Professor Proinsias Mac Cana. Here, too, Irish has certain oddities which are not important in this context.

13. /and it is the matter these places are away/underneath the = ground/ big tunnels/ right/‸/under the ground/

14. /it (i.e., a ghost) seemed like to be. in the field/‸ /in the field where it is the house were/

15. /but./ /'tis more the Irish died since they./since they gave = that employment because./‸/it is all English that's spoken = there now/

These sentences are not clefts, of course, but more or less direct translations of the corresponding Irish patterns. They were also judged to be clearly nonstandard by my colleagues.

Returning now to H-E, it seems plausible to argue that the greater frequency of informative-presupposition clefts in Kerry speech than elsewhere is due to the analogical influence of the corresponding Irish system, which has, moreover, such widely-used non-contrastive sub-functions as those discussed above. The diversity of functions of clefting in the substratum language has obviously shaped the English language in Ireland so that its SENTENCE RHYTHM has been slightly altered. The general tendency of Irish to prefer the thematic part of the clause for thematic marking is clearly discernible in H-E, particularly in those dialects which have been in close contact with Irish. Henry (op.cit., 195) has observed the same tendency in the dialect of North Roscommon. According to him, a speaker of H-E sometimes uses the cleft construction as a device for presenting the chief burden of his thought (i.e., new information in my terminology) as directly as possible. Some of the HESITATION phenomena found in my corpus lend further support to this assumption. Consider the following examples from Kerry speech:

16. /before the Irish famine/‸/in eighteen forty-seven/‸ /it was mostly./ like Ireland/ Ireland was an./ it was./ /Ireland was a Cath./ a Catholic country/

17. /but it was tw.two./porter was for./ two pence a pint/

These sentences reveal the existence of a conflict between two types of sentence rhythm or thematic organization. The nonstandard tendency is also evident in certain clause-types such as existential there-clauses. In examples 18 and 19, also from Kerry, the "logical" subject has been topicalized through clefting. Here the intuitions of my colleagues differed: one of them did not consider them acceptable, the other accepted them as colloquialisms. In any case, my data suggest that these are more typical of Kerry speech than of the other dialects.

18. /they've died and emigrated and /everything/‸ /it is all foreigners that'll be here before./ you know/ /after a time/ as far as I can see/

19. /probably it was thatched/‸/because it was all./ /it was all thatched houses was here one time/ you know/

Finally, I would add the evidence obtainable from the relative frequencies and the qualitative features of topicalizations WITHOUT CLEFTING. As Table 2 shows, these were also most frequent in Kerry speech. There are no significant differences among the others.

Kerry	10,7
Wicklow	4,2
Dublin	5,3
British English	3,7

Table 2. Average frequency of topicalizations without clefting per speaker per 45 minutes.

A comparison between Kerry and Wicklow suggests again that the higher frequency in the former cannot be explained as archaism alone. Moreover, the Kerry dialect seems to allow itself more syntactic liberties than the other two, let alone British English. The following examples from Kerry sounded more or less odd to my colleagues:

20. /my brother that's over in England/^/when he was./ when he =
    was young/^/a story now he told me/ when he was young/

21. /he is working over there/^/in some building he is working/
    /with the couple of weeks/

22. /two lorries of them (i.e., turf) now in the year we do burn/

The commonness of such nonstandard or odd topicalizations partially makes up for the admittedly low absolute numbers of occurrences, and it provides one more proof of the influence of the thematic systems of Irish. A bigger corpus might also bring out more clearly the slight tendency of Kerry speech to favour topicalizations of SUBJECT COMPLEMENTS. The differences between the dialects found here are too small to be significant, although intuitively, one would expect that the Irish copula clauses of classification, ownership and identification would have some influence on topicalizations of not only subject complements, but of other constituents as well (cf. above).

All this evidence drawn from spoken H-E indicates the continuing influence of the Irish thematic systems: frequent clefts and simple topicalizations and their qualitative special features underline the importance of the thematic, sentence-initial field. The concomitant change in the distribution of SENTENCE STRESS is one of the factors behind the distinctive Irish "accent", which is most clearly noticeable in those dialects which have been most directly subject to the influence of Irish, although it is not totally lacking in other areas, even in Dublin.

APPENDIX: Explanation of transcription symbols used

/ ...... / = tone-group boundaries
/he was./ = phrase discontinued; hesitation
/ .... = = tone-group continued in the next line
Q/ .... / = question
/it's me/ = normal main sentence stress
/it's me/ = contrastive or emphatic sentence stress
^ ^^ = pauses of different lengths

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JEFFREY L. KALLEN

A GLOBAL VIEW OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN IRELAND

Background Discussion

The seminar sponsored by the Irish Association for Applied Linguistics, titled, 'The English Language in Ireland,' represents an important turning point in the study of English in this country. It was not that long ago that a well-known writer on linguistic topics was able to state that

> by the little Englanders we are told that the Irish speak, not English but Anglo-Irish; yet many educated and cultured Irishmen speak and write the most admirable, if slightly old-fashioned, English. (Partridge 1951: 65.)

Fortunately, events such as the IRAAL conference show the seriousness with which this field is now taken, and one hopes that this event will be only one of many more gatherings devoted to related topics. During this discussion, I should mention, the term 'Hiberno-English' will be used synonomously with the more cumbersome phrase, 'the English language in Ireland,' without prejudice to the rural/urban distinction between 'Hiberno-English' and 'Anglo-Irish' that is sometimes suggested.

The scope of this paper can perhaps be understood best by looking at the term 'global view.' There are two senses in which this term is especially significant. The common-sense meaning suggests that English in Ireland should be seen in a world-wide context that includes not only other varieties of English (e.g., the English of India, North America, or Australia), but other examples of languages in contact (e.g., pidgin and creole languages as well as bilingual communities such as French Canada or Paraguay). A more specialised definition of 'global' derives from the use of this term in linguistic theory, where, in this case, it would be suggested that the analysis of English in Ireland should (a) examine all facets of grammar, i.e., syntax, phonology, morphology, semantics, and discourse phenomena, and (b) be free to examine data from related areas such as child language acquisition (both deviant and normal), second language learning, historical change, and comparative linguistics. Though this paper is concerned more with the geographical and grammatical sense of 'global' than with the sense referring to related areas lying outside the bounds of grammatical theory, it will at times attempt to sketch some of the ways in which research from areas such as second language learning may also elucidate topics found in the study of Hiberno-English.

From the beginning, one may question why the approach developed in this paper puts particular emphasis on the development of linguistic theory, or is addressed to theoretical arguments with implications greater than the subject of English in Ireland alone. In particular, it could be argued that theoretical arguments would be out of place at a conference sponsored by the Irish Association for Applied Linguistics. The theoretical emphasis chosen in this paper is based on an examination of some of the goals of language study in general, and suggests that a dichotomy between 'applied' and 'theoretical' linguistics is not only misleading but counterproductive to the goals of anyone studying in the field of language, whether one is a Professor of Linguistics or a Second Language Curriculum Development Specialist.

Reason to look briefly at linguistic theory before proceeding with the collection or analysis of data comes from an examination of the goals of linguistic inquiry. King (1969: 13) has summarised approaches to the study of language by denoting three levels of inquiry: 'observational adequacy,' which develops what he terms 'an account that describes a finite corpus of primary data'; 'descriptive adequacy' which provides a grammar 'that gives a correct account of the primary data and of the speaker's tacit knowledge'; and 'explanatory adequacy,' in which 'a linguistic theory (not a grammar) ... provides a principled basis for the selection of descriptively adequate grammars.'

In the context of the English language in Ireland, this division of goals has direct parallels not only in the work which has so far appeared in public, but in work which remains to be done by those interested in the field. Pure description is an essential to any kind of analysis, and much of the published work on Hiberno-English falls into the category of description. One may look at P.L. Henry's survey (Henry 1958) of English in Ireland and note the optimism with which a nationwide survey of, particularly, rural varieties of English is suggested. Regretfully, such a survey has yet to be undertaken, and the linguistic situation in Ireland has changed to an extent that whatever would be studied today would yield a far different picture from the one which might have been found in 1958. Recording and making available speech samples, designed to provide syntactic and morphological data as well as the more traditional phonological and lexical information, is still a vital part of research that must be done. This type of recording is useful in providing basic and objective data from which other analysts may work; in providing data for purposes of historical comparison, both retrospectively and for future diachronic study; and in providing a cultural record of national attributes which may disappear or be preserved in an era of increasing international contact and exchange.

Yet the goal of linguistic inquiry can never be seen in purely descriptive terms. Even time-honoured techniques such as the use of word lists for phonological elicitation and the plotting of isoglosses, though on the one hand consisting solely of linguistic description, presuppose a theoretical point of view, albeit one which is rarely stated explicitly. Following the completion of some of the classic dialect atlases of British and American English, German, French, etc., Brook (1968: 16), for example, observed that

> most dialect speakers today are bilingual or multilingual. We should now try to distinguish the various strands that make up the complicated pattern in the dialect of such speakers... It is well to remember that the older rural dialects are not the only forms of speech that are worthy of study.

Though Brook's observation was not entirely novel even in 1968, Bailey (1973:11) was also compelled to note that

> if cross-hatchings of class, sex, age, and other social differences are superimposed on maps of regional variation (for some given combination of social parameters), the traditional notion of dialect becomes hopelessly inadequate and at war with reality.

I would suggest that an analysis of the history of dialect study in most countries shows an interest more in the exotic than in the linguistic, by which is meant that the study of dialect has yet to rid itself of the more popular idea which contrasts a 'dialect' with a 'standard' or 'normal' manner of speech. A survey of literature on the English language in Ireland still shows an emphasis on forms, in syntax, phonology, or whatever, that are felt to be distinctively Irish, seen in contrast to some notion of 'standard English.' What Brook, Bailey, and others working with linguistic variation suggest is an important point with which I will deal specifically in this paper -- that any variety of speech must be seen not simply in contrast to a 'standard' or to any other variety, but both (a) in its own terms as a set of rules which generate the speech corpus of the native speaker, and (b) as one of a set of interrelated rules which may all have an effect on the multidialectal native speaker. The description of any speech variety would not be complete only in noting 'peculiarities of the dialect,' but must also note the way in which particular features that may be of interest are embedded in an overall context of speech in the community and in the individual. I would suggest that an overemphasis on the 'distinctive' aspects of speech in a variety under study implies erroneously (a) that speakers speak only and always 'in the dialect,' and (b) that non-contrastive relations between 'distinctive' varieties and putative standard or general varieties are not of linguistic interest.

If, as I have suggested, pure description cannot validly be seen to be the only goal of linguistic inquiry, and if, too, any kind of descriptive statement must necessarily be seen in a broader theoretical context, one might well want to suggest a second goal for linguistic inquiry -- the provision of explanations as to why observed phenomena are the way they are. Considering Hiberno-English, three reasons are generally given for explaining the particular characteristics of the variety: (1) historical facts relating to the survival of forms brought to Ireland and subsequently lost or changed in England, (2) the influence on English in Ireland of teachers and others in authority for whom English was not their mother tongue, and (3) the influence of prolonged and varying contact with Irish. (For a concise summary see Bliss (1977), but other authors as well.) Often, it seems sufficient to explain particular features of English in Ireland by recourse to one of the three historical factors above. In a sense, these factors provide a type of 'descriptive adequacy,' in making arguments of the type that 'A given feature X has arisen "under the influence" of Irish, prior historical formation, or perpetuated error by the non-native speaker.'

Yet the approach which I wish to suggest raises a further series of questions which cannot be answered by recourse to the facts of historical development. Linguistic theory requires adequate description, for without data theories cannot be constructed or evaluated. Likewise, empirically verifiable phenomena (e.g., the presence of two languages in one speech community) must be accounted for in formulating linguistic explanations. But the ultimate goal of linguistic inquiry should not be simply the description of speech or the correlation of observable phenomena. Rather, one hopes by analysis to obtain a greater understanding of the human linguistic faculty and ultimately the structure of the human mind. Concommitantly, linguistic study should facilitate the formulation of universal principles of linguistic organisation and behaviour, and suggest a continuous process of refinement of linguistic theory to account for language and the language-mind relationship.

Having said this much, what linguistic theory can one in fact turn to in order to provide the kind of background which might be useful in the study of Hiberno-English? All theory is, by definition, in a state of continuing development, so it would be impossible to point to any one body of literature or the work of any one author and say that a Theory X had been provided by which all further hypotheses could be developed and evaluated. If our linguistic and geographical orientation is to be global, perhaps, then, our theoretical orientation must also be global. Rather than absorb theoretical approaches without evaluating them, though, some choice must be made as to which general approaches show the greatest promise in providing the most probable explanation for the greatest amount of data in the simplest fashion. Generative grammar, by which is not meant 'Transformational Generative Grammar,' provides a starting point in defining language as the outcome of a system of rules, internalised by the native speaker of a language for generating an infinite number of utterances from a finite number of units. This system of rules, which Chomsky (1957) termed 'competence,' is not competence in a normative sense -- speakers do not have greater or lesser degrees of competence, and deviant speakers, whether speakers of a 'dialect' or those in need of speech therapy, do not lack competence but merely generate language by a system of rules which is different from the system used by other speakers. Generative grammar has freed linguistics from positivist requirements which would otherwise require the detailed study of individual utterances without generalisations of any far-reaching type, and which would prevent exploration in the relationship between the structure of language and the structure of the mind. The generative approach constitutes a diversified field still in the process of development, and is not an orthodoxy which prescribes a narrow set of tools and constructs to the exclusion of all other approaches. While retaining a belief in the importance of a 'global' theoretical view, I would suggest a generative paradigm as a starting point not matched by any other paradigm for its usefulness in guiding research with the aim of establishing universals and exploring the mind-language relationship.

In viewing language as the outcome of rules internalised by native speakers, several claims are made, while others often attached to the basic generative notion are not made. First, not all generative grammars are transformational grammars -- transformations refer to a specific construction in generative grammar, and while transformations may provide the best means to generalise between related utterances (e.g., 'Linguists eat exotic food' and 'Exotic food is eaten by linguists'), they may not be the only generative rules which may do so. Brame (1978), for example, specifically denies the existence of transformations, but is clearly generative in approach, specifying that surface structures must be composed of units required by abstract rules generating grammatical structures and preventing ungrammatical utterances. Generative grammar, then, may have recourse to transformations, but may also write rules describing grammatical competence without using transformations. Second, a generative approach is not to be equated simply with the notion that language is 'creative' or even governed by rules -- generative grammar makes predictions about the types of rules which may be suggested, the formal structure of these rules, and the means by which rules may interact and operate to produce surface utterances. It is an integral part of grammatical theory to favour some analyses over others on a principled basis, and a part of linguistic study to evaluate proposals which may be made concerning rule structure and interaction. The ultimate goal of universal explanation and exploration of the language-mind relationship is always of prime importance.

Given, for the purpose of this paper at least, that generative grammar offers insight into the nature of language in general, can it be of help in the study of the English language in Ireland? The answer at this time must remain a qualified yes. Ó Murchú (1967: 215) observed that

> before the development of Transformational Grammar, there was no really efficient technique available for the description of interdialectal variation in syntactical structure.

Generative grammar -- transformational or otherwise -- has seemed to offer a valuable tool for the analysis of language and, hence, linguistic variation. Yet generative grammar has, classically speaking, concerned itself only with data from what what Chomsky (1965: 3) termed the 'ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogeneous speech community.' Just as the argument against traditional dialectology rests on the observation that dialects are rarely, if ever, 'pure' in their distribution across geographic and social variables, an argument against the 'ideal speaker-listener' notion can be made by the observation, readily verified empirically, that few, if any, specch communities are linguistically homogeneous. The lack of ideal speech communities in this sense does not invalidate the generative approach to linguistics, but it does suggest that generative grammar may not offer specific tools which are useful in the study of linguistic variation.

The contradiction one faces is thus as follows: on the one hand, generative grammar provides important insights into the operation of language and a valuable means to explore universal principles of linguistic organisation. On the other hand, generativists have yet to provide specific theoretical constructions which may be of direct use in the study of Hiberno-English as a subfield of linguistics. This contradiction is a further reason for suggesting a 'global view' of the problem. A theoretical basis is necessary for inquiry, yet standard linguistic theory does not readily offer a mechanism to account for a situation like that found in Hiberno-English, characterised not only by bilingual contact and historical isolation from sources of linguistic change in Britain, but by multidialectism brought on by intra- and international travel as well as communication via television, radio, and cinema. A global view would call for the incorporation of explicit theory into empirical research, and for the extension of the limits of standard generative theory into the study of linguistic variation and relations among varieties and languages.

Independence and Dependence in Dialect Relations

Luelsdorff (1975), in a summary of generative work on dialectology, has described what he terms an 'Independence Principle,' in which grammars are constructed without recourse to data from other dialects, and a 'Dependence Principle,' in which dialect forms are related from common underlying forms by a series of rules applicable to individual dialects where appropriate. Conflicting results are obtained in the following analysis.(Luelsdorff 1975: 22-23. Luelsdorff's phonological notation, which is not consistent with other notation in this paper, is retained in this discussion.)

Black English Vernacular (BEV), a type of American English associated with black people of lower socio-economic status, generally shows a lax /I/ before a nasal consonant, where Standard American English shows /E/. The following data illustrate this distribution:

	Std.Am.E.	BEV
'pen'	pEn	pIn
'hem'	hEm	hIm

According to Luelsdorff, the Dependence Principle would require a statement that BEV has a rule in which

$$\text{E} \longrightarrow \text{I} \;/\; \underline{\qquad} \left[+\text{nasal}\right]$$

i.e., underlying E is realised on the surface as I in the environment preceding a nasal.

An Independence Principle, on the other hand, simply states that BEV has an underlying /I/ where Standard American English has an underlying /E/. Luelsdorff (ibid.) ultimately favours the application of the Independence Principle, preferring to conclude 'that there are underlying differences in the phonologies of Standard and Black English.' In preferring the Independence Principle to a Dependence Principle, Luelsdorff (1975: 21) observes that

> A sharp distinction should be made between writing grammars underlying the speech behavior of individual speakers (=grammars) and statements relating the grammars of individual speakers (=metagrammars). The goal of the former is the accurate and complete description of the linguistic competence of selected members of the speech community. The goal of the latter is to relate these grammars in an accurate and illuminating way.

The logic of the notion of linguistic competence would seem to argue for an independence principle along the lines suggested by Luelsdorff, perhaps, yet a linguistic theory should, I would suggest, also allow the analyst to make a comparative statement noting correspondence among the grammars of different speakers. A crucial distinction is made, though, in recognising that this comparative statement has no reality as far as competence is concerned -- it does not provide a means to account for the use of language by actual speakers.

To transfer Luelsdorff's suggestions to the case of the English language in Ireland, one would suggest that Hiberno-English cannot be seen primarily in opposition to other varieties (e.g., 'Standard English' or 'British English') or in opposition to Irish. The following example, from Henry (1977: 33), chosen nearly at random from one of many works which follow a similar approach, illustrates this point. Consider the following 'equivalent' expressions:

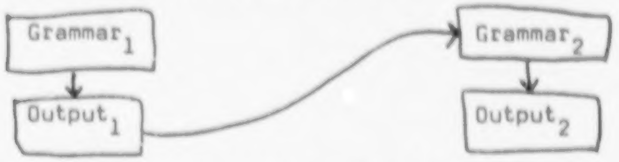
(1) Anglo-Irish: 'The bate of him ishn't in it.'

(2) Irish: 'Níl a bhualadh ann.'

(3) Std.E.: 'He has no equal.'

Sentence (1) would safely, I think, be seen as distinctively Irish, specifically the nominal construction 'the beat of him' and the prepositional 'in it.' A generally accepted explanation for a sentence such as (1) would be that it is derived 'under the influence of Irish,' comparing (in (2)), the nominal 'a bhualadh,' literally 'his beat,' and suggesting that the Irish preposition 'ann' would be translated as 'in it.' Sentence (3) is seen in marked contrast.

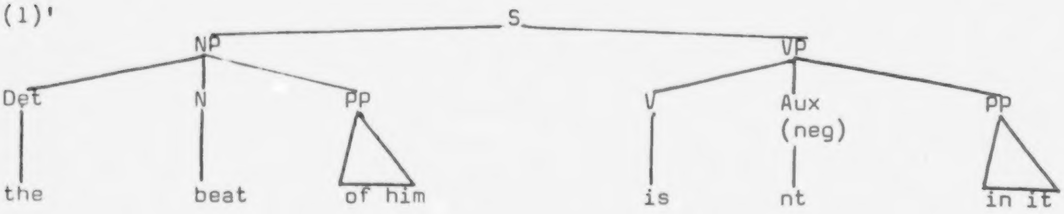
This picture of the influence of Irish, however, may run counter to the fundamental concern of linguistics with the competence of the native speaker. It is logically impossible to suggest that a speaker using Hiberno-English who does not speak Irish with a fluency liable to create synchronic interference is in fact acting under the influence of Irish. Historically, it may be true that phrases and translations or calques may come into one language from another as part of the language contact situation, yet what is equally significant is not the historical source of the construction, but its synchronic status. For a borrowing to survive in a language or to extend itself beyond the bilingual community (which a phrase like 'in it' has clearly done), it must be interpreted by speakers as being an integral part of their own competence. What the analyst then seeks to look for is the specific structure and rule-derivation of all surface structures, without recourse to the structures of other languages or historically related forms. Lightfoot (1979: 148), in a discussion based in part on the work of Andersen (1973), illustrates the relationships among grammars in the language acquisition process and historical change as below:



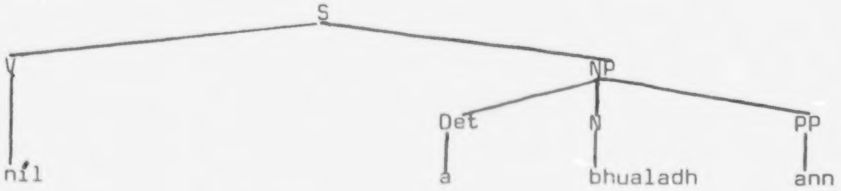
In other words, the grammar of a language at a given time (G_1) serves as an input for the linguistic output only at the given time (O_1). This output (O_1), not the grammar (G_1), serves as the input for the construction of grammar at the next stage (G_2). This grammar (G_2), but neither (G_1) nor (O_1), serves as the input for the output (O_2). Neither the grammar not the surface structure of the earlier stage underlies the output of the later stage -- only the synchronic grammar of the appropriate stage underlies speech. By extension, in Hiberno-English, neither the grammar nor the surface structures of Irish would underly Hiberno-English except in cases, possibly, of synchronic bilingual interference. The 'influence of Irish' is to be seen in the way that Irish surface structures may have affected the structure of the underlying Hiberno-English grammar.

The above argument -- for separating the competence of the native speaker from considerations introduced by other languages or historically related forms -- is an overall theoretical consideration with specific relevance to the Irish case. A second argument in favour of an English-based analysis of Sentence (1) is found by looking at the specific structures involved in this example. Consider the following tree diagrams of (1) and (2):

(1)'


S
NP
VP
Det
N
PP
V
Aux
(neg)
PP
the
beat
of him
is
nt
in it

(2)'

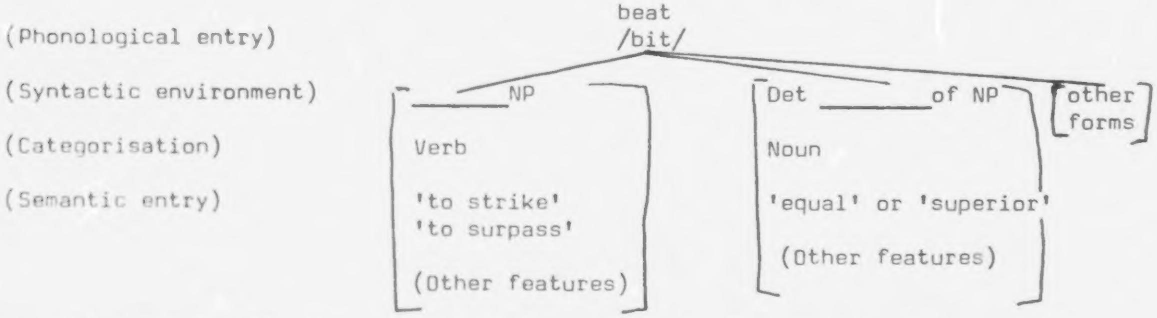

S
V
NP
Det
N
PP
níl
a
bhualadh
ann

Clearly, (1) is a sentence of English, while (2) is not. Strucural parallels to (1) abound in English, e.g., (4) 'A picture of him isn't in the book,' (5) 'The likes of him aren't in Chicago,' or (6) 'The riches of Croesus aren't in Portumna.' No verb-initial parallels to (2) can be found in English.

The Lexicon and Dialect Differences

Any kind of structural analysis shows examples such as (1) to be cases of English generated, from an abstract point of view, in a relatively non-distinctive fashion. Yet the surface structure of (1) is clearly different from what would be found in other varieties of English, so the question still arises as to how one can account for such differences. In the case discussed here, recourse can be made to the lexicon as defined in the generative model. In addition to the better-known syntactic and phonological components of generative grammr, there is included also a lexicon, in which units are stored with a phonological representation, a semantic representation, and information concerning the distribution of units in sentences. Though neglected in the early days of generative grammar, the lexicon has become an area of increasing importance, particularly since Chomsky (1965) and as evidenced in collections such as CLS (1978).

Following the model proposed by Hust (1976, 1978), I would propose a branching tree diagram in which the apex contains the phonological, syntactic, and semantic features common to all forms of an entry, while descending branches contain features specific to related but distinct entries, as a lexical means of accounting for examples such as (1). In this example, a lexical entry for 'beat' in Hiberno-English might be the following:


(Phonological entry)
(Syntactic environment)
(Categorisation)
(Semantic entry)
beat
/bit/
___ NP
Verb
'to strike'
'to surpass'
(Other features)
Det ___ of NP
Noun
'equal' or 'superior'
(Other features)
other forms

To generate (1), then, a lexical insertion rule in the syntactic component allows for insertion of the second node in the above diagram in the appropriate syntactic environment. This node shares some features with other forms, but is not found in some other varieties of English. A phonological rule converting /i/ to [e]in this and some other Hiberno-English words may then operate.

Further research would be necessary to refine lexical entries such as the one proposed for 'beat' here, but the general approach is one I would suggest. In this analysis, basic structures found in dialects of a language may be relatively consistent, yet alternations in the lexicon may produce surface structures that differ visibly from dialect to dialect and, in a case such as (1), may resemble surface structures of another language.

A similar analysis may hold for the phrase 'in it.' The syntactic structure of any dialect of English allows for the combination 'in it' to occur in some forms, as in, (7) 'I looked him up in the phone book but he wasn't in it,' or (8) 'I'd like to be included in it.' The 'it' of (1), however, differs significantly in that 'it' does not refer to any other NP. Syntactic parallels, in which 'it' can be used with a preposition in a non-anaphoric sense, are to be found in other English constructions as well, e.g., (9) 'We're really up against it now,' or (10) 'Come off it!'. The 'it' of (9) and (10) refers to no specific noun, but functions as a particle in part of a prepositional phrase closely linked to a verb phrase. The function of 'in it' in Hiberno-English is roughly equivalent to what Jackendoff (1977: 79) terms ' "adverbs" without -ly such as _here_, _there_, _outside_, _downstairs_, _beforehand_, and _afterward_.'

The foregoing examples suggest that in language or dialect contact neither base nor surface structures are borrowed from variety to variety. I have suggested thus far that a prime means of interlanguage influence may be found in the organisation of the lexicon -- that changes (1) enter into a dialect or language through the lexicon, and that (2) in some cases lexical changes may be extended through interaction with the syntactic component to alter syntactic structures. Similar processes may occur in the realm of phonology. One syntactic example of extension may be the Irish construction using 'after,' as in (11) 'He is after getting the paper,' or (12) 'She was after her lunch,' in which it may be suggested that 'after' has now acquired the syntactic subcategorisation that allows it to be placed in the main verb or auxiliary phrase, and that a reanalysis of the rules governing verb phrases and their constituents has taken place in such varieties of Hiberno-English. It is unduly complicated and counter to the notion of linguistic competence to explain this use of 'after' via Irish _tar eis_. Rather, a more comprehensive approach suggests that differences in verbal structure in Hiberno-English are to be found scattered throught the lexicon, syntactic component, and semantic component of the grammar.

Non-Grammatical Approaches

A second point which I should like to make in discussing a 'global view' actually leads away from the grammatical analysis proposed thus far. Lightfoot (1979: 405) has called for the analytical separation of 'changes necessitated by various principles of grammar...and those provoked by extra-grammatical factors.' One device which cuts across levels of phonology, syntax, and semantics, and which correlates linguistic variables with non-linguistic variables quantifiable by empirical observation is the 'implicational scale.' As pointed out by Luelsdorff (1975: 18), implicational scales are not statements about individual grammars, but rather a means of comparing individual grammars -- what Luelsdorff terms 'metagrammars.'

The following discussion illustrates the application of implicational scaling, using a scale for Jamaican English developed by DeCamp (1971) and discussed by Luelsdorff (1975: 17-18). Certain critical variables are isolated and assigned plus or minus values, plus values indicating non-inclusion in a 'creolised' variety of English, minus values indicating creole status. The following list is illustrative:

+A	child	-A	pikni
+B	eat	-B	nyam
+C	θ/t distinction	-C	t
+D	ð/d distinction	-D	[illegible]

+E granny	-E nana
+F didn't	-F no ben

Each speaker in a speech community is then given a profile of plus and minus values for each variable. Judgments of values may be based on habitual use or judgment of grammaticality by the speaker, depending on the approach taken. Once each speaker has been given a profile, all speakers in the sample are compared for interrelationships, as in the following:

Speaker:		
1	+A +B +C	
2	-A +B -C	
3	-A +B -C	
4	-A -B -C	, etc.
5	+A +B +C	
6	+A +B -C	
7	-A +B -C	

The arrangement of different variables across speakers is then shown in an implicational scale, in which those speakers with the greatest co-occurrence of variables are grouped closest to each other, ranging, in the process, from minimal to maximal co-occurrence of 'creole' features. In this example, such a continuum would begin as below:

Variable:	+D	-D+C	-C+A	-A+F	,etc.
Speaker:	5	1	6	2	

This continuum would be interpreted to say that Speaker 5 possessed a plus value for variable D, while all speakers to the right on the scale possessed a minus value. The next speaker, Speaker 1, would share the feature +C with the speaker on the left (Speaker 5), but would have a minus value for D. All other speakers would have minus values for variable C. Speaker 6, then, would have minus values for variables D and C, but a plus value for A. Speakers to the right would have minus values for A,D, and C. Such an ordering can thus show empirically verifiable implications, e.g., if a speaker uses the word 'nyam' (variable B), then the speaker will also use 'pikni,' 'nana,' and other words or features associated with minus values on the list of variables. Such correlations of variables can then be matched with non-linguistic variables such as age, income, social status, etc., to yield a profile of linguistic and non-linguistic relationships. In contrast to the generative approach found in the syntactic example given earlier, implicational scales do not discuss the competence of individual speakers -- rather, they are a device which can be used to note inter-speaker regularities, substituting in a more precise fashion for the cross-speaker empirical data obtained in traditional dialect study.

Such'metagrammatical' statements may well be necessary in writing adequate explanations of variation phenomena. In studying Hiberno-English, features might be arranged in a scale with implications for identifying an Irish vs. non-Irish continuum of English varieties. Bliss (1976: 21-22), for example, suggests that 'yoke' denoting a thing in general is peculiarly Irish, and that 'gas,' as in 'It was a great gas,' is also not to be found elsewhere. In terms of an implicational scale, 'yoke' might be seen as clearly Irish and widely spread across space and social parameters. 'Gas' in the above sense, though, while not, perhaps, found in England, is found in the U.S. with virtually the same meaning. An implicational scale could reflect that 'gas' is not English, but is shared by at least two 'overseas' varieties of English. Similarly, mention could be made in an implicational scale of the many varieties of English (including many types of Hiberno-English) which have lost a /θ/-/t/ and /ð/-/d/ distinction in contact situations. A network of scales relating different clearly defined variables could show important relationships among many more varieties of a single language than is otherwise possible.

Implicational scales could also be developed within Ireland to suggest relationships among different varieties using only Hiberno-English data. Such an approach may present a more realistic picture of the description of the English language in Ireland than discussion in monolithic terms such as 'common Hiberno-English,' 'the Northern isogloss,' or 'the Kerry accent.' A great deal more research will be necessary to establish critical variables and their relations.

Conclusion -- Towards a Global View

From the point of view of linguistic theory, it is not sufficient to stop at the observation that English in Ireland either exhibits certain forms not found in England but found there at an earlier time, or that certain Hiberno-English forms parallel those in Irish. This insufficiency rests on two main grounds: (1) that linguistic description must account for use by a speaker at a given time -- a speaker who has acquired language without knowledge of its history or, quite often, of any other language, and (2) that examples of putative conservatism and bilingual influence are so widespread in the world that a more adequate description of any particular case (e.g., Ireland) might require a theory based on universal tendencies in language spread, isolation, and interaction. To pick out two of many examples, one might look at the case of Jamaican English or South American Spanish. Cassidy and LePage (1961: 19-24), for example, cite many processes in the development of Jamaican English which parallel those discussed by Bliss (1976: 18ff; 1977; 1979) for Hiberno-English, e.g., local innovation, local meanings attached to words used elsewhere with different meaning, the use of items which have died out in other English-speaking areas, and the influence of other languages. In discussing South American Spanish, Blanch (1968) gives a review of arguments concerning the development of various national varieties, centering on theoretical and social controversy concerning the relative importance in the development of 'overseas' varieties of structures in the grammar of Spanish vs. the influence of native languages. Ultimately, Blanch's discussion tends to favour the development and use of Spanish-based and universal explanations over 'substratum' accounts. These and hundreds of similar discussions around the world suggest that a large body of data may await correlation with observations of the Irish experience.

What, then, is a'global view' of the English language in Ireland as I would define it? I would summarise this perspective with three major points: (1) The intuitions of a native speaker of English or any language must be accounted for by synchronic rules. The 'conservatism' of Hiberno-English may be discussed in a historical treatment, but the synchronic vitality of any variety spoken is of paramount importance for the linguist. Similarly, influence or interference from Irish may account for features in the corpus of a particular individual whose first tongue is Irish and who is learning English as a second language, or in a historical discussion of such individuals, but it is not linguistically valid to discuss such interference as part of the synchronic rule system of a mother-tongue Hiberno-English speaker. Internal features of English may economically coincide with a possible interpretation of surface structures in Irish -- the possible interpretation of Irish data made by present or historical bilingual speakers may be influenced by the degree of harmony with features in the abstract English system. (2) Rules which are proposed to account for any features of English in Ireland should at least be in broad harmony with a major body of linguistic theory -- Hiberno-English rules may offer refinements or arguments within a theory, but explanations and descriptions should be undertaken with a clearly expressed theoretical basis. (3) The data available for analysing English in Ireland should not be limited to those forms which are felt to be 'peculiar' to Ireland, nor just to forms which are found in Ireland. Restriction of data to Ireland may miss identical or parallel forms and processes occurring in other areas of the world, while concentration on 'characteristic' Hiberno-English forms commits the linguistic fallacy of not placing these forms in the broader context or continuum in which they inevitably occur.

Finally, I would suggest that a 'global view,' in which attention is paid to all realms of grammar and discourse phenomena; in which linguistic solutions are developed to discuss bilingual relations in the generation of English in Ireland; in which the social and other non-linguistic variables that may have bearing on language are correlated with precisely-defined linguistic variables; in which English in Ireland is seen in context with other varieties of English but not just in contrast with a supposed 'standard' English; and in which processes occurring in Ireland can be compared within an adequate theoretical framework to similar processes occurring in other languages, will greatly facilitate research that will yield both a richer and more realistic understanding of the English language in Ireland, and that will make a significant contribution to an overall theory of universal tendencies in language diffusion and interaction and to a theory of grammar and the language-mind relationship.

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THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AN IRISH POPULATION ON LANGUAGE TESTS STANDARDIZED IN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

by

MARGARET M. LEAHY

The three tests that are the focus of attention of this study were devised to quantitively and objectively assess various aspects of children's language ability. They may be described as diagnostic tests because they may be used to help determine pathology. With the advent of more thorough linguistic assessment procedures their use is probably more appropriate for screening assessment, that is, to indicate where further investigation is necessary. The normative data on which the tests are based coupled with their ease of administration render them useful clinical aids for the therapist in early contact with the client referred for assessment.

However, since these procedures were created specifically for, and standardized on, populations in Britain (in the case of two of the tests) and in the U.S.A. (in the case of the third test), the norms they provide may not be valid for assessment of Irish children's linguistic abilities. Nevertheless, they are widely used in this country and because they provide quick measures of the skills that are sampled, and because of their inexpensive availability, it is likely that they will continue to be used. It would, therefore, seem timely to examine their suitability for use with an Irish population.

The tests in question are:

Test 1: The English Picture Vocabulary Test (Brimer & Dunn, 1973);

Test 11: The Preschool Language Scale (Zimmerman, Steiner & Evatt, 1969);

Test 111: The Renfrew Action Picture Test (Renfrew, 1971);
hereafter referred to as the EPVT, the PLS and the RAPT respectively.

A brief description of each test follows.

Test 1: The English Picture Vocabulary Test (EPVT)

The full range version of this test (age range 3;0 - 18;0 years) was used. This most recent (1973) version of the EPVT incorporates the 1962 version of the test which was comprised of a series of four tests of varying age ranges from 3;0 - 18;0 years. The EPVT is based on the American Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Dunn, 1959) and it was standardised in Britain in 1962. The manual of the full range version (1973) states that this version was re-standardised by the authors but information relating to this is not yet available.

The test is comprised of a book of plates of line drawings, an administration manual and score recording sheets. There are four pictures on each page of the book. Having explained the procedure to the child, the tester says a word and requires the child to choose the corresponding picture from the four presented. The student's response to each is recorded and the raw score calculated. This is converted to a standard score which is a normalised score with a mean of 100 and standard deviation of 15.

Test II: The Preschool Language Scale

The Preschool Language Scale was devised as a procedure to provide an evaluation of a child's language developmental status in the first seven years of life. The two major dimensions of the scale, Auditory Comprehension and Verbal Ability, are considered to be complementary.

The Auditory Comprehension Scale is designed to assess auditory discriminations and the ability to respond to these. Such aspects of comprehension as grammar, number sense, logical thinking, self-concept, time-space and memory are tapped. Results of the administration of the Auditory Comprehension Scale are expressed as an Auditory Language Age and can be converted to a quotient.

The Verbal Scale is designed to provide a measure of the expressive ability of the child. Among the aspects of expression tapped are grammar, number sense, logical thinking, self-concept, time-space, memory and articulation. The Verbal Ability Age can be converted to a quotient.

Items are arranged according to sequential language progression on the basis of empirical evidence of the average age of attainment by preschool and early primary American children. Normative and standardization data for each item are listed in the manual along with the sources from which these data are drawn. These sources draw on the work of various specialists including that of Gesell, Binet, Piaget, Brown & Terman and Merrill.

Test III: The Renfrew Action Picture Test

The Renfrew Action Picture Test (hereafter RAPT) forms part of the Renfrew Language Attainment Scales, a series of short standardized assessment procedures which also includes an Articulation Attainment Test and a Word-Finding Vocabulary Test. The RAPT was developed in recognition of the need for a standardized procedure "to stimulate children to give short samples of spoken language which could then be evaluated in terms of information given and grammatical forms used" (1971 p.2). The test elicits the child's use of words that convey information about "verbal formulation" (nouns, verbs, adverbs) and various morphological rules including verb tenses, nominal pluralization.

The test is comprised of the Action Picture Test manual and a series of nine coloured action pictures. Each child is presented the series of pictures and asked a standard question about each one. Answers are scored in terms of the information given in his response and the grammar used.

The RAPT was standardized on an English population of approximately 500 children between 3;0 and 7;0 years. Nursery schools, more than half of which were in lower working class areas, were used and consequently according to Renfrew (1971, p.21) "the norms for the 3;0 and 4;0 year old children may be a little lower than they might have been had the social classes been proportionately represented".

It should be recalled by the reader that these were first attempts at devising a short useful procedure for use by speech therapists in assessment and would no longer be considered either sufficiently comprehensive or detailed to be used as diagnostic tools. Their main function would be considered by the author to indicate on initial contact with a client whether further language assessment is indicated and, if so, what form it should take.

The population which participated in the research was chosen from three junior classes in six Dublin schools and in one County Monaghan school. All but two of these schools were co-educational to some degree and this allowed matching of male and female subjects. Table 1 (p.3) shows the composition of the research population.

SCHOOL	SEX	N	AGE RANGE IN YEARS ; MONTHS	AREA
1	Boys	18	4;3 to 6;5	North Co Dublin
	Girls	20	4;3 to 5;1	
11	Boys	27	4;0 to 5:1	West Co Dublin
	Girls	19	4;0 to 5;2	
111	Boys	14	4;0 to 5;3	South Co Dublin
IV	Boys	20	5;4 to 7;2	Co Monaghan
	Girls	23	5;2 to 7;4	
V	Boys	44	4;11 to 7;0	South Co Dublin
VI	Boys	30	4;1 to 6;2	South-West Co Dublin
	Girls	33	4;6 to 6;0	
VII	Boys	20	4;1 to 6;1	South Co Dublin
	Girls	12	4;1 to 6;9	

Table 1: Research Population

RESULTS

Statistical tests were carried out to provide:

(a) a comparison of the Dublin scores with those for the population on whom the tests were standardized;

(b) an analysis of the effect of socio-economic status on the tests scores;

(c) an analysis of sex differences in the scores of the population studied.

The test results are given in the following series of tables followed by a brief interpretation of the data.

TEST I. The English Picture Vocabulary Test (EPVT)

AGE RANGE IN YEARS AND MONTHS	DUBLIN POPULATION			ENGLISH POPULATION (STANDARDIZATION SAMPLE)
	N	$\overline{X}$ Raw Scores	S_x	$\overline{X}$ Raw Scores
4;0 - 4;5	51	20.00	8.30	19.88
4;6 - 4;11	76	25.05	9.70	25.00
5;0 - 5;5	56	30.20	10.80	32.00
5;6 - 5;11	40	39.10	9.00	37.83
6;0 - 6;5	13	38.00	11.30	43.00
6;6 - 6;11	8	42.80	12.39	46.50

TABLE II

Mean raw score and standard deviations in 0;6 age groups for Dublin population and equivalent English raw scores.

With one exception, raw scores of the Dublin population increase as age increases. There is a steady increase in the raw scores for the standardization sample. Because the sample size of the two upper age groups (6;0 - 6;5 years and 6;6 - 6;11 years) is considerably smaller than for the other groups, the Dublin scores cannot be considered representative of these age groups in the population studies. However, they indicate a trend in the scoring of these groups. A further breakdown of the age groups was carried out to compare more directly with the scores given in the EPVT manual for the standardization population.

N	$\bar{X}$ RAW SCORES	SD	AGE	EQUIVALENT ENGLISH SCORES	t VALUE	SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL 5%
10	21.00	8.68	4;0 - 4;1	17.7	1.21	NS
13	17.38	7.50	4;2 - 4;3	20.0	2.11	NS
28	20.89	8.60	4;4 - 4;5	22.0	-0.68	NS
19	22.89	8.76	4;6 - 4;7	23.0	-0.05	NS
25	27.84	7.59	4;8 - 4;9	25.0	1.87	NS
32	26.56	11.50	4;10 - 4;11	27.0	-0.22	NS
23	28.00	9.43	5;0 - 5;1	30.0	-1.02	NS
19	29.42	11.31	5;2 - 5;3	32.0	-0.99	NS
14	35.00	11.75	5;4 - 5;5	34.0	0.32	NS
12	39.67	8.96	5;6 - 5;7	36.0	1.42	NS
17	38.70	10.20	5;8 - 5;9	38.0	0.29	NS
11	39.36	8.54	5;10 - 5;11	39.5	-0.05	NS

TABLE 111

Breakdown os raw scores of Dublin population age 4;0 - 6;0 years in 0;2 intervals. The equivalent raw scores and the results of t-testing to compare differences in scores are given on the right of the Table.

Since the sample sizes for each group are considerably smaller for these 0;2 month age groups, these raw scores cannot be considered as reliable as those of the larger sample. When compared with the equivalent English scores by carrying out a t-test there was found to be no significant difference between the two sets of means at the five per cent (5%) level of significance.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS CATEGORY (SES)	N	$\bar{X}$	Sx
1	19	107.11	9.29
2	28	127.71	10.37
3	42	105.92	23.00
4	27	93.07	10.79
5	42	95.07	13.80
6	16	90.37	9.95
7	20	88.10	22.42
unknown	86	96.11	12.92

TABLE IV

Breakdown of scores and standard deviations by socio-economic status was determined by matching parental occupation (where information was available) using the procedure described by Hutchinson (1969) based on the Hall-Jones scale.

There is a large difference between the highest mean scores and the lowest mean scores indicating that the achievement of those from lower socio-economic groups is considerably poorer than for the higher groups. The trend is for mean scores to increase as socio-economic status ascends but there are two exceptions to this (SES 4 and 1).

	N	x	Sx	STANDARD ERROR	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	t-VALUE	SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL 5%
Males	135	102.59	14.49	1.25	220	2.45	
Females	87	97.56	15.60	1.67			

TABLE V

TEST 1: Breakdown of scores by sex for the urban population of less than 6;0 years (scores given are transformed scores).

A t-test was done to compare the mean scores of these two groups and this showed a significant difference in achievement in favour of males at the significance level of five per cent.

TEST II: The Pre school Language Scale (PLS)

Test IIa Auditory Comprehension Section;
Test IIb Verbal Ability Section.

Table VI shows the mean scores and standard deviations of the entire population studied and also for the Dublin population under 6;0 years which participated in the study.

				STANDARDIZATION SAMPLE		
	N	$\bar{x}$	Sx	N	$\bar{x}$	SD
a) Test 11a	280	116.47	21.06			
11b	280	120.47	23.18			
				52	87.2	17.79
b) Test 11a	222	116.02	17.10		85.4	21.43
Test 11b	222	121.94	18.29			

TABLE V1

TEST 11: Mean scores and standard deviations on:

Test 11a and Test 11b for a) entire research population
and b) Dublin population under 6;0 years.

The average score on this test is 100, therefore, the achievement of the Irish population on this test indicates an above average achievement which is significantly higher than the achievement of the American sample studied.

Table V11 shows a breakdown of Test 11 scores by socio-economic status.

SES CATEGORY	N	TESTS 11a AND 11b TEST 11a		TEST 11b	
1	19	118.58	22.57	119.35	32.56
2	28	126.03	15.32	125.53	15.81
3	42	124.09	35.29	126.17	36.89
4	27	118.46	17.67	120.25	17.66
5	42	114.34	12.91	121.50	16.95
6	16	109.13	9.06	111.82	10.05
7	20	104.09	16.68	115.35	16.35
unknown	86	113.04	17.42	118.65	21.05

TABLE V11

Breakdown of scores and standard deviations by socio-economic status (transformed scores given).

For Test 11a, the trend is for mean scores to increase as socio-economic status ascends, with the exception of status group 1. This trend is not repeated however for Test 11b. The highest mean score in Test 11b is achieved by socio-economic group 3 and the lowest by socio-economic group 6 so there seems to be no direct relationship between socio-economic grouping and mean achievement for the verbal ability section of Test 11.

Table V11 shows the breakdown of Test 11 scores by sex.

		TEST 11a		TEST 11b	
	N	$\bar{X}$	Sx	$\bar{X}$	Sx
Males	135	118.36	17.15	123.19	19.58
Females	37	112.38	16.47	115.99	16.01

t = 2.59 (not sig. at 5% level) t = 1.32 (not sig. at 5% level)

TABLE V111

Breakdown of scores for Dublin population for males and females.

The mean scores for males in both sections of the test is higher than for females. Test 11b (VA) mean scores surpass the 11a (AC) mean scores for both sexes. The difference in mean scores was not significant at the five per cent level.

TEST 111: The Renfrew Action Picture Test (RAPT)

The RAPT is divided into two sections yielding an Information Score and a Grammar Score. These sections are designated as Test 111a and Test 111b respectively in the following tables.

Table 1X provides a breakdown of the mean raw scores and standard deviations of the urban population test who were under 6;0 years of age. The equivalent mean scores (test norms) for the English population are given for comparison.

RESEARCH (DUBLIN) POPULATION				ENGLISH POPULATION		
AGE	$\overline{X}$ (RAW SCORE)	Sx	N	NORMS FROM TEST	t-value	SIG. LEVEL 5%
4;0 - 4;5	19.94	4.94	50	19	1.35	NS
4;6 - 4;11	21.12	4.60	74	21	0.22	NS
5;0 - 5;5	21.76	4.62	49	23	-1.88	NS
5;6 - 5;11	24.97	3.60	37	24	1.64	NS
6;0 - 6;5	24.34	3.56	13	26	-1.68	NS
6;6 - 6;11	28.00	2.60	8	27	1.09	NS
			TEST IIIa			
4;0 - 4;5	19.98	6.55	50	22	-2.18	S
4;6 - 4;11	21.32	5.83	74	25	-5.42	S
5;0 - 5;5	22.63	5.45	49	26	-4.30	S
5;6 - 5;11	27.70	6.00	37	28	-0.30	NS
6;0 - 6;5	27.46	7.16	13	29	-0.78	NS
6;6 - 6;11	32.70	5.80	8	31	0.83	NS
			TEST IIIb			

TABLE IX

Test IIIa and Test IIIb: mean raw scores and standard deviations of the urban population. The equivalent mean scores (norms) for the English population are given.

The mean raw scores for Test IIa and IIb tend to increase gradually with age but there are two exceptions to this trend. These are between the 5;6 years group and 6;6 years group in both sections of the test where the mean score is slightly less for the older age group. The equivalent English mean scores increase by two points for Test llla and by one point for Test lllb. The variation in standard deviations is small for both sections of the test; for Test llla, standard deviations range from 2.6 to 4.9 and for Test lllb the range is from 5.45 to 6.55.

The differences between the Dublin mean scores and the standardization sample mean scores were analysed using a t-test (t-values given to the right of Table X). No significant difference was found between the mean scores for both groups on Test lla. For Test llb however, a significant difference (at the 5% level of sig.) was found between the means for the age ranges 4;0 - 4;5 years; 4;6 - 4;11 years and 5;0 - 5;5 years. There was no significant difference between the two samples for the remaining three age groups on Test lllb.

Table X gives the breakdown of scores by socio-economic status for Tests llla and lllb.

SES		TEST IIIa		TEST IIIb	
CATEGORY	N	x	Sx	x	Sx
1	19	62.58	21.61	56.79	21.51
2	28	64.14	21.83	55.25	28.39
3	42	67.11	22.15	60.67	29.99
4	27	66.55	18.19	59.89	22.18
5	42	58.86	18.33	53.72	18.88
6	16	58.50	19.54	49.50	21.30
7	20	66.40	12.22	48.60	12.90
Unknown	86	55.65	22.89	47.81	27.12

TABLE XI

Tests IIIa and IIIb: Breakdown of scores by socio-economic status.

Mean scores for Test IIIa (Information Section) are consistently higher than those for Test IIIb (Grammar Section). Socio-economic status group 3 achieves the highest mean scores for both sections. The lowest mean scores are achieved by status group 7. Mean scores increase with socio-economic status up to group 3 but this pattern is not maintained after that.

Table XII provides a breakdown by sex of the mean scores for Test IIIa and IIIb.

		TEST IIIa			TEST IIIb		
	N	x	Sx		x	Sx	
Males	135	59.76	21.54	t = 1.07	56.79	19.19	t = 1.50
Females	87	52.46	25.19		47.30	24.84	

TABLE XII

Test IIIa and Test IIIb: Mean scores (transformed) and standard deviations for males and females.

The mean scores for boys are higher than those for girls on both sections of the test. This difference was not significant at the five per cent level of significance.

The principal objective of this study was to determine whether the norms provided by the three tests used are relevant and meaningful for use with Irish children. As Parastevopoulous and Kirk (1969 p. 50) state .... "Norms should be devised for every subgroup with which an individual's test scores might reasonably be compared", since the use of irrelevant norms may be misleading. The main reasons to question the relevance of using English or American norms with Irish children are firstly, that the English language as spoken by the Irish is distinctive; and secondly, that Irish children who attend primary schools where they are subject to a bilingual education may be "different" linguistically speaking, to children who are taught exclusively through one language.

The achievement of the Irish population studied showed that there were no significant differences between the Irish mean scores and the English mean scores on both of the English tests, Test 1, the English Picture Vocabulary Test and Test 111, the Renfrew Action Picture Test, except for the 4;0 - 5;6 years age group on one section of the RAPT (Grammar score). This indicates that these tests in their present state may be used with confidence on Irish Children, but that caution should be exercised when assessing 4;0 - 5;6 year old children with the RAPT.

However, the pattern of achievement of the Irish population on Test II, the Pre school Language Scale, is quite different. The Irish mean scores are much higher than the equivalent American mean scores. The PLS in its present form is therefore unsuitable for Irish children.

These results confirm the findings of previous research done using this test in Ireland (Supple, 1976). Zimmerman (1976) reports however, that the PLS items are probably "too easy" and subsequently (1979) the test has been upgraded.

A number of patterns emerge when the breakdown of the results,according to socio-economic status of the children, is studied. (Tables IV, VII, XI).

For Test I, the EPVT, the tendency is for the mean scores to increase as socio-economic status ascends. The average mean score on the EPVT is 100 with standard deviation of 15, the three higher socio-economic status categories achieved mean scores of over 105 and the four lower categories achievement ranged from a low of 88 to a high of 95.07. This finding for lower status groups to perform poorly on the EPVT is also reflected in studies done by Kelleghan (1974), and Kelleghan & Edwards (1973), and Kelleghan & Greany (1973) in Dublin and also work done in Manchester by Harpin (1973). The EPVT is thought to be an indicator of socio-economic factors in the sense that some children may be familiar with objects illustrated by reason of economic conditions (Schonell & Goodacre, 1975), or that some children may not be familiar with the convention of two-dimensional representation of objects (Yoder, 1974).

In view of the evidence presented above, it seems that the EPVT may indeed be "culturally biased" as Irving (1972) stated in relation to the American version of the test.

The pattern of scoring on Test IIa, the Auditory Comprehension Section of the PLS is similar to that of the EPVT and this would be expected since both tests measure aspects of language comprehension. But, on the Verbal Ability Section of the test (IIb), there is no consistency in the scoring trend. The lowest mean scores are achieved by the lowest socio-economic groups, but groups four and five show a higher achievement than group one, and group three scores are higher than those for group two. Perhaps the "limited ceiling" (Ward, 1970) for older children is reflected in this trend, since 70% of the population studied were over 5;0 years.

The mean scores for Test IIIa, the Information Section of the Renfrew Action Picture Test, reflect the higher scoring capacity of the top four socio-economic status groups on this test. The achievement of Groups Three and Four is the highest and the achievement of Group Seven is the lowest. Two factors that may have been responsible for this are: a) that the lower socio-economic groups tended to give short, elliptical answers to the questions asked, continuing the pattern of answering with which test begins; and b) that many misinterpreted pictures 5 and 9 and so failed to gain marks for Information.

The Test IIIb results indicate a similar pattern to those of Test IIIa, that the four socio-economic groups achieved higher mean scores than the three lower ones. Group three again has the highest mean score with group seven showing the lowest. The tendency is for the scores to increase with socio-economic status up to group three and they decrease for groups seven and two. The reasons for this decrease in the higher socio-economic status groups is not clear. This secion of the test measures Grammatical Ability and it is reasonable to expect differences in the syntactic structures uttered by the different socio-economic groups. Other research measuring the syntactic knowledge of different social classes (Frasure & Entwisle, 1973) and the ability of the lower social class child to produce "correct" grammatical constructions (Bruck & Tucker, 1974) have found similar trends as this.

It is a widely held generalization that females are superior to males in language development. Some studies indicate this female superiority in learning early vocabulary (Nelson, 1973; Clarke-Stewart, 1973) and others strongly suggest that girls progress more rapidly than boys in syntax development (Ramer, 1976; Koenigsknecht & Friedman, 1976). Mc Carthy (1953) found "small but important" differences in favour of girls in general language skills, but in a later study (Mc Carthy & Kirk, 1963) no sex differences were reported except in one area (Auditory Vocal Association subtest of the ITPA) at 5;0 and 6;0 years only. In a review on the literature on sex differences in language functioning, Maccoby & Jacklin (1974) suggested that the advantage of females, if it exists, is small.

Contrary to the evidence in favour of females in language skills, Brimer & Dunn (1962) cite a number of studies where orally administered vocabulary test results show a consistent direction of differences in favour of boys (Templin, 1957; Sampson, 1959; Spearritt, 1962). From their standardization study of the EPVT, they concluded that the EPVT results represent "a characteristic vocabulary difference between the sexes, when this is assessed through oral administration" and that this difference is in favour of boys.

In the present study, only the results of the EPVT indicate a difference in scoring achievement between boys and girls. The difference is in favour of boys and it was found to be significant at the five per cent (5%) level. The results of the other two tests showed no significant differences between sexes in their scoring even though the boys' mean scores are higher than the girls' mean scores.

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REMEDIATION WITHIN THE LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT

We are all aware that there are many different kinds of English. The Officialese and the Religiousese, to mention just two, and we cope with these with varying measures of success. The child with a speech problem may, however, be in extraordinary difficulty with English, when it is presumed by the adult that he should be coping. The previous speaker has discussed the results of her research into the way in which Irish children cope with the tests of verbal communication which were standardised on non-Irish children. It is now important to decide to what extent cultural and dialectal differences of both patient and therapist affect remediation for those children where a language problem has been identified.

It is an important part of a therapist's evaluation to consider the child's utterance in the context of his environment. Scheflen (1972) states "the ability" to speak is universal; but language is culturally determined". If in this definition, speech is considered as the mechanics of being able to produce sounds, and language as the modification of these sounds into words and sentences, it can be recognised that the way which I, as a Southern English speaker, organise my sounds and structures is different from the way that those of you who are Irish speakers of English organise yours.

Perkins (1977) defines language delay as "the failure to understand or speak the language code of the community at a normal age". Implicit in this is that remediation of language delay requires the therapist to have a working knowledge of what is the norm not only for the child's age but also for the Community in which he is living. What is right in one Community is wrong in another, and thus would require remediation.

A problem frequently encountered is that of confusing normalcy with perfect speech. Perfect speech is possibly an unattainable goal in any speech production, but normalcy is what each one of us here has achieved. For production to be normal, it must conform to certain criteria. It must be intelligible to the listener; it must conform to the vocabulary and syntax of the Community, or culture; and it must employ the prosodic features, ie., intonation, stress, and pausing patterns of the culture. It must not offend the ear of the native listener.

Quirk (1972), in describing what he calls Standard English, states that it "is that kind of English which draws least attention to itself over the widest area, and through the widest range of usage . As we have seen, this norm is a complex function of vocabulary, grammar and transmission, most clearly established in one of the means of transmission (pronounciation)."

This statement can be interpreted in the terminology of Semantics, Syntax and Phonology when looking at normalcy in Expressive Oral Language.

So called Standard English and Normal Speech and Language are synonymous. The speech therapist is not concerned with arbitrary and imposed standards of correctness, but with normality of production. Who is to adjudge the relative correctness of one utterance against another in a different culture when both convey the same meaning with equal ease for the listener.

The speech therapist aims to assess and remediate where appropriate the speech and language of the patient. These skills would be assessed in the aforementioned areas of Semantics, Syntax and Phonology. The tests used would be standardised on a non-Irish population, as currently there exists no Developmental Language Test designed with Irish children in mind. A commonly used test for Phonology is the Edinburgh Articulation Test, standardised, as the name implies, on children in Edinburgh, and latterly on Nottingham children. When using this test in England, the children automatically achieved a score of at least One (!) because the word "soldier" is given an Edinburgh Realisation and a final retroflex /r/ is included. The scoring instructions allow for a subjective assessment of the child's environment and states in the discussion dealing with local variants; "These variants are then .... accepted as Right." This subjective assessment is viable only as long as you know the Variants. It is in this area that the therapist experiences the most difficulty. Some of the variants are very well known, such as the Cockney use of the glottal stop in place of the medial /t/ in such words as Butter, and of course, the dentalisation of /th/ as in English spoken in Ireland. What is more difficult to assess, particularly for a foreigner such as me, are the particular regional differences like the retroflexion of the /s/ as is heard in the West and the commonalisation of the /i/ and /e/ as is heard with some speakers in the area around Cork, where pin means either 'pin' or'pen'. These, to someone not 'in the know' could constitute a speech defect. A very common occurence in Upper Middle Class English is the labialising of the /r/ sound. To most people "wabbit" for "rabbit" is definitely wrong, but you only have to listen to some politicians or members of the aristocracy to realise that in certain strata of society, not only does this not constitute a defect, it is a positive social asset!

In Semantics, the vocabulary usuage shows differences and individualism. There are words used by all of us, which are peculiar to our Cultures and Environments.

These must be identified and credited when assessing both a child's receptive and expressive vocabulary, and a mistaken diagnosis of poor vocabulary skills be avoided.

An example of this is apparent in the Reynell Developmental Language Scales, a test of both receptive and expressive language, where the child is presented with a sentence:- Bobby pushes baby over, who is naughty? "Naughty" is a common word in England, where the test was standardised, but in Ireland, it is used much less frequently. The likelihood is that a child, particularly one who is having difficulty in language skills, will be unfamiliar with this word, and as contextual clues are minimised in the presentation of this test, is likely to make an error. If however, the phrase:-'Who is bold ? ' were used, the chances of a correct response are enhanced. It may be argued that in the overall score a difference of only one point in the raw score will make minimal difference, but if this type of cultural error occurs on several occasions, a different interpretation may be the result.

Assessment is an integral part of any remediation programme. Assessment fulfils several functions:-

1. It enables the child's performance to be compared with that of his peers.

2. It enables a child's progress to be charted over a period of time.

3. AND MOST IMPORTANTLY:- It provides a focus for therapy.

It is, however, the interpretation of these results in the light of previously noted knowledge of the norms of the community that allows this final function to be achieved. It is essential that therapy assists the patient towards normalcy, and enables him to be more closely integrated into his language community. Therapy must never alienate the child in his community because of imposed linguistic standards, but approximate his linguistic behaviour to that of the community in which he lives.

So far, the child's performance has been under discussion. It is important to remember that a major factor in remediation is the verbal input by the therapist. As Barnes (1962) states, "The teacher teaches within his frame of reference, the pupils learn in theirs, taking in his words, which 'mean' something different to them, and struggling to incorporate this meaning into their own frame of reference." As therapists we need constantly to remember that, firstly, the children we are involved with have a basic language problem, otherwise we should not be seeing them, and secondly, we may be complicating this problem by the type of utterance we are using. It is necessary for us to employ, syntactically, structures within the child's usage, semantically, words within his knowledge, and phonologically, sounds within his repertoire. It is necessary to have at least a reasonable working knowledge of what is the norm for that region, and to adopt this as the norm for that child. This is an almost impossible task, and you are constantly having to revise your own knowledge in the light of your own experience. As a comparative newcomer to Ireland, this has latterly been my lot! The English as spoken in Ireland has many individual differences compared to the Southern England English to which I am accustomed, in all three Linguistic areas previously identified. A few examples I have noticed may highlight this. Firstly, there is the difference in the use of the verbs "bring" and "take". The word "bring" is often used where I would use "take", for example, "Bring your copy home with you." is normal here, whereas I would say "Take your book home with you.". "To make strange" is a structure I have never heard before and have had to have interpreted, and still do not fully realise its meaning. I have noticed, also, a different form of question, and I have not yet determined whether this is a general, or specifically, local usuage, (perhaps you could tell me), when a question is posed in the positive, and then immediately negated to form a negative question, such as "You're going out - no?" My form of utterance in this case would be "Are'nt you going out?". Crystal (1976) describes in "Development of syntax", the emergence of the double auxiliary (p. 74) and cites the example "He have been crying". He puts this structure into Stage IV and suggests this occurs normally at the age of 2;6 to 3;0. This structure is one not normally used by Irish children, and remediation of this would be superfluous. Another structure not normally used in England is dealing with negation of some verbs. Notable among these are "amn't" and "usen't". Contraction of these verbs tend to be "I'm not" and "I didn't use to" or the full form "I used not to" in Southern English production. It would be easy for an uniformed outsider to reject structures not conforming to their ideal, and attempt to impose their syntactical standards on the child. Phonology is the area which people get most concerned about. Children can be corrected for sounds which are:-

a) developmentally not in the child's repertoire, OR
b) culturally different in the phonological system.

Undue correction of sounds in either of these categories can produce an unwillingness to communicate, frustration, and can even result in creating problems in speech fluency. I have already mentioned a few examples of these, but others come to mind, such as the different realisation of the /l/ phoneme, the Irish speaker of English using a clear /l/, and the English speaker of received English using a dark /l/. /w/ is seldom aspirated in England, although it is in Scotland and in Ireland, where /hw/ is a common and correct realisation of the initial phoneme in "where" and "when" and other words beginning with "wh". This would be considered rather theatrical and the hallmark of a person who has had speech training lessons in the general English environment. Particular cultural words and expressions do not concern the teacher as much as these differences in phonology, perhaps this is because we as adults are skilled at extrapolating information from all the linguistic cues, and even I understand what is meant by "It was gas", and "we had great crack". It is on the input side that we must guard against unfamiliar vocabulary, whereas in the child's output of speech we are likely to correct that which offends our ears by what we consider to be its non-conformation to our standards and self - and culturally imposed norms. If I, as an interested adult , am having difficulties in extracting the meaning of some structures, how much more must the child, with an inherent speech and language problem, be in trouble, if unusual utterances are used. Do we, therefore, expect the child to conform to OUR model and reject his attempts when he does not? Are some children given the label speech and/or language handicapped, when they in fact are not, but we are, when it comes to using their language code? Latterly, there has been an increase in the use of formal language programmes. These programmes are available in some instances in commercially published form, and parents may go to any bookshop and purchase them. It becomes increasingly important to remember local variations and to adapt the programme accordingly. There can be a danger that a child, who is having extreme difficulty in acquiring even the language of his community, is expected to understand and use sentence structures and vocabulary which he will never hear used naturally in his environment. A slavish adherence to these programmes can be as damaging as no intervention at all, and each programme should be carefully examined and adapted before it is recommended to a parent.

Berger and Luckman (1966) state that, "Language originates in, and has its primary reference to everyday life". The role of the remedial linguist is to provide the child with a competent linguistic vehicle to cope with the everyday life that he leads.

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SECTION/ROINN 3A

The acquisition and usage of interrogative and negative forms by Irish schoolchildren learning French.*

By Roger Bennett Trinity College, Dublin

Some differences between learning a language in a "natural" and a "non-natural" environment are highlighted by the acquisition of interrogative forms. In a natural environment, where the target language is being used for normal communicative purposes, the learner is accustomed to asking questions; in a non-natural environment - the classroom - the learner spends more time answering questions than asking them, and may therefore have a much better passive than active knowledge of such forms.

As for negative forms, many learners have difficulty in learning constructions involving "ne...pas", especially in word-clusters where the two negative markers are widely separated. In a non-natural environment, this difficulty may be compounded by curricula in which items for learning are sequenced according to supposed order of complexity, so that a learner does not encounter such word-clusters until at an advanced stage of the course.

What type of survey to use? A longitudinal survey, often used in research into first language acquisition and second language acquisition in a natural environment, would be unsuitable because of the relatively slow rate of acquisition in a non-natural environment. But I intend to monitor the progress of a limited number of beginner-learners longitudinally.

The principal source of data will be a cross-sectional survey. I will make two comparisons: 1. between the performances of students with a largely oral-aural learning background, and of students who have followed a more "traditional" syllabus; 2. between the oral and written performances of these groups.

Performance will be correlated with socio-economic beckground. The survey will be administered to students in the pre-Leaving Cert. year.

Elicitation procedures:

Both oral and written tests will be used.

A. Oral test for negatives:

- i an imitation exercise
- ii a picture test

B. Oral test for interrogatives:

- i an imitation exercise
- ii an exercise in which the student performs communicative tasks involving the use of questions.

C. A representative sample of students will be recorded in conversation with a native French speaker.

D. Written test for negatives:

- i a translation exercise
- ii the transformation of model sentences from the affirmative to the negative.

E. Written test for interrogatives:

i a translation exercise

ii the student is given a series of answers for which s/he must suggest questions

iii see Bii above.

F. Free composition:

To reduce artificiality, the test items are related closely to normal communicative needs. Questions and sentences to elicit specific structures are randomly interspersed amongst others which do not have this aim. Lexical and semantic content is kept simple.

* Summary of a paper read at the Irish Association for Applied Linguistics at Carysfort College on 7 March 1981.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PHONETICS LABORATORY FOR USE IN LINGUISTIC RESEARCH *

Ailbhe Ní Chasaide.

Centre for Language and Communication Studies, Dublin University

> "The rain in Spain
> falls mainly on the plain."

The perception of phoneticians and their work by the general public rarely extends beyond the eccentric antics of Professor Higgins, the famous G.B.Shaw character, and his attempts to correct a flower girl's pronounciation of the immortal lines above. Indeed, Professor Higgins has done much to foster the myth that phonetics is limited to establishing norms of pronounciation.

The study of phonetics, which has been traditionally concerned with the description and classification of speech sounds in terms of their articulation, has been revolutionised by the technological advances of this century. The scope of the study can be outlined with reference to fig. 1, and divided into three main areas.

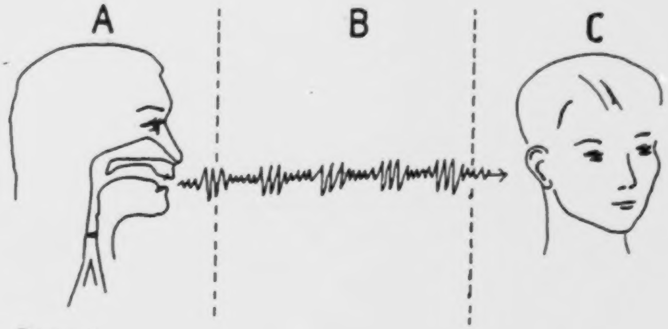

Figure 1

A. Production. Speech is the result of an airstream, usually set in motion by the lungs, which is interfered with to produce sounds as it travels through the vocal tract, e.g. at the vocal folds, tongue, lips etc.

B. Acoustics. The speech waveform as it travels from speaker to listner can be recorded and analysed into its component frequencies. Traditionally, the device used to do this was the sound spectograph. Nowadays, most acoustic analysis of speech for research purposes is carried out by computer. Fig. 2 shows a spectrogram of the phrase 'cois na leapa.'

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* This article describes the phonetics laboratory which is currently being developed in the Centre for Language and Communication Studies, Trinity College, Dublin University.

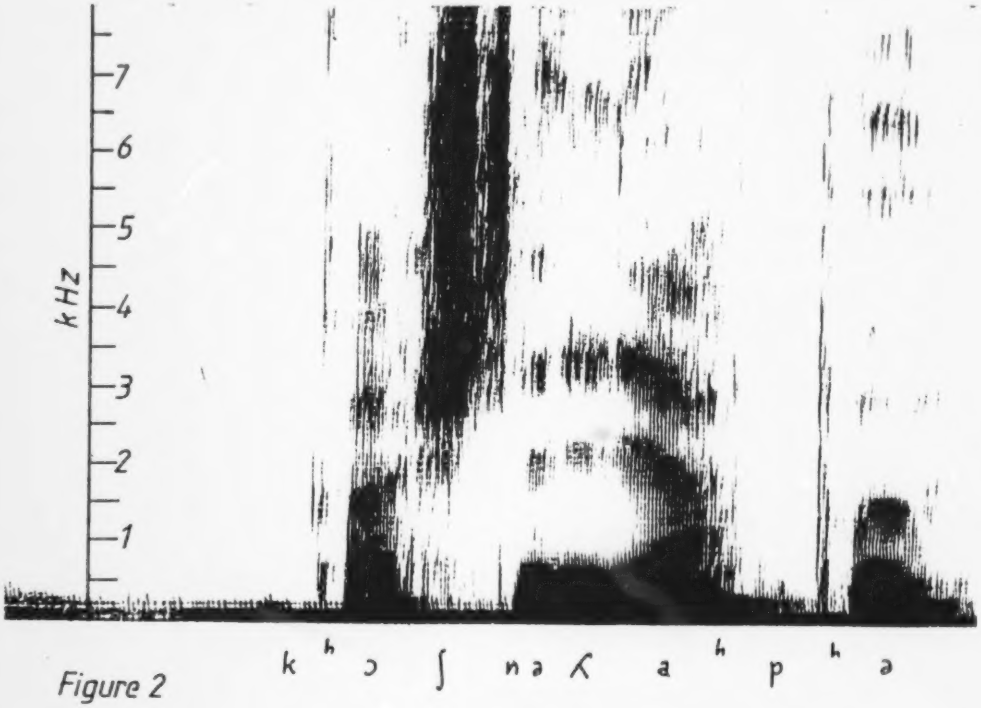

Figure 2

The more popular term 'voiceprint' may be familiar to some, since there has been considerable controversy surrounding their use in criminal investigation. The acoustic description of speech sounds is linguistically interesting insofar as it can be related to the production of speech and its perception. Indeed, acoustic description is a prerequisite for most work on speech perception.

C. Perception. The question inevitably arises as to which features of the speech waveform are extracted by the listener to reconstruct the message. The main technique used here is speech synthesis, whereby the most important parameters of the acoustic signal to our perception are artificially synthesised. These parameters can be manipulated (removed, added to, changed) in various ways to test their relevance to our perception.

As the first stage in the development of the phonetics laboratory, we are concentrating in particular on the area of speech production. The configuration of the system which is currently being set up is illustrated in fig. 3.

The aerodynamic unit (1) registers information concerning air-flow rates and pressures during speech. To obtain air-flow rates, the informant speaks into a mask, (2), with two compartments to measure flow from nose and mouth separately. By inserting a catheder containing a pressure transducer, (3), through the nose we can obtain oral pressure (if the transducer lies in the pharynx), or the equivalent of subglottal pressure (if the transducer is swallowed into the oesophagus just below

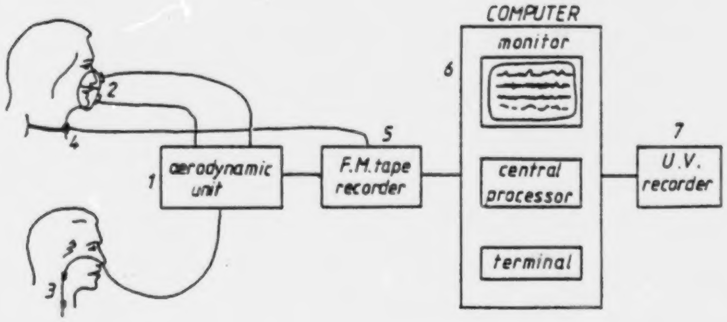

Figure 3

the glottis). These, along with a larynx microphone signal, (4), are recorded on a multichannel F.M. tape recorder, (5). The signals are digitised, stored in the computer, (6), and displayed on a monitor.[1] Using cursors, various measurements and calculations are made from the displayed traces, and the results are processed by the computer. The ultra-violet recorder, (7), gives a permanent hard copy of the signals.

Fig. 4 shows a number of possible traces that might appear on the monitor. With the exception of the nasal air-flow trace (for which I have added freehand to the original record a typical sample for the purpose of the illustration below) they have been obtained from a mingograph printout for the phrase; 'Dúirt sé "leapa" liom'. The traces show, from the top: Audio waveform, taken from a larynx microphone signal, Oral egressive Air Flow, Nasal Egressive Air Flow, Intensity, Laryngograph, and Fundamental Frequency, or pitch. (The last three of these have not yet been incorporated in our system).

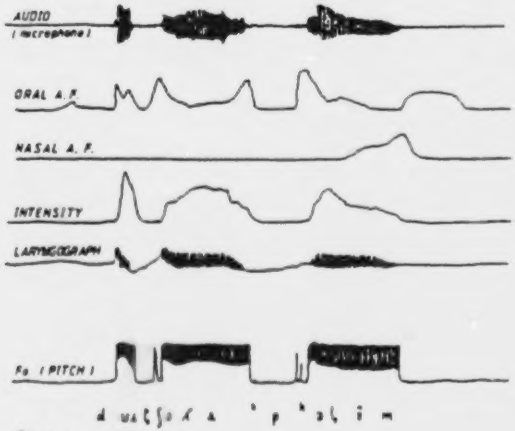

Figure 4

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1. The interfacing of external equipment with the computer and the software development involved, are being carried out by Mr. Eugene Davis of the Centre for Language and Communication Studies.

These traces yield a wealth of information,not only on the aerodynamics of speech, but also on its articulatory and temporal organisation. A few examples may help to illustrate their use. Looking at the Oral Air Flow trace one can tell there is complete oral occlusion when the trace reaches zero, and also the duration of such occlusion, e.g. for [p] in leapa and [m] in liom. If we relate Oral to Nasal Air Flow we will see that the important distinction between the two segments mentioned is the presence of nasal air flow for [m]. From these traces, it is possible to see and make quantitative measurements of nasal coarticulation with the preceding vowel (anticipatory velic opening). The degree and duration of coarticulation could be expected to vary somewhat between languages, and even between dialects of the same language. Coarticulatory evidence in general has served as the starting point for some important theories on the neural control of speech production.

In a clinical application, nasal leakage, characteristic of the cleft palate condition, would be visible during speech and, particularly, during the oral closure for [p]. A quantitative assessment of cleft palate damage and of improvement subsequent to speech therapy, or surgical intervention, can thus be aided by this type of instrumentation.

By relating more traces to the two already mentioned, one can add further dimensions to the picture one is building up of a particular aspect of language structure. An inspection of the audio waveform, from which voicing and aspiration can be deduced (top trace), shows voicing to be another distinguishing feature of the two segments [p] and [m]. At a more detailed level, one can investigate the temporal relationships between laryngeal and supralaryngeal activity in voicing contrasts. These traces, along with further dimensions, are central to my current research - an investigation of the phonetic realisations of phonological voicing oppositions in a number of languages including Irish, Icelandic and Scottish Gaelic.

The laboratory has been designed in a modular fashion. Further development is envisaged in two stages. In the immediate future, it is planned to expand the present system by adding the means to analyse further types of information, e.g. the laryngograph, glottograph, pitch and intensity extractors. One important addition will be electropalatography on which work has already begun[2]. This technique yields precise articulatory information, which is obtained by wearing an artificial palate (similar to a dentist's plate) into which electrodes have been inserted. A picture of the roof of the mouth showing the areas of tongue contact can thus be obtained. This we hope to be able to display simultaneously with the range of information already discussed. The picture will be dynamic, changing as a cursor is moved from left to right on the monitor screen.

Longer-term development will be aimed at the investigation of the acoustics and perception of speech. This will require in the first instance an expansion of computer storage and memory facilities. In the development of acoustics (and synthesis), we hope to work in close contact with the Department of Electrical and Electronic Engineering, where development work in the area of speech recognition is in progress.

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[2] This project is in collaboration with Frank Heuston of the Dental School, Dublin University.

As the first of its kind in the Republic, the phonetics laboratory should greatly extend the potential range of linguistic research here. The Irish language has an unusual sound system which presents the phonetician with a number of interesting problems, and it is expected that the laboratory will be used by American and European, as well as by Irish scholars.

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ERROR ANALYSIS OF IRISH STUDENTS LEARNING FRENCH

METHODOLOGY

1. RECORDING

Material

At the outset, the research was intended to include study of certain morphological and syntactical phenomena as well as the phonetic and phonological. However, it was soon restricted to pronunciation because of the extent of the material to be treated under that heading. The corpus consists of material recorded, using the C.G.M.62 test, devised by C.R.E.D.I.F.; this test provides a series of pictures, depicting everyday family life, which the subjects then describe in their own words. An obvious advantage of this type of test, is that one does not have the problem of mispronunciation due to a lack in reading skills.

Subjects

The subjects chosen for the test are girls preparing for the Leaving Certificate Examination. It was felt that by choosing students at this level, (i.e. end of Secondary School, beginning of Third Level), the analysis could be useful to both Second and Third Level teachers of French pronunciation. It is, at the moment, regional in its scope, since the students involved are all natives of Cork. This is largely for the purpose of having a reasonably homogeneous group, from the point of view of linguistic background.

2. PRELIMINARY CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

I have also undertaken some research on contrastive analysis of French and Hiberno-English, (the first language of the students recorded). There is quite an amount of work available on French - notably that of Pierre Delattre. His comparative work, however, refers more specifically to American English. Other useful work has been published by Pierre and Monique Léon and by researchers in the *Institut Phonétique d'Aix en Provence*, for example, Georges Faure and Albert Di Cristo.

Unfortunately, many researchers in the field of pure phonetic description of varieties of English, give too limited descriptions, confining themselves to comments on the / l/, the post-vocalic / r/ and the "soft" / t/. It is surprising, for instance, that J. D. O'Connor in his *Phonetics*, published by Penguin in 1973 (4th edition 1977), should ignore the reduction of some R.P. vowels to pure vowels in Hiberno-English. The problem is greater in the field of Applied Phonetics, since very little work has been done in the specific field of Irish students learning French.

3. TRANSCRIPTION

Symbols and Abbreviations

The average number of phonemes per student is about six hundred. Their transcription is based on the International Phonetic Alphabet, with some deviation in the use of diacritic signs. Each segment, (rhythmic group), is first transcribed graphically, disregarding morphological and syntactical errors, then a normative transcription is given, followed by the actual phonetic transcription as recorded on the tape. The final step, at this stage, is to give the "Ecart", i.e., the distance which separates the pronunciation from the norm.

Examples:

T.N.	[sœb]	[tɑ̃]
T.P.	[sœ̰ k]	[t-ɑ̃]
"Ecart"	œ̰/ɑ	t-/t

Norm

To establish this norm, I have used Pierre Léon's book entitled Prononciation du Français Standard, published in Paris by Didier, in 1966. I also decided to use the maximum phonological system of thirty-six phonemes, in order to give as detailed a description as possible.

Description of Error

Finally, a commentary is given on each phoneme, describing

- the phonetic nature of the error
- its context
- its frequency in relation to the total number of realisations of the phoneme
- possible reasons for the appearance of the error.

The overall results of the research will then be based on the accumulation of information obtained from each individual recording.

Classification

At this stage, also, errors will be classified according to their gravity from the point of view of the function of communication. In this light, the most serious errors are the phonological, which can lead to misinterpretation of the message. Phonetic errors are less important in that they are unlikely to lead to mininterpretation, but would probably reveal a "foreign accent". Finally, the least serious would be the use of regional or stylistic variants (provided they are used consistently).

4. CORRECTIVE EXERCISES

This classification will indicate where the need for corrective exercises is greatest and these will be devised accordingly. It will also permit an appreciation of the adequacy or otherwise, in an Irish context, of exercises devised by, for example, Pierre and Monique Léon, Georges Faure and Albert di Cristo.

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

From the transcription so far, it seems that premises based on preliminary contrastive analysis are justified.

1. POSITIVE TRANSFER

Generally, Hiberno-English speakers, have some advantages over their RP counterparts in learning French. These are, notably

- the smaller number of diphthongs, (/aɪ/, /aʊ/, /ɔɪ/)
- the pronunciation of a "clear" / l/ in all contexts,
- the pronunciation of the RP /θ/ and /ð/ as dental stops (opposed to / t/ and / d/ alveolar stops).

This favours positive transfer to French, which has no diphthongs, clear / l/ in all positions and dental / t/ and / d/.

2. NEGATIVE TRANSFER

Nevertheless, one must conclude that the possibilities for negative transfer are greater, given that the phonetic bases of French and Hiberno-English are diametrically opposed. This can be seen at all levels, in the phonemes themselves and in prosodic features.

H.E.	French
1. diphthongs	1. no diphthongs
2. lax vowels	2. tense vowels
3. neutralisation of vowels in unstressed syllables	3. -
4. nasalised vowels	4. nasal vowels
5. no front rounded vowels	5. a series of front rounded vowels

6.	aspiration of consonants	6.	no aspiration
7.	alveolar /r /	7.	uvular /r /
8.	/ j/ not appearing in final position	8.	/ j/ in all positions
9.	/ t/ sometimes pronounced as [ɾ]	9.	-
10.	free stress	10.	fixed stress
11.	tendancy to closed syllables	11.	tendancy to open syllables

All of these differences have led to errors of varying gravity.

Vowels

A large number of errors are related to stress and rhythm, in particular, the neutralisation of unstressed vowels. A striking example is the sound /a / which would not appear to present any great difficulty to the H.E. or indeed English speaker. However in a sequence such as,

"Il est à table"
[ilɛtaˈtabl]

the second [a] is frequently found to be correctly pronounced (at most, it would have slightly closer quality than in Standard French), whereas the first [a] is almost inevitably pronounced as the neutral vowel [ə]. One must therefore ensure that the learner is able to prnnounce the phoneme in all contexts, (including stressed/unstressed), whether he already possesses the phoneme in his native system or not. The importance of context is also seen in the fact that / j / in final position will tend to be pronounced as [ɩ] or [I] because / j / doesn't appear in this context in English.

Linguistic distance has also to be considered in that phonemes which exist only in the target language have caused difficulties - in particular the series of front rounded vowels, /y /, / ø /, /ɑ/ and also the nasal vowels /ɛ̃ /, /œ̃ /, /ɔ̃ / and /ɑ̃ /. In the case of /y /, for instance, the most frequent mistake is to confuse it with the back rounded vowel /u /. With regard to nasal vowels, there is usually the addition of a consonantal appendix, usually /ŋ /. Example [mamɑ̃ŋ] Another big problem is the lack of tension in vowels - this leads to diphthongisation which is particularly noticeable if vowels are lengthened by stress, or where there is hesitation. For example, in the sequence, [ləˈdeʒœne] , if [de] is stressed, it is likely to become [deɪ] .

Consonants

The phoneme /r / seems to present most difficulty: it is most frequently pronounced as the alveolar English /r /.

Aspiration is also noticeable, as can be expected, in the voiceless stop consonants. / t / and / d / are sometimes pronounced with an alveolar articulation.

There are [illegible] some isolated mistakes of devoicing consonants:

"maison"

This would seem to be by association with the spelling.

Conclusion

Errors recorded so far would seem therefore to confirm initial expectations except with regard to one phenomenon - the "soft" / t / - contrary to what was expected, it is not a frequent mistake; in fact only 2.5% of / t /'s transcribed are pronounced in this way.

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SIMPLIFICATION PROCEDURES IN THE INPUT AND OUTPUT OF 2nd LANGUAGE LEARNERS.

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In my research I set out to attepmt to establish a developmental sequence for the acquisition of French in the area of verb morphology and personal pronouns. Initially I was inspired by the research of Heidi Dulay and Marina Burt who showed that immigrant children from very different language backgrounds (Spanish and Chinese) learning English in a natural environment in the US acquired a certain set of grammatical items in a fixed order. (cf. Dulay and Burt 1973, 1974a 1974b) They argued from this that the children were showing evidence of a creative construction mechanism, that their learning was largely independent of input and that there was a natural order for the acquisition of at least some parts of syntax in English. My question was: Could this be true of French? Is there a natural order for the acquisition of certain items of French syntax?

It has also been suggested by Corder (1979) and others (cf. for example Schatz and Gelman 1977, Newport, Gleitman and Gleitman 1977) that native speakers of a language regress to an earlier stage of their own development when they are interacting with novices in the language, that they simplify their language to a stage which they themselves passed through as children. But there is some dispute about just how far native speakers will simplify. It struck me that by examining also the speech of French people to foreigners I might be able to establish a simplification sequence, or a series of stages in the simplification process, which could have points of correspondance (but in reverse) with the developmental sequence of learners.

With this dual purpose in mind I began data gathering in summer of 1980 in France. In order to test just how far French people would go in their simplifying processes I gathered data from a wide range of people of different social backgrounds and in different situations, pretending to have very little knowledge of the French language, and speaking to people in shops, on the street, at the dentist's, in social gatherings, etc. There were many of the features listed in the literature for Foreigner Talk, - slower rate, higher pitch, overall simplification, etc. However in the area of morphology or syntax, there were only two cases where one could say the level of broken French or ungrammaticalness may have been reached. One was in the course of an explanation by a Metro information officer on how to use the Metro:

- *Alors, un ticket. Un ticket vous. Un ticket Madame. (pour* ommitted)

The second was an assistant in the *Galeries Lafayettes* speaking about reductions on articles being exported.

- *Et cadeau....femme?* Assistant: *Oui, cadeau femme pareil, 13%.*

The second case may be an instance of the native speaker being influenced by the "input" from the foreigner. It would seem from this data (which is still in the process of being analysed) that in these cases at least French people were not prepared to descend to the level of pidgin or broken French.

The other side of the research was in the language of learners of French. For this purpose I interviewed some 15 students of different nationalities at the Alliance Francaise in Paris, but the principal data gathering was from three Irish children aged 6,9 and 12. They had never learned French in a formal way, and in the summer of 1980 they spent five weeks in France; three of these weeks were spent largely in a type of holiday camp - *Centre Aere* - by the kind permission of the Parisian municipal authorities. All the other children in the camp were French. The three Irish children were recorded three to four times each during and immediately after this period. Seamus, the eldest, gave evidence of the following transitional grammar:

Verb Morphology: a reduced but well-defined system. He had readily distinguishable forms for the following tenses, and the correct functional distinction in the use of each, but usually had one form throughout for all persons and numbers.

Thus: *Present:* a short form, usually corresponding to that used for singular.
Passe Compose: a + a form of the verb (frequently the correct past participle)
Imparfait: the ending [-ɛ] throughout.
Futur: va + infinitive.

There were also scattered examples of Conditionals and past conditionals.

Personal Pronouns: Subject: correct choice for person, number and gender. Indirect Object: Correct use in a communicative context of all except 3rd person plural. Uncertainty appeared when his attention was drawn to form.
Disjunctives: Correct usage for all except 3rd person plural.
Direct Object: Total ABSENCE for 3rd person. This was not an avoidance strategy, since the context frequently demanded a pronoun. For example:

- *Il va utiliser comme des chaises.* (*les* ommitted; standin for *les bancs)*

Syntax: Totally correct use of the simple negative *ne ... pas*, but no use of *ne ... rien* , *ne .... personne.*

Complementizing: Where there was a question of deciding between an infinitive or a sentential complement, he made the correct choice 99% of the time, though frequently there were errors within the sentential complements

e.g. In answer to the question: *Qu'est-ce qu'il leur demande de de faire?* - *Il demande qu'ils vont... ils jouent.*

This data provides evidence that Seamus was coming to grips with the French language at several different levels at once. In the area of verb morphology he seems to be acquiring the verbal system in the following order: Tense and aspect markers first; Person and number markers later. (The first person plural ending was beginning to appear in later recordings. As for the pronominal system the total absence of the direct object pronouns was surprising.

When analysing the data the question kept cropping up of WHY this was so. Also it wa apparent that the data was very restricted, having been collected in artificial and limited contexts - in conversation with the researcher, using the Bilingual Syntax Measure II of Burt, Dulay and Hernandez-Chavez 1977, or talking about his holiday in France or the journey. There is no data on the input of the French children in the holiday camp, or of adults around him. This would be essential for a full and proper interpretation of his output.

Many researchers have stressed the importance of considering input data in any analysis of language acquisition. (cf. for example: Snow and Ferguson, 1977, Hatch, 1974 and 1979, Wagner-Gough and Hatch 1975). We have already looked at features of the language of native speakers interacting with novices in the language. The question must now be asked: To what extent (if any) does the modified input (in which the native speaker simplifies the language and clarifies the message) make the target language easier for the novice to LEARN? I intend to continue collecting data, but now, rather than separate the two areas, to draw them together and record both output and input data for the same learners in different situations. The objective is to see if it can be established that any features in the input may have a facilitating effect on the learning process. There are many possible such features: frequency of occurrence of a particular form; its phonetic simplicity, or regularity; its grammatical or semantic simplicity; its value in communication, etc. etc. There are obviously many difficulties in such an attempt. For example it has been pointed out that the fact that a feature or a set of features exists in the input does not necessarily mean that it influences learning. It might just as easily be the case that it is the linguistic level of the learner that causes certain features to occur in the speech of someone addressing him or her. Dulay and Burt (1977) themselves recognize the need for this type of research and analysis and suggest that

> "the formulation of accurate and predictive principles concerning the effects of input factors on progress in acquisition might best be accomplished by SPECIFYING CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH EXTERNAL FACTORS WILL HAVE AN EFFECT. Such conditions may have to do with relationships among several factors operating at the same time and between input variables and internal processing factors." (p. 109)

While this appears a daunting task, the techniques for carrying it out would seem to be available now in the form of implicational scaling analysis which is used in the analysis of variation in language in sociolinguistics and in Pidgin and Creole linguistics. Use has been made of this method of analysis in second language acquisition research by Roger Andersen (1977 and 1978). It would be beyond the scope of this short paper to go into this in detail. But it would appear that it should now be possible to move closer to isolating in input what are the facilitating factors for learning and their relative weighting.

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Comhshamhlú Tadhallach

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Le haghaidh chomhshamhlú na Gaeilge, bailítear consain ina dtrí aicme:

(i) déadaigh, ailbheolaigh, stuaigh, taobhaigh, creathaigh;
(ii) frithchuimiltigh, liopaigh;
(iii)frithchuimiltigh, taobhaigh, creathaigh

Ní deacair an tsiollaireacht riachtanach chomhbhallach a chur ar chaindíní na haonaicme. In mo chanúint féin (An Cheathrú Rua), tá coibhneas 25::5 idir comhshamhlú siar (regressive) and comhshamhlú ar aghaidh (progressive). Is iondúil dhá athrú nó a trí i gcomhshamhlú, mar téann sé i gcion orthu seo: glotas, siollaireacht, caoile is leithead.

Tugtar thíos dhá eiseamláir shuntasacha as a raibh uilig san alt iomlán. Freagraíonn an péire don fhoirmle ghinearálta, $-\overleftarrow{D\ T}- \longrightarrow DC$, áit a dtuigtear D = déannach focail, T = túschonsan focail, C = comhshamhlú (ar D nó T).

1. Tá an comhshamhlú seo i gcló:

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} -t' \\ -t \end{array}\right| s'- \begin{array}{c} \rightarrow \\ \rightarrow \end{array} \underset{\cdot}{t}s'.$$

Tá súil agam lena chruthú ar ball nach stuach mír theanga, [t] , ach stuach lainne, [t́] , atá páirteach i dtoradh an chomhshamhlaithe sin.

2. Tá an darna heiseamláir ina comhshamhlú stairiúil sna cairn, [rs, rś], agus gheibhtear i suíomh sandhi freisin iad (chuir sé, d'fhógair sí, etc.) Siollaireacht ar leith, [ṣ́, ṣ] alafóin, atá ar a samhail i nGaeilge Leath Chuinn, agus í suntasach i mBéarla an limistéir chéanna, ina cheann sin. Ní heol dom in urlabhra Leath Mhogha í.

Ní haonfhocal do na scoláirí a d'fhoilsigh comharthaíocht shiollaireacht na heiseamlára (Gaeilge is Béarla). Luaigh cuid acu athchasadh teanga léi, ach ní léir dhom aon athchasadh uirthi, agus tá na foghair in mo chuid Gaeilge féin. Gnáth-chreathach stuach atá san /r/. Frithchuimiltigh stuacha iad /s´, s/, le mír na teanga crochta, in ionad a bheith íseal ar chúl an draid íochtair, mar atá le siollaireacht normúil an dá s-fhóinéim; is inspéise suíomh ard nó suíomh íseal mhír na teanga in /s´, s/ Bhéarla Shasana freisin.

ABSTRACT

Research in Progress: Marie de Montfort Supple

The effect of auditory perceptual functioning on acquisition of phonology:

A large proportion of the speech therapist's time is spent treating delayed and disordered phonology. Van Riper (1978) estimates that 80% of therapy in School age population is of this nature. Therapy for these children often takes the form of auditory discrimination drill, sometimes between target and substituted sound but more often it takes the form of a general nature. It was decided to carry out a study on Dublin School children to determine the part played by auditory processing in the development of phonology and thus, its relevance to therapy.

Method:

Sixty subjects; twenty-six male and thirty-four female were assessed in their first term in primary school to establish:

1) Phonological development - using Edinburgh Articulation Test.
2) Auditory discrimination - using (i) Picture Sub Test of Stycar Test.
   (ii) Picture of Minimal Pairs.
3) Auditory memory for digits - using Aston Index Sub Test.
4) Auditory memory for phonemes - using Test designed for project.
5) Auditory memory for sentences - using WPPSI Sub Test.

Results:

Significant but low rank order correlations were found between phonological development and 2 , 3 , 4 and 5 above.

Subjects were also grouped according to the number of errors on the Edinburgh Articulation test as follows:

Group (1) 0 - 3 errors.
Group (2) 4 - 10 errors.
Group (3) 11+ errors.

The scores for each group on the auditory processing tests were plotted:

It was found that the highest scores on tests 2 - 5 were achieved by subjects in group (1), and the lowest scores by those in group (3). However, some subjects in group (1) received low scores on these assessments but none of the low scorers on the Edinburgh Articulation Test received higher scores on these tests.

Discussion:

No very definite conclusions can be drawn from the results to date. The lack of sensitivity of the test of auditory discrimination used is considered to be a factor in that area. Unfortunately none of the current commercially available tests satisfy requirements in that they do not use relevant contrast, the reason for this being that these contrasts cannot easily be represented with pictures,(Locke (1980).).

Future Work:

A more sensitive test of auditory discrimination is being designed and in April 1981 will be administered to the subjects in the original sample as will the Edinburgh Articulation Test and tests of memory. Results will be analysed to discover if the results of this phonological assessment relate to:

(a) the initial assessment of auditory memory and discrimination

and

(b) to present assessment of auditory memory and discrimination.

A group of children with phonological disorders will be assessed on tests of memory and discrimination to establish if a greater correlation exists between the variables than was found in the normal school population.

In the event of the newly designed test of discrimination proving more sensitive than the test previously administered, an attempt will be made to standardize this test.

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THE TRINITY COLLEGE RESEARCH PROJECT ON INDEPENDENT LANGUAGE LEARNING

D.G.Little and D.M.Singleton

The Centre for Language and Communication Studies was established in 1978 as a special development project of the Higher Education Authority. Besides offering a range of audio-visual facilities and services, contributing to a variety of undergraduate courses, and providing supervision for postgraduate students, the Centre exists to conduct research across the spectrum of language and communication studies. To date research has been established in applied linguistics and phonetics. This report is concerned with developments in the former area.

Our research project on independent language learning inaugurates a new approach to the service teaching of second languages in Irish universities. Irish university education rarely has a second language component in subject-areas other than Classics and Modern Languages. The desirability of such a component, either to broaden the base of study or as an element in vocational training, is obvious in view of Ireland's membership of the EEC and her involvement in international affairs. Many university courses demand that entrants should already have a modern European language; but the level achieved by Irish school-leavers in European languages is (quite properly) rarely sufficient for the specialized applications that might be required at university (e.g. the ability to read historical documents in French or scientific papers in German). Furthermore the university curriculum may develop a need for languages that are not taught at second level.

Now, the hard reality is that the resources are not available for the recruitment of additional staff to provide instruction in languages so required by students. In any case, it would not always be easy to find teachers qualified to mount appropriate programmes (e.g. in non-European languages). Accordingly, any attempt to increase students' language learning opportunities will have to rely heavily on materials designed for "independent" or self-instructional use. Moreover, in order that such materials should be relevant to students' needs and optimally suited to self-instructional purposes, it has first to be established what students' language needs actually are, and what kinds of attitudes and experience they bring to the learning task.

Our project, which was launched in January 1980 and is scheduled to last for five years, is designed to meet these points. Early in 1980, with the help of our sociologist research assistant, we devised a questionnaire that would enable us to gather information about students' second language needs, their previous experience of language learning, the methods and materials they had been exposed to, and their reaction to the learning task. The questionnaire has been administered to random samples of the graduate and undergraduate student population of Trinity College. In order to gain a sense of the extent to which the data thus collected are typical of Irish third-level institutions generally, much smaller samples of the student population in other institutions are at present being surveyed. The final report on this stage of the project should be ready by the end of 1981. In it we hope to present not only a clear view of second language needs at third level but also a series of well developed learner profiles.

In November 1980 we increased our research team by two assistants and began work in the area of language learning materials. The data produced by the survey of the student population of Trinity College made it possible to begin to identify needs in relation to western European languages, including Irish. Accordingly our two new assistants have begun to analyse existing self-instructional materials with a view to identifying methodological problems and drawing up criteria by which these materials could be supplemented to meet specific learner needs. These analyses will be published in due course. At a later stage in the project we expect to produce our own learning materials.

We are not yet far enough advanced in the project to have begun to involve ourselves in the organizational problems attaching to self-instructional language courses. We expect that two areas in particular will require close attention: motivation and feed-back. How is a student who is teaching himself French to maintain his interest at a level that will make his learning effective? And how is the same student to measure his progress? Various commonsense solutions suggest themselves to these problems. At this stage it is enough to report that we are investigating the feasibility of using microprocessor technology to develop a means of self-assessment. If our work in this area is successful it will have implications for developments in the area of programmed language learning.

The ultimate result of the project will, we hope, be a significant improvement in the range, relevance and efficiency of the self-instructional language learning facilities in Trinity College. In addition, we expect eventually to be in a position to offer new insights, materials and technology which will be more generally applicable.

SECTION/ROINN 3B

Linguistics - How are you!

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My purpose in this paper are twofold:

(a) to outline the strengths and failures of present linguistic programmes at third level, and

(b) to make recommendations on how best to cater for the needs of those pursuing the study of linguistics in our Colleges and Universities.

Linguistics as Theory Building:

It is quite clear from a short perusal of current literature in phonological, syntactic and semantic works that linguistics is principally concerned with theory building. The questions being asked are of a very general nature and are quite basic in their content, such as the nature and legitimacy of evidence etc. Since current linguistics is preoccupied with theory building, the concepts being elaborated are not likely to be of any immediate relevance to language teaching or other practical concerns.

There is also no doubt in my mind that linguistics has been oversold in recent years. This overselling was the result of the Linguistics boom of the late sixties and early seventies, when the subject was introduced into Universities and Teaching Colleges by lecturers whose enthusiasm was for linguistics rather than for teacher training or for application in classroom teaching. Many of the things taught in such linguistic courses were in almost all cases irrelevant to the classroom teacher. This cycle of irrelevance must now be broken.

Before discussing how this might be done we must first look at what a teacher needs to be and do. There are of course many students of linguistics who will not end up as language teachers or therapists. One must therefore ask if their needs are different from the needs of those who will be trying to apply their new skills to the solving of language problems among different types of learners? I myself am enclined to the view that we have here two different groups with rather different objectives while one would agree that they should all be well grounded in disciplines within linguistics - it is not clear to what extent the study of such disciplines should continue. Since my own bias is towards the influence linguistics training should have on language teachers, in its broadest sense, I would like now to list certain requirements that teachers must have if they are to have any success as professionals and practitioners in their own jobs. The requirements given below would be expected of the teacher of English.

Language Skills:

(i) The teacher must be a good model of English speech.
(ii) He/She must be thoroughly conversant with modern English usage.
(iii) He/She must also be aware, through his/her own experience of the potential difficulty (phonological, grammatical etc.) for the

/....

learners in his/her classroom.

Professional Skills:

(i) The teacher should understand the principles that lie behind the preparation of language-teaching syllabuses.

(ii) He/She should be familiar with the various methods and techniques of classroom presentation and the rationale behind them. The teacher should also be able to modify and supplement material according to the needs of the class.

(iii) He/She must be familiar with current developments in language teaching and language learning theories and should be properly critical of claims made by their advocates.

Evaluation of Linguistic Influence on Language Teaching:

With the preceding remarks about the Language and Professional skills that should be required of teachers, let us look at what "linguistics" has achieved:

Recent statements point to a growing gulf between linguistics and language teaching and to a cautious evaluation of the desirable relationship that should exist between the two fields.

Wardhaugh - 1972 TESOL Convention - ".... that the current preoccupations of theoretical linguists have little if any relevance to language teaching."

Bolinger talks about - "organized intervention of linguistics" and fears that current linguistic theory may finally turn language teachers away from linguistics as a source discipline.

Selinker in his paper - "State of the Art" says that to have Linguistics as the sole basis of a theory of language teaching is a discredited hypothesis because many of the problems central to language teaching are of no relevance to current theoretical pre-occupations in linguistics. Linguistics is also in an uncertain state of development marked by constant dispute and doubt.

It has often been remarked that "What is valid in linguistic theory must also be valid in language teaching". This is a dangerous hypothesis and a great deal of valuable and sensitive work has been marred by the tacit acceptance of such a view.

Any discipline can be made to seem relevant to foreign language teaching. One can find applications and implications in many fields - cognitive psychology, speech perception, anthropology, sociology and a whole host of others.

The jump from theory to practice, from a principle to its application is no easy one. An oversimplified interpretation of theory and a facile expectation that theoretical constructs must find similar counterparts in an applied field such as language teaching, destroys the independence of the two disciplines.

What linguistics hasn't achieved:

One can summarize here by saying that failure is evident in two main areas:

(i) The content of pedagogical grammars, and
(ii) The attitude of teachers.

The Teacher as a Model of English speech.

Here, the study of linguistics should aim to help to improve the teacher's own language performance and his performance as a teacher. When one observes current speech closely one often discovers that the facts are very different from what they are popularly held to be. Many students need considerable re-education in the area in order to disabuse them of wrong ideas of correctness and to clarify for them the relative status of pronunciation in general for intelligibility as compared with the importance of correct stress, rhythm and intonation. A fresh look at the phonology (the sound system) of English, through linguistics can thus be invaluable in its effect on the student's attitude to his own speech. This of course does not mean telling the students that his own speech is seriously deficient in certain respects. Instead through an 'objective' study of the facts the student is able to recognise the truth for himself.

Cross reference can be made to method, to explain why certain contrasts are relatively unimportant and why improvement is so essential in other areas, i.e. rhythm and stress. The student, therefore, who is well equipped with the metalanguage of linguistics, will be better able to think about and discuss technical problems related to learning and teaching speech. Such a student should know immediately where the fault lies and should go about finding a remedy. The teacher not trained in linguistics will not be able to detect or discuss in a technical way why certain errors occur in both the sound system and in the grammar.

In the study of word formation and meaning, the insights provided by the linguistics course can be related to the problems of language learning for example, the inefficiency of decontextualized word-lists, the rationale for maximizing exposure through reading, the interrelation between words and structure. In the study of syntax (the various possible orderings that can occur in language) the aim should be to make him aware that grammar is essentially an account of the structural possibilities of various concepts related to communicative purpose. In this case cross-reference will be to the uses of transformations (rearranging word order) in learning new language patternsor in explaining ambiguities or errors. The study of syntactic possibilities can be linked to the principles of selection and grading involved in syllabus-construction.

It is true to say of course that the selection and grading of materials are rarely the responsibility of the classroom teacher; however, an understanding of the principles applied by the materials producer should help the teacher in his preparation of supplementary materials.

One of the most fruitful areas of language study at the moment is child language and the strategies used by children in acquiring their mother tongue. This is something which is not accomplished in one whole swoop but is built up bit by bit through exposure in many different situations. Language learning is seen clearly as a hypotheses testing one, by which the child accumulates knowledge about the structures acceptable in adult speech, and in this way he makes the final breakthrough to fluency. The teacher should also be aware of the various techniques of testing and the theory behind them. He should be aware of the use of transforms in testing, in the construction of drills etc.

The aim of all this is to make the student/teacher aware of what is going on and why, in the language teaching profession, and to enable him to read intelligibly on his own.

What we need then is a broad course in linguistics to suit diverse interests as a beginning point. This should cover the areas of phonology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, social usage etc., sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics etc. from a theoretical point of view. This should be followed by particular courses geared towards the needs of particular students. These latter courses would be of an applied nature and would cover among other things the following topics:

(i) Language Acquisition/Learning.	- L_1 & L_1 acquisition/learning. The course should cover all the linguistic, social and psychological problems that obtain in such circumstances. This would include the study of Interlanguage, language usage among different learners, immersion programmes, development of the brain, periods of language learning etc.
(ii) Syllabus Design, Curriculum Development and Methodology.	- Type and content of teaching materials etc. - order and presentation. The theories that lie behind the preparation of such materials and the methodology used.
(iii) Testing and Learning Objectives.	- The importance of objectives in language teaching. Different types of tests and the advantages and disadvantages associated with them.
(iv) Contrastive/Error Analyses of different languages.	- This course would build on the information given in the broad course in linguistics - the study of phonology, syntax, pragmatics, social usage etc.
(v) Language Change.	- Normal developments in language change - simplification of language structure etc.

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We should now contemplate the words of one famous linguist M.A.K. Halliday (1970) when he says "Replacing good teachers with no linguistic knowledge by teachers trained in linguistics does not of itself make much difference to the effectiveness of the language teaching taking place.................... the place for both phonetics and linguistics is behind the language teacher, in the training he received for his job as a teacher, in the preparation of the syllabus according to which his teaching programme is orgainised, and in the preparation of the teaching materials of all kinds that he makes use of in class". And that is precisely why teachers should be familiar with linguistics with special reference to the topics discussed above.

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LINGUISTICS AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AT THIRD LEVEL

D.G.Little

My concern in this paper is not with linguistics as an academic discipline or a subject of academic study, but with the contributions that various areas of linguistics should be making to the development of courses and teaching at third level. No doubt one could argue plausibly that the insights of linguistics are relevant to many third-level courses in both arts and science. But talk of linguistics in a university, especially if that university has no linguistics department, will tend to focus on the language-and-literature departments. They are my focus too. It is my contention that the teaching of literature, the definition of language teaching syllabuses, and the development of language teaching materials and methodology ignore at their peril what linguistics in one form or another has to tell them.

It is hardly news that in the English-speaking world during the past two decades linguistics and literary studies have not always been on good terms with one another. If one reads some of the disputes between linguistic and literary scholars, for example the one between Roger Fowler and F.W. Bateson reprinted in Fowler's The languages of literature (1971), it is often difficult to see what exactly the source of conflict is; and tempting to conclude that much of it derives from prejudice and incomprehension - at any rate on the side of the literary traditionalists. But the fact is that the medium of literature is language. To the extent that it is not to be merely a branch of philosophy or theology or sociology or social history or the history of ideas, literary study must concern itself with the linguistic means by which literary effects are achieved. Modern language departments are appealing to this fact when they insist that their students must read French novels in French, German poetry in German, and so on. It is important not to overstate the case, of course - there is a great deal more to literary studies than linguistics can possibly encompass; yet a core linguistic element is inescapable. The situation has been stated with perfect clarity by M.A.K.Halliday (1966, p.67):

> Linguistics is not and will never be the whole of literary analysis, and only the literary analyst - not the linguist - can determine the place of linguistics in literary studies. But if a text is to be described at all, then it should be described properly; and this means by the theories and methods developed in linguistics, the subject whose task is precisely to show how language works.

If an undergraduate's literary studies are to be first-hand, involving more than the assimilation and reproduction of what others have thought before him, he must be equipped to describe and analyse literary works as text and as discourse. In other words, he must be able to relate the way in which they work to the way in which the language works in normal social (i.e. non-literary) communication. A careful linguistic description of a text should act negatively as a check on wild speculation but also positively as the first step in the exploration of the text's meaning. Halliday's analyses of the use of the definite article in Yeats's poem "Leda and the Swan" (1966) and of the linguistic means used by William Golding in The Inheritors to suggest the thought processes of Neanderthal man (1971) are models of what can be achieved.

It is true that many literary courses these days contain an element of practical criticism, whether it is called by that or some other name, such as textual analysis. But how many graduates of literary courses have been thoroughly equipped with the basic tools I am talking about? In my experience very few. It is not of course necessary for undergraduates taking literary courses to be acquainted at first hand with the theories and methods developed in linguistics, but it is necessary for them to be able to describe how language works. Excellent primers exist which can be used to give a basic linguistic orientation to courses in textual description and analysis - for example Geoffrey Leech's A linguistic guide to English poetry (1969) or H.G.Widdowson's Stylistics and the teaching of literature (1975) or Anne Cluysenaar's Introduction to literary stylistics (1976).

I am convinced that if descriptive linguistics were permitted to make a more explicit contribution to literary courses, these courses would show a significant gain in intellectual discipline. Teachers and examiners would read fewer effusions masquerading as analyses, fewer statements of the student's mental state and emotional prejudices claiming the status of criticism. I cannot pretend, however, to know how to bring this transformation about in practical as opposed to theoretical terms. For the prejudice against linguistics among literary scholars remains as strong now as at any time in the past twenty years; just how strong is shown by the fact that the current conflict in the Cambridge English Faculty between traditional empirical criticism on the one hand and structuralist and post-structuralist poetics on the other has been widely represented as literary scholarship once more resisting the incursions of linguistics.

If linguistics can make a direct contribution to literary study at university, helping to provide the student with tools of description and analysis, its contribution to language teaching is indirect and behind the scenes. Language teaching has long been acknowledged as a problem by teachers and students in modern language departments. The problem has presented itself in various guises. The traditional exercises (prose, unseen and essay) have been declared unsuitable vehicles for language teaching; students have demanded more "relevant" language teaching; it has been thought desirable that students should attain greater fluency in the spoken language; language teaching has been seen to be divorced from the rest of the modern language course. But however the problem has been presented, its root cause remains the same: there is no language teaching syllabus for modern language courses, no clear statement of what the aims and content of language teaching should be.

In recent years there has been a great deal of interest in the problem of defining language teaching syllabuses for adult learners and schoolchildren. Perhaps the chief stimulus has been the idea of "communicative competence", which was developed in opposition to Chomsky's distinction between "competence" and "performance" (see for example Chomsky 1965 and Hymes 1971). Work in speech act theory and linguistic pragmatics has provided categories of definition and description. The idea of communicative competence focuses on language as a medium of communication rather than as a system of rules for generating sentences; its implication for language teaching syllabuses may be summarized as follows.

If the aim of language teaching is to enable the learner to communicate, what is taught will depend on the kind and range of communication that the learner is to achieve. Thus the first step in syllabus definition must be to describe in general terms the minimum linguistic behaviour that the learner should be capable of - the tasks he should be able to perform in the foreign language and the meanings he should be able to convey. Once this has been done, it is possible to attempt a fuller and more precise definition of the concepts to be communicated and the purposes and contexts of communication. The Skeleton Syllabus devised by I.T.E.'s Modern Languages Syllabus Project for Post-Primary Schools (revised version, 1980) provides a ready example of such a definition. It specifies the minimum linguistic content of the post-primary syllabus in terms of communicative functions, general notions, topics (specific notions), and situations.

There is no reason why the same principles of syllabus definition should not be applied to the language teaching component of university courses in modern languages. In order to draw up a general behavioural specification it is necessary first to know what the course is about. Modern language courses draw predominantly on the disciplines of literary and linguistic study. The corpus of language and literature which forms the basis of each course must be given precise definition, bearing in mind that an undergraduate course cannot possibly cover all of a language and its literature except by a series of evasions (see Little 1976). From here it is possible to proceed to some such broad behavioural specification as the following: "Students will be expected to understand, by reading or listening, the corpus of language which is the object of their linguistic and literary study. They will be taught to use the foreign language as a vehicle for the analysis and discussion of literary and linguistic texts and problems." And from here one could go on to specify in detail the minimum productive competence that the student should attain in the language. Modern language departments might shrink from binding themselves to such a specification, but there is no doubt that it would provide useful guidance for teachers, students, and examiners. Equally there can be no doubt that a language teaching syllabus of this kind would do much to remove the uncertainty as to aim that characterizes so much language teaching in modern language departments.

However, it is one thing to define the language learner's aims, quite another to arrive at a satisfactory methodology for fulfilling those aims. A great deal more will have to be known about the processes of language acquisition before our methodology and learning materials can be developed with total confidence. Nevertheless, some of the central insights of recent linguistics can at least offer guidance. To take perhaps the most obvious example, Chomsky's discrediting of Skinner's behaviourist theory of language acquisition as a process of habit formation has implications for the input/output theory that underlies audiolingualism: the theory that our teaching puts a given quantity of language into the learner and in due course extracts the same quantity of language. As common sense already tells us, our receptive competence in any language will always be greater than our productive competence. Some of the best recent language teaching materials recognize this fact quite explicitly. For example, each unit in the Langenscheidt course Deutsch aktiv for adult learners begins with a text (printed or spoken) which is both authentic and beyond the learner's power to produce. The unit proceeds by analysing the text in various ways and thus providing the learner with the means of reconstituting for himself at least some of the text's meaning.

This approach might be adopted in the development of language teaching materials for traditional language-and-literature courses at third level. A teaching unit in a French course might consist of a passage of French literary criticism, analytical exercises designed to lay bare the structure of French literary critical discourse, extension exercises that teach different ways of conveying a given range of meaning, and a creative exercise that requires the learner himself to invent a few paragraphs of French literary criticism. Here as in so many other areas of language teaching there is much to be learnt from developments in the teaching of English as a second language. An excellent illustration of the kind of teaching materials I have in mind is provided by the English in Focus series (Oxford University Press), which is concerned with the teaching of English for a variety of academic purposes. Certainly materials of this kind would make a great deal more sense to most students than prose composition, which in any case is founded on the false assumption that the student can produce the foreign language at the same level and in the same range as he can receive his own language.

I have spoken somewhat skeletally of three areas in which I believe the insights of linguistics can make a significant contribution to the development of curriculum and teaching. My motive for choosing these three areas was not simply that linguistics is commonly thought of in relation to language-and-literature departments. I believe that linguistics insights provide the means of integrating the customarily disparate elements of modern language courses. Literary study that is in part founded on linguistic description is also linguistic study; and language teaching whose content is defined in relation to literary study and which proceeds from analysis through reconstruction to creation, is closely akin to literary study. Clearly there is room here for a major effort of curriculum development; though I do not expect it to be an easy task to persuade my modern language colleagues.

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Réamhrá

Tá lúcháir orainn a fhógairt go bhfuil TEANGA 3 ar an saol. Tá súil againn go dtaitneoidh an leagan amach úr atá air lenár léitheoirí. Baineann an t-ábhar atá san eagrán seo le trí sheimineár a bhí ag IRAAL le dhá bhliain anuas. Bhí na páipéir sin ar Bhéarla na hÉireann atá san eagrán seo le bheith i dTEANGA 2 ach nár shroich an t-ábhar sinn in am lena bhfoilsiú san eagrán sin.

Bás G.B. Adams

Is trua linn bás thubáisteach, fhormhothaithe Bhreandan Adams, ar 9 Deireadh Fómhair, 1981, a bheith le fógairt againn. Maireann a bhean agus leanbh óg girsí. Ba mhór an buille an scéala sin orainn uilig a raibh aithne againn air. Bhí sé ina bhall de IRAAL agus bhíodh sé i láthair ag mórán dár gcuid cruinnithe. Tá páipéar leis á fhoilsiú san eagrán seo de TEANGA. Bhí sé ina shaineolaí ar chanúintí Chúige Uladh agus scríobh sé go flúirseach ar an ábhar sin. Bhí sé mar chartlannaí canúna san Ulster Folk and Transport Museum. Cha raibh aon deireadh ar a fhiosracht faoi theangacha agus faoin teangeolaíocht. Crothnóidh muid uilig a raibh sé de ádh orainn bualadh leis uainn é.

Introduction

We are glad to announce the appearance of TEANGA 3. We hope that our new format will appeal to our readers. The material in this edition is taken from three different seminars held by IRAAL in the last two years. The papers on Irish-English were to be published in TEANGA 2 but unfortunately the contributions had not reached us in time for inclusion in that volume.

The death of Mr. G.B. Adams

We are sad to announce the sudden and tragic death of Brendan Adams on 9 October, 1981, leaving a widow and a new-born child. It came as a deep shock to all of us who knew him. He was a member of IRAAL and attended many of its functions and one of his many fine contributions is contained in this number of TEANGA. He was an expert on Ulster dialects and had written profusely on this subject. He held the post of Dialect Archivist in the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum. His curiosity about language and linguistic studies knew no bounds and he will be greatly missed by all of us who had the pleasure of knowing him.

I leabaidh na Naomh go raibh a luí deiridh.

An tEagarthóir

The Editor

LINGUISTIC CROSS-LINKS IN PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

BY

G.B. ADAMS, M.R.I.A.

ULSTER FOLK AND TRANSPORT MUSEUM

For the last three or four centuries Ireland has been affected by a process of language shift. A linguistic interpretation of the difference between the two population groups recorded in Petty's census of poll-tax payers compiled in 1659 suggests that Ireland was then about 82 per cent Irish-speaking and about 18 per cent English-speaking. Our next more or less reliable estimate was made by Christopher Anderson, based on the population figures of the 1821 census and published by him in 1828, i.e. for a period about 160 years later than Petty. His figures suggest that Ireland was then just under 55 per cent Irish-speaking. Thirty years later, according to the first official language census the proportion had dropped to just over 23 per cent, but this is generally regarded as defective, perhaps to the extent of recording only about two-thirds of the Irish-speakers then existing, which would put the true figure at about 34 to 35 per cent. After another thirty years the 1881 census, which is regarded as being more accurate, recorded the number of Irish-speakers as being abut 18.5 per cent of total population, but thereafter the decrease became slower, reaching not quite 13.5 per cent in 1911, the year of the last all-Ireland language census.

In the half-century after 1659 there was some fresh immigration, not all of it, however, English-speaking, for it included French-speaking Huguenots and German-speaking Palatines, while Gaelic-speaking Scots continued to trickle into Ulster from the Highlands until the middle of the 18th century. Between 1660 and 1900, over a period of 240 years or about eight generations, some two-thirds of the people of Ireland changed their language, in the great majority of cases from Irish to English.

If we consider in greater detail the time-scale over which this process took place - provided people stayed in their own area and did not migrate into an area where the other language was commonly spoken - we realise that the whole process at the individual level could extend over four generations of a family, namely:-

1. The monoglot Irish-speaker who in adulthood picked up some English from English-speaking immigrants but could not speak English effectively.

2. His son who learned some English at school and later improved his knowledge to the point of speaking English semi-fluently but only as a second-best to Irish.

3. His grandson who spoke both languages fluently but had more occasion for using English and probably failed to pass on Irish to his children.

4. His great-grandson who spoke English only from childhood but perhaps had a limited passive knowledge of Irish derived from his grandparents rather than from his parents.

For simplicity I have here described the process of language shift in terms of transmission through the male line of descent over four generations but the process could be speeded up or retarded by differential linguistic behaviour on the part of males and females within the family or by various other factors. At the social as opposed to the individual level within this four-generation time-scale it would be the two middle generations who would be effectively bilingual. With an overlap averaging 30 years between each generation the combined life-span of two generations could run to about 90 to 100 years, but the period of overlap between the two languages would be of the order of about 60 years.

When we place such a 60-year period against the whole 240 years between 1660 and 1900 we see that in different parts of the country as many as four distinct periods of language-shift could be covered by this total time-span without any chronological overlap. I would reckon that in the Saintfield area of north Down the language shift took place about 1670 to 1730; in the Moira area on the borders of west Down and south Antrim it took place about 1750 to 1810; in the Drumaness area of mid-Down it took place about 1810 to 1870; along the north Antrim coast it took place about 1840 to 1900; on Rathlin Island it took place about 1900 to 1960. These places all lie between 10 and 60 miles from Belfast. There is some chronological overlap and also some gaps between some of them but the whole process extends to a time-span of almost three centuries.

In the half-century before 1660 political and social conditions were too chaotic for the ordinary process of language shift to operate in a regular way. Since 1900 the one-way shift from Irish to English has been overlaid in parts of the country by the reverse process. It is therefore to the eight-generation period between 1660 and 1900 that we must attribute the language shift in its classic form, with variations in its rate of progress from one district to another. This is the classic period of language shift and of language contact between Irish and English when cross-links between them in phonology and grammar were established.

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In phonology the most striking result of this language contact and of the shifting bilingualism resulting from it has been the expansion of the English consonant system. Early modern English, introduced in the half-centruy before 1660 had a consonant system of 25 phonemes, one of which - the voiceless /ʍ/, written wh orthographically - has since been lost in Anglo-English, while in many forms of the latter /r/ has also been lost when not followed by a vowel. It had a number of consonantal allophones, notably clear and dark /l/ occurring before vowels and consonants respectively; and velar and palatal forms of /k/ and /g/ occurring before back and front vowels respectively though here the distinction is no longer so prominent in modern standard Anglo-English pronunciation as it once appears to have been. The Lowland Scots form of the language lacked these allophonic variants but it had a more robust pronunciation of /r/ which remained in all positions and produced interdental allophones of alveolar /t/ and /d/ before it, even when the schwa vowel intervened. As well as this there were three additional phonemes - the voiceless velar fricative /x/ and palatalized /ʎ/ and /ɲ/, - making a total of 28.

Contact between Irish and English in the three southern provinces and between Scots plus English and Irish in Ulster has produced slightly different consonant systems in southern and northern Hiberno-English. In both, hovever, the number of consonantal phonemes has been raised by the phonemicization of allophonic variants and this has happened where these corresponded with sounds that were separate phonemes in the Irish consonant system. Here of course we run into the problem that Irish dialects differ to a greater extent than English dialects in the total number of phonemes that they use. Leaving aside voiceless liquids and nasals and certain nasalized fricatives whose separate phonemic status in Irish is secondary and recent, Donegal Irish has 39 consonantal phonemes whereas Munster Irish has 33 and Scottish Gaelic has 31 - near to Munster in total numbers but quite differently arranged - and English RP has only 24 which is considerably less than any of the Gaelic dialects, Irish or Scottish.

Basically I will describe northern Hiberno-English which is better known to me than southern with its various sub-varieties. Northern Hiberno-English can have up to 36 consonantal phonemes which is much nearer the 39 of Donegal Irish than the English RP total of 24, though not all sub-varieties reach this high total. The point is that although the Ulster English and Ulster Irish systems are not identical there are no extra phonemes in Ulster English that do not exist as separate phonemes in Ulster Irish. In Ulster all 28 phonemes of the Lowland Scots consonant system have been preserved, not just in Ulster Scots dialect but in the regional standard pronunciation of English, though in Belfast working-class speech there is a tendency to loose /x/ and /ʍ/ in the case of speakers who have no country background. Phonetically /ʍ/, when not lost, is frequently pronounced with considerable bilabial friction and so falls together with Irish broad f, which it represents in loanwords and proper names e.g. whillogie from faoileóg, Whelan from Ó Faoláin. Bilabial /f/ and /v/ have also been heard in place of the English labio-dental /f/ and /v/ around the southern and south-eastern shores of Lough Neagh, even in one case from a speaker named O'Hagan who did not know how many generations back his forebears had spoken Irish. The /x/ phoneme occurs in loanwords and proper names from Irish - where Dublin speakers, like the English, usually replace it by /k/ -, in non-standard dialect words from Scots, and in the Ulster Scots pronunciation of general English words that have lost it, but it has failed to form a basis for introducing its voiced counterpart which exists as a separate phoneme in Irish, and of course it would have no occasion to arise in English except to a very limited extent in loanwords from Irish. The /x/ phoneme is sometimes weakened phonetically and then falls together with /h/ but thereby acquires a wider distribution than original /h/.

In addition to these 28 phonemes all forms of dialect and non-standard speech in Ulster have added four interdental or ambidental phonemes /T, D, L, N/ by phonemicizing allophonic variants of alveolar /t, d, l, n/. To take the lateral and nasal pair first, minimal pairs illustrating the contrast between interdental /N/ and alveolar /n/ are provided by:
east Antrim /wʌNər/ *wonder* versus /wʌnər/ *winner*, with the same vowel sound but different nasal phonemes, which would be written *bhonnar* and *bhonar* respectively in Irish orthography;
/haüL/ *hold* versus /haül/ *howl*.
When to these are added the palatalized /ʎ/ and /ɲ/ we see that northern Hiberno-English is a language with three *l*-phonemes and three *n*-phonemes, like Scottish Gaelic rather than like northern Irish which has four of each. This leads us to ask what has happened to the four *l* and *n* phonemes of Ulster Irish when proper names and other loanwords are transmitted to Ulster English. Curiously, although interdental /L/ and /N/ survive in northern speech their incidence appears to be goverened by the phonology of English rather than by direct survival in individual loanwords from Irish. Thus *tulach* and *mullach*, which do not form a perfect rhyme in northern Irish, survive as *tullagh* and *mullagh* in placenames, which do form a perfect rhyme with plain alveolar /l/ in both. In Ulster English the interdental or emphatic phonemes occur in situations deriving from the phonology, e.g. where /d/ has been lost after /l/ or /n/, or after /r/, and where allophonic variants have then been phonemicized because of changes in other parts of the sound system. In the case of the two palatal forms of *l* and *n*, two developments are possible when Irish words pass over into English. Either the distinction between palatal and non-palatal is lost and Irish slender /l´/ and /n´/ fall together with broad /l/ and /n/ as ordinary English alveolar /l/ and /n/, or else the slender lenited sounds are emphaticized and appear as /ʎ/ and /ɲ/ (the /L´/ had /N´/ of traditional phonetic transcriptions from Gaelic dialects). Thus we have *Lough Gullion* from *Loch Goilin* and *Slieve Gullion* from *Sliabh*

gCuilinn. In English words the sounds /ʎ/ and /ɲ/ appear for English RP /l/ and /n/ plus yod /j/. I am not sure how far south this system of three l-phonemes and three n-phonemes extends in southern Hiberno-English. On the basis of the Irish substratum one would expect it to be present in Connaught and north Leinster but it may not occur in Munster and south Leinster where Irish had only two lateral and nasal phonemes and not four. It is also not quite clear how far the threeway contrast in Ulster English may be due to the influence of Scottish Gaelic which has a threeway contrast in the matter of l and n phonemes as opposed to the fourway and twoway contrasts of northern and southern Irish. It is interesting that in both Loch Cóilín and Sliabh gCuilinn the intervocalic unlenited slender l has been made emphatic after a stressed vowel to preserve its palatal quality whereas the final slender n, lenited in the first case and unlenited in the second, standing after an unstressed vowel has been depalatalized along with this vowel and the distinction between lenition and non-lenition in the two words has been lost. Thus the fourway system of oppositions at phonemic level has been recast in passing over from Irish to English.

The function of interdental /T/ and /D/ differs in northern and southern Hiberno-English. The boundary between the two areas runs roughly along the county boundaries between Bundoran and Cuilcagh Mountain, then north to Upper Lough Erne and follows the lough to the point where Cavan, Monaghan and Fermanagh meet. After this it runs across Monaghan just north of the barony of Farney into Armagh at Cullyhanna and thence over Slieve Gullion through Jonesborough and across the Cooley Mountains to Dundalk Bay. North of this line the English interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ have been preserved - and it is noticeable that some bilinguals pronounce Irish broad s as almost an interdental rather than an ambidental fricative - whereas south of this line thay have been replaced by the corresponding occlusives /T/ and /D/. Apart from this /T/ and /D/ occur in all parts of Ireland as what were originally allophones of /t/ and /d/ which have later become phonemicized owing to other changes in the sound-system, at least in dialectal and non-standard speech, giving a total down to this point of 32 consonantal phonemes for northern Hiberno-

English, with the reductions already mentioned in the southern variety.

To this list must be added the four palatal phonemes /kʹ, gʹ, ŋʹ, xʹ/ corresponding to velar /k, g, ŋ, x/, all of which can occur in both northern and southern Hiberno-English, though only the last occurs in Ulster Scots dialect and there only as an allophone of velar /x/. This brings us up to a total of 36 consonantal phonemes for many varieties of Hiberno-English, though with some reduction in the total number for its southern variety on the one hand and for Ulster Scots dialect on the other. The two systems are at their closest perhaps for Ulster Irish on the one hand and Ulster English in the narrower sense - excluding Scots - on the other. There are, however, the following points of difference:

1. Ulster Irish has not adopted the voiced sibilants of English nor Hiberno-English the voiced velar fricative of Irish;
2. Northern Hiberno-English at least, and possibly some southern varieties as well, has adopted three of the four l- and n-phonemes of northern Irish but has reduced the r-phonemes to one only;
3. Hiberno-English has lost the broad/slender contrast in the case of the labials /p, b, m/ and non-lenited /l/ and /n/.

Among the vowel phonemes there are no specific cross-links at phonemic level of the kind that exist among the consonants, though the phonetic realization of some phonemes shows traces of Irish influence. The most notable example is perhaps the Hiberno-English development of Middle English short u which in most parts of the country has become /ö/, though not in the strongly Ulster Scots dialect areas.

When we turn to the realm of grammar we come to a field where there is considerable scope for cross-links to develop. At the level of morphology there exist both resemblances and differences between the two languages. In the noun both recognise the difference between singular and plural - though Irish has a more extended use of singular nouns after numerals than English has - and between the common case and the genitive, but Irish uses the genitive to a greater extent than English, which in certain cases prefers an uninflected attributive noun or one linked with the preposition of. In both languages plurals can be formed by internal vowel change or by adding a suffix, but the former are far more numerous in Irish than in English and there is a far greater variety of plural suffixes. Singular nouns in Irish have the gender distinction between masculine and feminine which English lacks, but both agree in making no such distinction in the plural. Finally, some Irish nouns have special forms after prepositions, for the vocative case and for the dual number, all of which things English lacks. In adjectives both agree in lack of inflection if the adjective is used predicatively but the Irish adjective, unlike its English counterpart, may have both inflexion and initaial mutation when used attributively. With a single elative form to express the comparative and superlative degrees, which is invariable because construed as being predicative in a subordinate relative clause, and with no adverbial derivative other than the use of the preposition go before it, the Irish adjective is simpler than the English adjective which fluctuates between the suffixes -er and -est or the prefixed adverbs more and most in the first case and somewhat variable use of the suffix -ly in the second.

As usually happens between languages belonging to different branches of the Indo-European language family, the differences in their verbal systems are much greater. An English verb has only four forms, except for a minority of about 60 verbs that have five forms and another minority of about 30 verbs that have only three. The verb be with eight forms and half a dozen modal auxiliaries with only one or two are really outside the system. The -s in the third person singular of the present tense is the only personal inflexion left; the suffix -ing forms a derivative which has both gerundial or nominal and participial or adjectival functions; the past tense and past participle are now identical except in the minority of 60 verbs that have an extra form, while in the other minority of 30 verbs thay are even identical with the present tense except where the latter adds -s in the 3rd person singular.

In Irish as in English the Imperative singular is the root from which the rest of the verb is derived but the Irish Imperative has a special plural form. The Past tense is simpler than in English since it is always formed by initial prefix or mutation, but it is never identical with the past participle or verbal adjective which always has a distinctive suffix. The Present tense has the suffix *-ann* throughout and not just in the 3rd person singular where English has *-s*. The English gerundial participle with suffix *-ing* and its uninflected infinitive with prefix *to* are both replaced by a verbal noun which can have gender, number and case just like any other noun and take a dependent genitive instead of a direct object. Thus the basic parts of an Irish verb differ in the system by which they work from the equivalent parts of an English verb, but differences between the two languages go much further for the Irish verb possesses inflected and in some cases initially mutated forms expressing categories of meaning that are either not explicitly expressed at all or are quite differently expressed in English. These are five kinds:

1. Suffixially derived forms to express the Habitual Past, the Future Tense, and the Conditional and Optative Moods;
2. Synthetic forms, more numerous in southern than in northern dialects, to express the person and number of the subject instead of using separate personal pronouns with a fixed form for each tense;
3. Impersonal or autonomous forms for each tense to express an undefined subject;
4. In northern Irish a special relative form in the present and future tenses;
5. A series of derived participles formed by prefixes added to the verbal adjective.

Finally, while the range of personal pronouns in Irish is somewhat simpler that in English many prepositions have conjugated forms to express a pronominal object.

Such similarities in the structure of the two languages as are listed above are not due to cross-links established by language contact over a long period of bilingualism but, like the much more numerous differences, are due to the separate development of two branches of Indo-European over a long period of time. It is not in the morphology of the two languages that we must seek cross-links but in the realm of syntax. Time permits the mention and examination of only a few points.

The first is the use of the definite article. Early Indo-European had no article either definite or indefinite. English developed both, but Irish developed only a definite article, and having done so it uses it somewhat more extensively than English does. The definite article in Irish is used before names of abstracts, diseases, languages, countries, and except in the case of countries we find this usage also in Hiberno-English where standard English would normally omit the article.

A second point concerns the distinction between the momentary present and the habitual present in the verb *be*. Standard English has only one present tense: *I am*, *you are*, *he is*, but Irish distinguishes between the momentary present *táim* or *tá mé*, *tá tú*, *tá sé* and the habitual present *bím*, *bíonn tú*, *bíonn sé*. In Hiberno-English the traditional present tense is usually restricted to the momentary meaning while a new habitual present has been formed which is either *I do be*, *he does be* or else *I be*, *he bes*. I have the impression that the former is more common in the south and the latter in the north, except in the negative and interrogative form where this tense takes the auxiliary verb do just like any ordinary verb.

A third point concerns the lack of the auxiliary verb equivalent to the English *have* which means that there is no series of perfect tenses. For the pluperfect tense of standard English we use the simple past, while for the perfect we either use the simple past as well, which is less explicit than standard English or a periphrasis, dealt with below, which is more explicit. If the verb has an object the verb *have* may indeed be used but the past participle then follows it as a predicative adjective and the sense is then not quite the same as the English perfect or pluperfect tense.

Fourthly, there is the series of continuous or progressive tenses that distinguish even standard English from several of its closest relatives on the Continent. These are formed with the verb *be* plus the present participle or gerund. In Old English this was preceded by the proposition on which survives in worn down form as the prefix a- in Wessex English and it has been said that English developed this construction through contact with Welsh and Cornish. It corresponds to the Irish verb tá followed by the preposition ag and the verbal noun, but Hiberno-English, like Irish, goes much further than this for by using the preposition after between the verb be and the present participle a series of perfect tenses is produced, and by using the proposition for - corresponding to Irish le - we get a series of tenses denoting future intention.

A fifth syntactical feature is the omission of the relative pronoun, not only when it is the object of the relative clause, which can be done in general colloquial English, but even when it is subject, while a sixth feature is the use of and to introduce certain subordinate clauses that need a different conjunction plus finite verb in standard English; this and is followed by the present participle or sometimes the English infinitive.

Finally it may be pointed out that sentences like: he's big the man, they're dear the eggs now for standard English 'he's a big man', 'the eggs are dear now' point to literal translation from the structure of Irish classificatory sentences. All these idioms are evidence of cross-links between the two languages that arose from a prolonged period of bilingualism.

Oral and Written Language in Middle Childhood.

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Introduction

There are two comparisons which I wish to develop in this paper. The first is between the language of adults in oral cultures and the language of children in all cultures. We are in a strong position in this country to make such a comparison, thanks to the work of the folklorists and linguists who have given us so detailed a description of one particular oral culture, the Irish-speaking culture along the west coast. Perhaps it might be useful if we temporarily adopted the perspective of the folklorists, looking on the written word with a certain resentment on account of the many fine things it brings to an end. Perhaps we might even look at the arrival of the written word in childhood in this way, though we are more accustomed to look on this event as the beginning of real civilization. At any rate we might consider the possibility that we sometimes introduce reading and writing to children in ways which are disrespectful of their own oral culture. Such an anxiety has been expressed in the past by Goethe, by John Stuart Mill, and by Rudolf Steiner, for example. I wish to take this theme up again, looking at some of the difficulties which children experience when they are learning to write, and also at the early writing efforts of adults brought up in an oral culture.

The second comparison I wish to make is between inferential and representational theories of language in contemporary psycholinguistics. At present inferential models are dominant, largely through the successes of transformational grammar and computer-based theories of language. These are models which focus on the linkages which exist in word strings, abstract sequential linkages and meaningful semantic linkages, in virtue of which it is possible to infer the total meaning of an utterance by attending to the clues contained in its various parts. Language, on this view, is essentially a matter of grasping or conveying meanings, and the fact that there *are* meanings to be grasped or conveyed is not a major issue. It is taken for granted that elementary meanings are there to begin with, like the word-meanings in a dictionary, or the items of information to be gleaned by correctly recognising the individual words in an utterance. Representational theories of language, on the other hand, ask about meaning itself: how it comes into existence, how it grows as a sentence is being created, how it changes with the style and format of utterance. The event to which all representational theories return, as if to a shrine, is the one described so vividly by Helen Keller (1958): the emergence of names, not merely as labels for meanings already grasped, but as a unique form of representation which somehow enriches imaginative life in a way that signals in other media can never do, however much information may be reliably inferred from them.

Representational theories, unfortunately, have tended towards romanticism and have often been anti-empirical in tone. For this reason they are no longer very popular in psycholinguistics. But they have not died out completely, and indeed there are some recent signs of a revival. I believe that it is only a representational theory which can do justice to the complexities of children's language in the period when they are normally introduced to the written word. If we are too firmly committed to inferential theories and the "skills-based" approach to language teaching that goes with it, I fear that there may be an impoverishment of linguistic representation during this period, with the result that children will not take with them into their later reading and writing that natural enjoyment of language which is characteristic of their oral period. We are vulnerable in this regard if we do not have some representational theory of language, however crude, to acknowledge what is a basic truth about language: that its unique contribution to cognition is not in the matter of precipitating inferences but in generating representations, quite regardless of what may or may not be inferred from them in a given context.

Folk Writing

For a start, consider some examples of writing produced by adults in the older, oral culture. It may be called folk writing for want of a better description. I am hopeful that it will suggest ways in which we might smoothen the transition from spoken to written language in primary schools. Folk writing, which in this country we associate most with the books written on the Blasket island, has a distinctive style, though it is by no means as unusual as some commentators and translators have made it out to be. In other countries too, when modern civilization is superimposed on a developed oral culture, it seems that this particular style of writing flourishes briefly before the old culture is finally swallowed up in the new. (Various examples from Russia are to be found in Imbovitz, 1977.)

The passages I have chosen are entries from a diary kept by Tomas Ó Criomthain in the years between 1918 and 1922 (Ó Criomthain, 1928/1977). The author was 62 years when he started to write Irish, which was virtually for the first time, although he learned the basic skills of writing in English some 50 years earlier in primary school. I have reproduced his own punctuation in the passages that follow.

> Do ghaibh an Captaen tímpeall aris. Do thainig i dtír, do bhuail bóthar an rí suas, a chaipín i mbarr cána aige, é chomh beo, chomh hanamúil le slataire fiche bliain. Á rá go hard go raibh an tsíocháin déanta, go mbeadh gach ní go maith sara fada. Pógadh cailín óg, Há, Há, Há. Baineann amach tigh an Rí den scríob sin. Deireann se leo, go bhfuil an tAimiréal le teacht go hobann, chun féachaint ar an áit. Nuair a bhí se sásta, leis an méid gaoithe-móire a bhíonn ligthe amach aige, buaileann an bóthar céanna síos téann ar bord, dúirt go mbeadh anseo, tar éis, Lae Caille, ar a laethanta saoire, an áit ba bhreátha leis ar bhuail sé tosach a bháid riamh ann. Deirim féin an méid seo leis. Ba mhinic chugainn é, & ba mhinic uainn e, & ón uair nár thuill se aon mhallacht uainn, go raibh ár mbeannacht go léir leis, níl aon spota le cur ina choinne againn ná gur dhuine uasal néata é.
> Cad deire, le Seán Eoghain, ná go raibh d'iarraidh ualaigh eile móna an lá seo. Nuair a shroich se an tigh, do rith Méiní chuige, féach anois an bhfuil an tsíocháin déanta, ar sise. Cé dúirt leat é ar seisean. Dúirt Hix, inniu é, ar sise, go mbeire an diabhal uaim agat é, ar seisean, an fear éithigh is mó ar chósta Chiarraí, ná Éireann (pp.4-5).

> Lá Nollag. Ní raibh aon naomhóg amuigh chun an Aifrinn. Bhí droch-chuma ar an maidin, cé gur dhein lá breá de. Bhí na hoileánaigh mísásta mar gheall ar sin, Dar bhur n-anam gléigeal, arsa Sean, mairsin, ní míle maicréal a bhí i ngach naomhóg acu, is sibh ná fanfadh le chéile chun dul amach leo. & tá eagla orm, ar seisean, gurb é galar na Gaelinne a bheidh ar an gcreideamh agaibh sara fada, má leannan sibh ar an bhfuadar atá fúibh, a phaca, ar seisean.

Tar éis dinnéir. Buaileann an Rí amach & an máistir, chun bailiú beag a dhéanamh do no sagairt. Ach ní raibh aon mhearbhall orthu a dtithe féin a bhaint amach, toisc, gur fíoruisce a bhí ag bualadh leo in ionad an uisce beatha. Ní bheadh aon chogadh againn araon ag tathant fíona ar a chéile i mbliana dá mbeifeá anseo. Glac, nuair gheobhair: Fírín buí. (pp.7-8).

Buaileann chugam suas, mar a mbím ar chliathán an chnoic mar a mbím ag baint dornán móna, gasra de ghramaisc mhion mar a mbeadh scata caorach. Stadaid im' theannta tamall. Cuirim ceist orthu. Cad a thug an bóthar sin sibh. Bhí ceann acu cuíosach mór & d'fhreagair sí i gceann tamaill. Tá craobh uainn, cad chuige, chun tine. Ná fuil móin agaibh, níl, is fada go raibh. An bh'fuileann sibh tar éis scoile anois. Tá sí dúnta inniu agus ár laethanta saoire againn, an fada, coicíos, an mbeidh an máistir díomhaoin ar feadh an méid sin, ní bheidh i ndomhnach, cad é an cúram a bheidh aige á dheanamh, tá prátaí gan cur uaidh, agus móin gan baint aige, craobh atá uaibhse anois, sea, an fada siar atánn sibh chun dul, siar don Dún is dócha, an mbeidh sibh ag baile chun bídh, beam, a bhuachaill. Mar tá scóp chun siúil orainn, toisc sinn a bheith istigh i gcónaí. Arbh fhearr libh a bheith ag baint chraoibhe i gcónaí ná ar scoil. A Mhuire do b'fhearr, ansin, is ea a bhogaid chun siúil. & ní siúl go dtí é, i gceann cúpla uair an chloig téim suas go fíoraí an chnoic, mar a mbíonn radharc ar dhá thaobh an chnoic agam. Bhí deich bpearsana fichead ag teacht ón dtaobh thuaidh, de gharsúin, & a bheart féin ar gach duine acu, an oiread céanna de ghearrchaillí ar an dtaobh theas, an ceann ba mhó chun tosaigh ar gach treibh acu, & iad mar sin de réir a n-aoise siar go deireadh, tamall ina stad acu. Tamall ag feadáil, & tamall ag amhrán. Pé caitheamh aimsire a bhíodh ar bun acu i bhfaid na slí ag baint an tí amach, do dheineadar é léiriú gan baint le Béarla.

Fonn: Bán-chnuic Éireann Ó

Bíonn mo thaisteal de shíor go síor gan staonadh,
   Ar bhánta an Bhlascaeid Mhóir,
Ní iontaisí ach a gcím ní bréag sin,
   Ó bhánta an Bhlascaeid Mhóir,
An Scológ thiar ar iarthar Éireann,
Na loingeasa thar lear sa dtaisteal taobh léi,
Feicim ansin na bric sa tréanmhuir,
   Ó bhánta an Bhlascaeid Mhóir (pp.64-44).

Is lá geimhridh é & a chuma air, tá séideadh na gaoithe-móire ag cur na farraige lastuas de gach áit a bhfuil sé ar a cumas é a dhéanamh, Níl aon radharc agat ar na stocáin mhara atá san fharraige le hanfa agus le cúrán bán ag gabháil lastuas díobh, tá an féar a bhí glas inné feoite inniu, tá craiceann na ndaoine féin ag athrú leis an ndrochaimsir, tá caoirigh an chnoic séidthe óna n-áit lonnaithe agus iad a d'iarraidh teacht isteach sna tithe chugainn, an breac a bhíodh ar feadh na bliana agus a bholg in airde le gréin i mbarr an uisce aige, tá sé curtha as amharc ag an síon, an ógbhean atá chomh

> piocths ar feadh na bliana leis an eala ar an linn, an uair a thagann sí isteach le buicéid den uisce bíonn an raca a bhíonn ina cúl sciobtha ag an ngaoth uaithi, a cuid gruaige ag teacht ina béal, ríobail ar a cuid eadaigh, leath an bhuicéid doirtthe aici é í chomh gruama le duine go mbeadh ceal tobac air. Na daoine aosta a raibh a gcnámha chomh bog chomh breá ar feadh na bliana, le teas na gréine, tá cos ag crapadh faoi dhuine acu, fear eile agus a lámh ag bagairt air, duine eile in imeall na tine á súil á thabhairt air sula dtitfeadh se isteach inti le codhladh. Is mó leigheas a bhíonn san aimsir bhreá á is mó dochar a leanann an droch-Aimsir.(p.306).
>
> Nach mór an lá gainéad an lá inniu arsa seana-Tom, maide ina theannta aige, meigeall féasóige air, é ag féachaint i gcoinne na scamall, á breacshúil eile ar an mórmhuir aige. Imeacht faoi ar an gcuma seo, go dtabharfadh duine ná beadh aithne aige air an leabhar gur sean-Aimiréal le Sean Ruí é a bhí caite ar an bport tar éis a théarma, is mó rud go meabhraíonn an díomhaointeas air arsa bean leis le linn gabháil thairis di (p.231).
>
> Tá traen an Daingin ina stop arís, tuairisc a tháinig isteach. Mhuise is minic sin aici arsa Micil, ba chirte doibh í a chaitheamh le gleann éigin an chéad lá. Ach, dar muire ní fada ón áit seo Uíbh Ráthach nó Cathair Luimnigh is minic báid ón áit seo dulta iontu cheana, ar seisean. B'fhéidir go stadfadh bád Spiller sa Bhealach linn, arsa Micheál. Má tá do dhóthain airgid agat, arsa Micil.
>
> Ta an ghrian chugainn ag taitneamh go hárd,
> Tá scéimh ar na bánta mar bhíodh,
> Tá an fharraige calama breá,
> Is na héanaibh ag snámh inti síos,
> Tagann macnamh in aigne Thomáis,
> Mar bhíodh Brian liom go rábach sa tslí,
> Is n'fheadar an fada uaim an dáta,
> Go gcroithfimid lámh ann arís.
> Sin é Tomás agat.(p.269).

Space does not permit me to give a more representative selection, but the style will be familiar enough in any case. It has been the subject of analysis by Mac Tomáis (1977) and Ó Dúshláine (1974).

The most distinctive features of this style of writing may be summarized as follows. It uses a lot of very concrete images, and many of the sentences are short and solid. It thrives on dialogue. (The diary was eventually called "Allagar na hInise , i.e."Island Talk" or "Island Arguments".) It moves around freely between different linguistic forms: narrative, direct speech, quotation, proverb, prayer, song. It hovers between poetry and prose. (Note that prosody determines the punctuation more often than semantics does.) It is always grounded in a sharp observation of people and events. It is extremely funny, though in a way that is hard to describe. It is a Zen-like humour, harping on the very limited capacity of men for good deeds, or even for intelligent ones. And finally, all of this is held together by a world-view which may be described as pantheistic on account of its great respect for nature, its somewhat cynical attitude towards the doings of men, and its fatalism. This has reminded some of Wordsworth. But I think something more primitive is there too.

Children's Speech

Consider now the kind of conversation which goes on between children (aged 4 to 8 or so) when they are engrossed in their own activities. You will have to listen to it in the mind's ear since I cannot play tapes for you now. But you will accept, I think, that it has some features in common with the kind of writing we just looked at. Concrete images and short sentences abound--if only because abstract thought and longer sentences are still difficult. The variety of linguistic forms through which language meanders is quite amazing. Indeed only a very small part of children's talk is conversation in the sense that requires several statements on one topic. More often language wanders from speaking to shouting, to singing, to various forms of chanting and incantation--much of it a kind of musical accompaniment to action--to monologue, and many kinds of word-play and mimicry which are as attentive to the form of language as they are to its content. Children's language is also firmly grounded in the perception of people and events. Indeed it often seems no more than the vocal expression of the imagery and emotions in which the children are immersed. (No doubt it is partly this "embededness" of children's language which makes it change topics and styles so quickly.) The humour of children's language need hardly mentioned, though it should be noted that like the humour of all oral cultures it is unreflective and has a strong sense of the absurd. Finally, the pantheism or animism of the child's world-view is well known. It is most obvious perhaps in their drawings, which so often lay out a kind of map of nature: sun at the centre, region above the sun, region at this side of the sun, region of clouds, region of birds and treetops, earth, and on its surface, the world of ordinary events, often scaled down to insect proportions in order to give nature the prominence which evidently it has in the child's mind.

Teaching Children to Read and Write

But even if your are prepared to accept, for the sake of argument, that there are some similarities between children's language in middle childhood and adult language in an oral culture, what use can be made of this observation? Very little, I think, if we are basically happy with the way in which children pass from oral to literate cultures in the course of primary education. But if for one reason or another we are unhappy with this transition--and in a moment I will present reasons why we might be--then it will be of interest to examine some of the difficulties experienced by adult exponents of oral culture when they tried to read and write. For it is very likely that children have corresponding difficulties when they tackle the written word.

We need be in no doubt that children do in fact have great difficulty with writing at first. Children (of 7 or 8) to whom I told stories were virtually all greatly interested in them and anxious to talk about them or to paint pictures from them. (The stories were myths and folk-tales, and they were told in the classroom.) In addition, their ability to retell them in their own words, several weeks after hearing them, was so good and so evenly distributed among children of different intelligence that I eventually abandoned the idea of measuring individual differences in this regard. On the other hand, individual differences in writing ability are striking. Children who retold the stories eagerly often had little or no interest in writing about them. Writing, of course, is more like school work than talking or painting. But even children who were eager to comply with my request for a written version of the stories soon ran into great difficulties and only a very few went the full distance. In this situation writing takes on some of the features of an IQ test. It is more like an abstract puzzle than a form of self-expression, and it quickly sorts the class out into the bright and the not-so-bright.

Teachers of reading and writing cannot afford to philosophize for too long on this phenomenon. Their task is to compensate for the inequalities, so that every child will leave primary school literate, in some minimal sense, in spite of the fact that some are much less intelligent than others. By and large teachers are successful in this undertaking, and thanks to them we have a literate society. And yet I am suggesting that there are reasons to be dissatisfied. For a start, the vast majority who learn to read and write is not quite as vast as some suppose. More important, there are indications that those who do learn do not learn very well. Teaching people to read and write should also include teaching them to enjoy good writing. But the experience of many reputable journalists makes it clear that the English-speaking world in general falls far behind some non-western countries in teaching its general population to enjoy literature, while at the same time far outstripping them in the production of poor quality reading materials. No doubt the idea of "good" reading and writing will sound somewhat elitist, and in any case it may be argued that people's tastes in this matter are really their own business, not the business of the reading teacher. Even so, it may be worth the trouble to look for a connection between western reading habits and the conception of the written word which is inherent in our reading texts.

It should be noted that younger children have excellent taste in stories. They are mad for stories of all sorts, it seems, and therefore easily pleased. But they are also critical listeners, well able to appreciate any deftness of language or imagery that the story-teller can manage, and able to tell a great story from a good one. (This no doubt is the reason for their phenomenal powers of recall.) In addition they can enter easily into the drama and mystery which abounds in the old myths, sagas, and folk-tales. The question is why so many of them, a decade or two later, can enjoy only the poorest kind of story.

Part of the reason, I believe, is that the reading materials we give to children fail to match in richness and depth of meaning the old folk tales which they are often purporting to retell. But this very general consideration about children's literature would take us away from our present concern with language so we will not pursue it further here. (For a critique of children's literature on these lines see Cook, 1969, and Egoff, 1970.) Let us turn instead to the corresponding criticism which can be made about the language used in first reading books. It too appears very flat by comparison with the children's own spoken language. Some of this is inevitable, of course. One must start the reading programme with very simple sentences. But the simplification one witnesses is far more severe than anything that is called for on these grounds, and it seems to me that it imposes a view of the written word which is one-dimensional in a way that makes reading and writing unattractive for children.

One-dimensional Language

Let me give some examples of the kind of one-dimensionality I am talking about. The great diversity of linguistic forms in children's oral language was noted earlier. Most of the speech-acts of adult language are present--declaration, question, command, protest, greeting, and so on--and in addition a host of others that we adults would associate with poetry, song, and word-play. Now it seems to be a first principle of some reading schemes that the child must be fixated in a matter-of-fact attitude before words and sentences can be learned. So on the first page we encounter sentences like "This is Tom" (accompanied by a picture of Tom), "Tom has a dog" (picture of Tom with dog), and later on, passages which describe the most ordinary events that the writer can think of. If this technique is based on the idea that children previously learned to speak largely in question-and-answer sessions it is certainly mistaken. Questions are important too, of course. In the second and third years of life they sometimes play a very large role in language acquisition. But they are only one way of learning new words. Already by the time children are 8 months or so, they can express several different emotions or attitudes: contentment and discontent, happiness and amusement. A little later there is "exclamatory delight" (Tonkova-Yampol'skaya 1973), and eventually, usually no earlier than 12 months, interrogation. These are not just states of mind but genuine speech-acts or speech-modes (Egan, 1980), identifiable, for example, as distinctive intonation-contours. Now the point is that rudimentary speech-acts are also different channels through which language may be acquired. Names for things demanded and received, names for things not wanted at all and still received, names for things found delightful, names found pleasant to say (whatever they might mean)-- all of these are stamped into the child's mind equally as decisively as names used in a rarified question-answer context. Indeed there can be little doubt that it is those names which are woven into the child's exchanges with its parents and its environment, and coloured by its own emotional and imaginative responses to them, which are most quickly learned in the beginning.

Similar comments apply to the acquisition of written names. The names that occur in rhymes, riddles, songs, chants, prayers, greetings, are no less clear in their meanings than the names that occur in ponderous acts of ostension, and they may be a good deal more alive in the mind of the child. From a psychological point of view there are no grounds for thinking that one is somehow isolating the most elementary units of written language by imposing a rigid attitude of declaration. What is basic or simple about the sentence "This is Tom", for example? What is "This" the name for? Not for Tom. He has his own name. To make a long story short, the word "This" has a complex linguistic function here, one which groups it with question-marks and exclamation-marks and not with words in the usual sense. From this point of view there is nothing elementary about it, and one might wonder why it is so common in the first pages of elementary reading texts.

More generally, what is simple about narrative? Like ostension, it too is a relatively abstract and sophisticated creation, in which a certain detached, observational pose is established and maintained in the description of some even which usually involves the viewpoints of several different people. But if we are talking about people, dialogue, with its shifting viewpoints, is often a more natural idiom. In Ó Criomthain's diary one sees an interesting struggle going on between the two. Dialogue was certainly far easier for him, and his judgment is surer for dialogue than it is for narrative, or for the combination of both. In some entries there is nothing but dialogue--a simple record of words spoken by two people, without even an introduction or a quotation or a "said he" or "said she". And often the author feels that he must revert to direct speech to round off an incident properly.

Children too are drawn towards dialogue. In describing some exchange between people it is much easier for them to put themselves in the shoes of the various speakers and write their lines directly than it is to maintain the unchanging perspective of the narrator, which demands indirect quotations and all the problems connected with it. Time after time, in the written stories I examined, a crisis develops when the children try to report speech. They feel they should be writing narrative but dialogue is uppermost in their minds. Sometimes it breaks through the narrative, producing passages like

> ...he said please give me the ring and so she gave
> it to him and he said to the woman can I look at
> your garden and she said yes...she said you have to
> go home and get the box...

One can readily understand how the teacher, in this situation, will be tempted to impose a narrative format. But children find it difficult, and in the task I gave them, to write a story in their own words, it often proved to be the last straw.

Here then are two examples of unnecessary narrowness in the first approach to reading and writing, an emphasis on descriptive, preferably ostensive sentences, and its counterpart in larger blocks of writing, an emphasis on narrative. I have suggested that it is a mistake to think that ostension, description, or narrative, are somehow "basic" or "elementary" linguistic forms, or that the meanings of words are any clearer in these cases than they would be in songs or riddles. It is only from the highly specialized viewpoint of epistemology that any primacy attaches to ostension and factual description. As truth-claims they have the distinciton of being easily verified or falsified, and to that extent they may be considered the least controversial of statement-types. Narrative is elementary in the same sense since, unlike dialogue, it is a series of statements delivered from one viewpoint only, and as a result accountability for correctness is more clearly defined. But such considerations have no relevance in the context of language learning--unless, of course, we have already begun to equate language with fact-reporting.

It would take us too far afield here to suggest ways in which this fact-bound conception of language might be kept at arms length when children are first learning to read and write. Certainly children should be given the grammatical and orthographic licence necessary to allow them to switch into direct speech whenever they feel like it. The writing of pure dialogue might be encouraged. Direct speech might be written with different colour pens, one for each speaker, to avoid the dreaded "He said" or "She said". More generally, the focus on narration might be softened. It makes up only a small portion of children's speech, and why should it be any different in their reading texts? It is true that songs, prayers, lists, riddles, and so on, are plentiful in reading texts. But often they are used as fillers or as decorations, and the impression still remains that the essence of language is narration.

The important point here is that mere diversity of forms is not enough: it must be clear too that one is as much writing as the other, that the writing in a song or a riddle is serious writing just as much as prose narrative. Moreover, in recognition of this fact it should be possible to move easily from one literary form to another. In the old fairy tales, for example, narrative can easily move into verse because it already has a certain incantatory quality. In Ó Criomthain too we noted how easily narrative can move into prayer or song, since his prose already has a certain song-like quality. Interestingly enough, when he went on from his diary to write a book-length autobiography he included several songs and was greatly puzzled when they were removed in the editing, since he felt that any proper book should have "half-a-dozen good songs here and there in it" (Ó Coileáin, 1979, p.171). Like Ó Criomthain's editor, many editors of folk tales remove the verse they formerly contained. The reason is not hard to find. The "simplicity" and "ordinariness" which they aim for in their narration make it impossible to introduce the verse passages in a way which sounds natural. And so they have been quietly dropped.

Language and Imagination

I must broaden the discussion briefly, even at the risk of getting too far away from language as such. The tendency to push all writing towards narrative, and narrative towards a certain ideal of simple, colloquial description, seems to be part of a more general tendency to "clean up" the imaginative materials we provide for children. In the modern retelling of the old folk tales everything ornate or archaic in the original idiom is removed, and in addition everything dark and enigmatic in the stories themselves is taken out. The same abstract ideal of simplicity, brightness, and goodness is imposed on the imagery supplied with reading texts. Consider, for example, that well-known style of illustration, often encountered in first reading texts, which uses only the most basic colours and shapes, so that a face, for example, will become a coloured disc with dots for eyes, a line for the mouth, and so on. Here again it is worth noting that it is only from a very specialized, adult point of view that such a style is simple or natural. From another point of view it is very unnatural, just as narrative is a unnatural when we consider the diversity of children's oral language. Now I am as worried about the cleaned-up imagery in reading-texts as I am about their cleaned-up language. The imagery can be very tasteful, now that it is mostly in the hands of professional graphics people. Yet it has a fleshless quality that is disturbing. It gives us visual tokens of real things, with a coating of sentimentality, instead of getting us to explore again our images of the things themselves. Children readily adopt such hieroglyphs and accept them as valid pictures. (There are other well-known symbols for the sun, a man, an animal, a crow or a seagull in flight, a cloud, and so on.) This is all the more disturbing because children are great observers of nature. The trouble is that we hand them lifeless tokens of the real things and do not give them enough encouragement to bring them back into contact with their own perceptions and memories.

Names, no less than pictures, need to be immersed in the images and emotions which surround their counterparts in the real world. In an inspired book on children's paintings, Richardson (1948) tells us what is wrong with the kind of face described above. She asks:

> Are the children using a kind of shorthand formula in their drawing? A dot for an eye, a slit for a mouth, and so on. Let us look at a face, at a face we love, father's face, or mother's face. As we draw the eyes let us say to ourselves, "Eyes that see". They are looking at us now; there is a little black bit in the middle, then the coloured ring round it, then white, then the part that comes down when we go to sleep. It is up now, of course. And don't forget the lashes. Now look at the mouth. It must open and shut to be able to eat and to kiss. It will never do just to put a line for this. How can we make a nose, a neck, hair--hair that grows on the head? What a wonderfully full picture it can be with just one face. Draw a fine frame for it and try (p.22).

Notice the importance which the author attaches to language in the art class. Sometimes she would get her pupils to shut their eyes and slowly describe, in words, the scene they wanted to paint. Art becomes an enrichment of language, just as language itself should be an enrichment of perception and imagination.

Perhaps all of this sounds a little too romantic. But listen again to Ó Criomthain. He describes, in his diary, the method adopted in the island for teaching Irish to visitors.

> Tá fuinneog ar a bpálás seo a bhfuil a haghaidh amach ar an mórmhuir. Tá bord an duine uasail trasna ag a bun agus a chuid leabhar ar leathadh aige air, a chathaoir ornáideach faoi agus cathaoir eile faoin té atá á múineadh ag an gceann eile den bhord. Níl aon abairt is féidir leis an mbeirt a chur ar bun ar an mbord seo ná go bhfuil brí agus bun na habairte sin le feiscint le do shúile tríd an bhfuinneog seo amach agat. Is é mo thuairim ná fuil aon fhuinneog coláiste sa tír chun dulta síos léí chun samhlaoidí a thabhairt do shúile an mhic léinn, gach duine a ghabhann tímpeall arb ansa leis blas agus críoch a bheith ar a chuid Gaelainne aige. Níl aon dath dá bhfaca súil de ghorm úr, d'uaine is bán, de chorcar, de dhearg agus de bhuí ná go bhfuil le feiscint de shíor as fuinneog an pháláis (pp.19-20).

And speaking of one particular student (Brian Ó Ceallaigh) he adds:

> Is iomdha tráthnóna suaithinseach ná bacaimís ceacht ná leabhar ag féachaint amach tríd an bhfuinneog seo agus is minic a dúirt se gurbh fhearr dó an tamall comhráidh a bhíodh againn ná seachtain sna leabhartha (p.20).

It would be easy to misread all of this as if it merely advocated a "cultural" or "interdisciplinary" approach to language teaching, the sort which nowadays often masks a loss of interest in language. But Ó Criomthain is talking all the time about words and sentences. Their "meaning and foundation", he says, is in the world beyond language, and the richer one's contact with this world, the better the words are learned.

Inferential and Representational Theories of Language

We return to the contrast between inferential and representational theories of language. The inferential theories which are now dominant in psycholinguistics attach little importance to the question of imagery and representation. Sentences become streams of clues about the intended meaning of the speaker or writer, and the task is to show how we move from the clues to the final solution. For this kind of analysis one uses sentences which are clearly true or false, clearly the same or different in meaning, clearly grammatical or ungrammatical. The important task is to describe how the linguistic subject understands the sentence correctly, and the kinds of imagery aroused in the process are of as little importance as the highly personal tricks that people use to do mental arithmetic or to solve any other kind of puzzle. On this view, young readers may have any images they please in their minds as long as they can correctly identify an increasing number of words. At this point I would want to introduce a distinction between bare recognition and a deeper form of recognition, the sort which some philosophers called "knowledge by acquaintance" as opposed to "knowledge by description" (Russell, 1959). But any such distinction, however valid, is entirely beside the point in inferential theories of language since knowledge by description is entirely sufficient for their purposes. In fact it is the only variety of knowledge that they can handle.

There are some hopeful signs of a swing away from inferential theories, or at any rate an attempt to bring up the question of representation in theories of language understanding. McNeill (1979) made a valiant effort to get things going. Bates (1979) attempts to revive the old Germanic psychology of language which stretches all the way back to the Wundt and the Bühler's, and which culminated in modern psychology in Werner and Kaplan's (1963) book, Symbol Formation. Another recent book, on the unlikely topic of sign-language (Klima & Bellugi, 1979) promises to be influential precisely because it opens up once more the distinction between symbol and icon, and many other distinctions which help to loosen the stranglehold which inferential theories exercise on our ideas about the meanings of words.

From the vantage point of mainstream psycholinguistics all efforts to introduce the topic of representation, with its various types and levels, will be seen as "soft-headed humanistic stuff" for some time to come, and perhaps indefinitely. But there are many who cannot affort to wait for a more respectable approach to emerge. For example, in training colleges for primary teachers there is now a great need for a theory of symbolism general enough to range over art, drama, poetry, and music, and at the same time precise enough to have definite things to say about the various forms of linguistic expression, spoken and written. At present such a theory, or at any rate an approach, is presented informally through the blending of humanities courses with technical courses on language teaching. But increasingly the teaching courses adopt the inferential model of language, since this is the direction dictated by the scientific study of language. As a result it is becoming more difficult to bring them into a meaningful contact with courses on literature and the humanities.

While we are waiting for a fuller flowering of representational theories in psycholinguistics, there are a few approaches which might serve our more immediate needs. A very general theory of symbolism, which easily spans the domains of art, religion, literature, mythology, and folk-tale has been proposed by Jung (1964) and his followers. Eliade (1958) provides a useful classification of symbols in mythology and religion. A general theory of symbolism with more specific applications to language is developed in the work of Cassirer (1944, 1953) and Langer (1963). Some writers and critics have also tried their hand, Wheelright (1968) for example, and Louis MacNeice (1962). In all of these works we can find speculation on the difference between signs, icons, metaphors, and symbols, and on the importance of such distinctions for our understanding of language, whether it be ordinary language or language which is "sacred", "mythic", or "poetic", in the various senses proposed by these authors. These are speculative works, to be sure, but still precise enough to contain theories about the syntax of poetry and the invariant structures in myth and folk tale. In very general terms we might describe them as theories which try to distinguish between the rational function of language (exercised through ordinary syntax and semantics), and the non-rational function it exercise through quite different means in poetry, rite, myth, and story. They are theories concerned to show how language may be transformed so as to create and enhance a non-rational content, turning ordinary words into "symbols" in Jung's sense, and ordinary narrative into what MacNeice calls "parable".

Above we looked briefly at some writing from an oral culture. We should not forget, however, that a far more comprehensive and authentic record of the language of this particular culture is contained in the many stories taken down from its exponents by linguists and folklorists. If there is any truth to the comparison we made between oral cultures generally and the oral culture of childhood, then the corpus of stories provides us with material which, in content and format, has much in common with the outlook and the linguistic preferences of children at the time when they are first learning to read and write. It may even be, as some psychologists have argued (e.g. Bettleheim, 1978), that the traditional folk tale is far more appropriate, in structure and imagery, for use with children than a lot of modern writing created especially for them. If this is so, as I suspect it is, then we can draw not only on the speculative theories just mentioned but also on an existing thesaurus of spoken language which is rich in the very things which the theories were anxious to talk about.

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THE HIBERNO-ENGLISH "I'VE IT EATEN" CONSTRUCTION: WHAT IS IT AND WHERE DOES IT COME FROM?

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1. Hiberno-English as a contact dialect

Hiberno-English is the name given to the collection of English dialects spoken in Ireland.[1] I take it as beyond dispute that much of what sets Hiberno-English (HE) apart from Standard English is due to the influence of Irish. The linguistic consequences of the type of language contact that has given rise to languages and dialects such as HE are well documented (e.g. Weinreich 1953). What is in dispute here is the degree to which Irish has influenced the evolution of HE. While some writers have acknowledged that the nonstandard element in HE may owe at least something to British varieties of English (whether regional dialects or earlier forms of the standard language), they have often failed to pinpoint examples of such influence. The result is that some nonstandard HE features have been wrongly attributed to Irish influence alone.

The exclusive contribution of Irish to some areas of HE nonstandard syntax is beyond doubt. For example, the failure of negative attraction (which transfers the negative from pre-verbal position leftward to be incorporated with indeterminate any — Anyone won't go → No-one will go), illustrated in (1), seems to be peculiar to HE and is clearly related to the fact that Irish has no expression that directly translates the determiner no. (Labov is therefore wrong in describing negative attraction as a 'general and compelling rule of English which is equally binding on all dialects' (1972a: 47).)

(1) Anyone wasn't any good at it at all.

Other examples include: the use of co-ordinating the way in place of Standard English (StE) so that (2); prepositional usage (3, 4); and the adverbial phrase and — pronoun-ing-participle (5).

(2) They make poteen away out on the hill, the way you wouldn't know a thing about it.[2]

(3) He didn't come back with (=StE for) twenty-eight years.[2]

(4) Ye broke me pen on me.
(=StE You've broken my pen.)

(5) He waved at me and he coming down the road.[2]

Similar examples could be cited of direct Irish influence on HE phonology and lexis.

In certain other cases, on the other hand, the evidence for direct Irish influence on HE is somewhat ambiguous. There are several HE constructions, for which Irish origins are claimed, which turn up in other nonstandard dialects where the possibility of Irish influence seems remote. For example, the operation of subject-verb inversion in embedded questions in HE (e.g. (6)) is said to reflect the word order of Irish (Todd 1975: 210; Lunny 1981: 130).

(6) I wonder is he home now?

However, this construction is by no means uncommon in certain other parts of the English-speaking world, as anyone familiar with the dialects of Scotland or the north of England will know. HE has special habitual aspect forms which contrast with other tense-aspect forms; compare continuous He's working with habitual He be's working. It is alleged that these habitual forms derive from the Irish consuetudinal (Henry 1957: 168; Bliss 1972: 75; Todd 1975: 208). While it would be foolish to rule out Irish influence in this case, it should nevertheless not be ignored that similar forms are attested in earlier northern British English dialects (Traugott 1972: 191-192) and are a well-known feature of Black American English (Labov 1972b: 51-53). Similarly, in the realm of deixis, although the HE nonstandard tripartite system of demonstrative pronouns and adjectives (this/that/thon) is very similar to the Irish sin/seo/úd distinction ([+ near to speaker] vs [-near to speaker, + near to hearer] vs [-near to speaker, -near to hearer]), it is also found in earlier StE as well as modern Scots, as Todd points out (1975: 187).

The English language with which Irish-speakers originally came in contact was not homogeneous: it was a mixture of many varieties including not only the standard dialect of London but also many regional standard and nonstandard dialects. It would be perverse to ignore the fact that many nonstandard features of HE phonology, morphology and syntax for which Irish origins have been claimed, are also attested in some of these British regional and/or nonstandard varieties. In such cases, it would probably be nearer the truth to say that the influence of Irish has been 'preservative' (Weinreich 1953: 36) or 'selective' (Bliss, no date: 5) rather than direct or exclusive. The facts suggest that, during the formative years of HE, Irish speakers acquiring English were free to select, from the variable range of English available to them, those forms that most closely reflected Irish distinctions they felt it necessary to preserve.

I want to look in some detail at another HE construction that has been assumed to derive from Irish. This is the so-called perfect found in sentences such as:

(7) I have me dinner eaten.

In particular, I would like to examine two claims that have been made with regard to this construction: (a) that it is simply a nonstandard variant of the StE perfect (I have eaten my dinner), deviating from the latter only in terms of word order, and (b) that its nonstandard word order stems from the fact that it is a calque on a particular Irish construction. I hope to show that there are differences between this HE perfect and its alleged StE equivalent that are not superficial but located close to the grammatical core. The two constructions turn out to be referentially non-equivalent, which stems in part from a more general structural disparity between the verbal systems of HE and StE. This disparity raises certain questions, which I have gone into elsewhere (Harris 1982), about the alleged underlying identity of all types of English. I will also challenge the claim that the HE perfect construction in (7) is a loan-translation from Irish. While Irish may have had a preservative influence on the construction in the sense outlined above, there is evidence to suggest that the construction is a continuation of an older English perfect.

2. *The HE PII construction*

Although the StE perfect occurs in standardised HE, it is absent from basic HE vernacular. Instead a range of tense-aspect forms is available to the HE speaker which covers roughly the same scope of time reference as the StE perfect. HE has two completives which Greene refers to as PI and PII (1979: 122). PI, the 'immediate perfect', which is realised as a conjugated form of *be* followed by *after* and an -*ing*-participle, refers to an event or action that occurs immediately before some point in time (the moment of speaking in the case of the nonpast form, or some specified point in past time in the case of the past form):

(8) I'm after seeing him. (=StE I've just seen him.)

PII, illustrated in (7), only occurs in transitive sentences, where it superficially resembles the StE perfect but for the fact that the -*ed*-participle is placed after the direct object. It should be pointed out that sentences such as (7) do not have a causal meaning in basic HE. PII has no intransitive counterpart formed with *have*. There is an intransitive construction with *be* followed by the -*ed*-participle (e.g. *They're gone*), but this is mostly restricted to a small number of verbs of motion and is probably best analysed as copula plus subject complement by analogy with sentences such as *They are agreed*.

In addition to the two completives, HE employs a range of tense-aspect forms which are also found in StE but occur in contexts where the perfect would be appropriate in StE:

(9) I know his family all me life.
(=StE I've known his family all my life.)

(10) Were you ever in Bellaghy?
(=StE Have you ever been to Bellaghy?)

(11) Are you waiting long on the bus?
(=StE Have you been waiting long for the bus?)

(12) I was living there a year whenever I met him.
(=StE I had been living there for a year when I met him.)

The HE rule governing the use of past and nonpast verb-forms in noncompletive contexts such as these appears to be: in 'extended-now' contexts, where an action begun in the past continues through the moment of speaking, a nonpast form is used; the past form is reserved in these contexts for indefinite past time reference in a period leading up to the moment of speaking.

PII has been the subject of much discussion among writers on HE (Joyce 1910: 84; Henry 1957: 176-178; Bliss 1972: 73-74; Sullivan 1976: 125ff; Greene 1979). For some writers such as Joyce and Sullivan, the construction is simply a nonstandard variant of the StE perfect. There appear to be at least four reasons why they hold this view. Firstly, in neglecting the relationship of PII to other tense-aspect categories in HE, some writers have assumed it to be embedded in a verbal system that is, if not identical to that of StE, at least very similar to it. (A notable exception is Henry 1957.) Secondly, since basic HE lacks a construction with exactly the same word order as the StE perfect, PII is thought to be merely a nonstandard substitute for it, the deviant constituent order of PII being ascribed to Irish interference. Thirdly, although StE does possess a construction which is identical to PII in its order of constituents, it is very rarely given the same sort of completive reading (at least in southern British StE). It is much more usual for the StE construction to have a causal meaning (*Joe has his boat sold* = *Joe gets someone to sell his boat*), a reading that is not usual in basic HE. When the StE construction does have a similar reading to PII, it seems to be only possible with a very much smaller number of transitive verbs than in HE. (For example, although a non-causal reading of *I have the tickets booked* may be acceptable StE, sentence (7) with *eat* would most certainly not be.) The StE causal *have* construction is therefore not felt to be related to HE PII. Fourthly, a difference between PII and StE constructions with the same constituent order is that the *have* form can be contracted in the former but not in the latter. Thus, while *Joe's his boat sold* is possible for PII, it is not an acceptable realisation of the StE causal construction with the same constituent order. Since contraction is typical of auxiliary *have* in StE, the *have* in HE PII has often been assigned the same auxiliary function as that in the StE perfect.

The difference between PII and the StE perfect then is felt to be merely one of surface word order, which might be expressed in terms of a postposing transformation that moves an -*ed*-participle to the right of an object noun phrase. PII thus would seem to bear a striking resemblance to the German *Satzklammer* (compare *I have the boat sold* with *Ich habe das Boot verkauft*) and in this form appears to be a very old Germanic construction. However, writers on the subject have preferred to attribute the constituent order of PII to Irish influence (Henry 1957: 178; Bliss 1972: 73; Sullivan 1976: 128). One way of expressing HE *I have the boat sold* in Irish is (13), where the constituent order noun (*bád*) plus verbal adjective (*díolta*) is allegedly the source of translation-borrowing for the sequence noun plus -*ed*-participle in PII.

(13) Tá an bád díolta agam
BE+nonpast THE BOAT SOLD AT-ME

The assumption that PII and the StE perfect are underlyingly equivalent means that they can be derived by phrase structure rule as the 'same' construction, which tallies with the view that all types of English share an underlying structural identity. The difference between the grammars of StE and HE is therefore only a superficial one at this point and can be expressed in terms of the addition to the HE grammar of the late transformation that moves an -*ed*-participle to the right of an object noun phrase. I want to argue here, however, that, for various reasons, it is wrong to assume referential equivalence for the two constructions. One important reason is that HE PII is embedded in a tense-aspect subsystem that is quite different from that of StE. As has already been pointed out, PII is just one of at least five tense-aspect forms that can be used to render the StE perfect. Because of this, it is often impossible to decide, when the StE perfect occurs in the standardised speech of a HE speaker, which HE tense-aspect form could potentially have been used in the same context. A simple sociolinguistic analysis taking PII and the StE perfect as variants of one syntactic variable is therefore not possible. But there are other reasons why PII and the StE perfect cannot be equated, and these have to do with the internal structure of PII and the special co-occurrence restrictions that are placed upon it.

If PII were introduced by phrase structure rules that are identical to those of StE (i.e. with the same constituent order as the StE perfect), the ed-participle movement transformation needed to generate the correct surface constituent order in PII would run into serious difficulties. For example, the transformation would wrongly generate future conditional sentences from past conditionals. The structure (14a) (after affix-hopping), for instance, which underlies the StE past conditional sentence (14b), would wrongly surface as the future conditional sentence (15) after the operation of the participle right-movement transformation.

(14a) JOE CAN+past have WRITE+ed THE LETTER.

(14b) Joe could have written the letter.

(15) Joe could have the letter written.

The appropriate HE past conditional PII sentence that corresponds roughly to StE (14b) would be:

(16) Joe could have had the letter written.

On the basis of sentences such as (16), it would be necessary to include two have constituents in the relevant HE verb phrase structure rule, if it were insisted that PII should be derived like the StE perfect.

In fact there is a much more satisfactory solution to the problem which enables us to get maximum mileage out of a transformational rule that must be included in a grammar of HE for other constructions. This is the raising rule associated with complex sentences such as:

(17a) I want this wall painted.

The structure underlying (17a) can be analysed as consisting of a main clause containing the verb want and an embedded clause, to which passivisation applies, containing the verb paint and a dummy agent:

(17b) I WANT Δ THIS WALL PAINTED by X

The embedded clause is raised into the main sentence and the dummy agent deleted transformationally. This type of operation is needed for a number of verbs which can take the same construction, e.g. need, get, keep. If we analyse PII sentences in the same way, we not only eliminate the problems associated with the participle postposing transformation, but we are also able to capture much more satisfactorily the semantic characteristics of the construction (which we look at in Section 3). The structure underlying (7) is thus (18), on which the agent deletion and raising transformations obligatorily operate.

(18) I HAVE Δ ME DINNER EATEN by ME

According to this analysis, have in PII constructions has the status, not of a tense-marking auxiliary, but of a full lexical verb which can be treated as being identical to have in possessive sentences. Have in PII is thus seen to be related to causative have (19) and have in benefactive and other indirect passive constructions (20, 21), where raising is also involved.

(19) Mary had the wall painted (by her brother).

(20) Joe likes having his back scratched (by his girlfriend).

(21) Jan had his door broken down (by the police).

One difference between PII and the constructions in (17, 19, 20) and (21) is that agent deletion is obligatory when, as in PII, the main clause subject and embedded clause agent are coreferential (equi-NP deletion) but optional in the other, related constructions where there is no such coreference.

To summarise some of the ways in which PII, according to the analysis proposed here, differs from the StE perfect: PII is not introduced by phrase structure rule as a discrete tense-aspect category, as the StE perfect is, but is a complex construction consisting of a main *have* clause and an embedded clause containing an *ed*-participle; *have* in PII is not a grammatical formative, as in the StE perfect, but a lexical verb denoting possession.

3. The meaning of PII in HE

Several writers have pointed out that PII has a statal connotation not associated with the StE perfect (Henry 1957: 177; Bliss, no date: 17). Whereas the StE perfect describes an action or event, PII focuses more on the state that results from some anterior action. Henry notes that this is bound up with a possessive connotation to PII which is carried by *have* (1957: 177-178). The analysis of PII as possessive *have* plus an embedded clause reflects quite neatly this possessive element and the preoccupation with the result of an action as opposed to the action itself. The subject of the main clause experiences or is "in possession of" a state of affairs which has been initiated by an action that is referred to in the embedded clause. Furthermore, Henry claims that the object in PII constructions "stands in a passive relation to the agent" (1957: 178); this is captured in the embedded passive clause of our analysis. Treating PII simply as a compound tense form would neglect these semantic characteristics.

The statal nature of PII is borne out by the findings of a study of northern HE carried out in Belfast. Examples of PII were collected from over 150 hours of the tape-recorded speech of sixty Belfast speakers, drawn from five areas of the city. The construction cropped up on average only about once an hour, but in the overwhelming majority of cases dynamic verbs of activity were involved, the most frequent being *do*, *make*, *finish*, *write*. To supplement this material by further analysis of tape-recorded speech would be a very time-consuming task, given the relative infrequency of the construction, so a written questionnaire was designed to elicit, among other things, responses on the acceptability of certain verbs occurring with PII. A pilot study was carried out on 145 university students, all from the north of Ireland, with a view to extending the investigation to cover a representative sample of Belfast speakers. In one question, the respondents were presented with twelve sentences, each containing PII with a different verb, and asked to judge the acceptability of each. The twelve verbs had been carefully selected in groups of three from four categories: dynamic verbs of activity, dynamic momentary verbs, stative verbs of inert perception, and stative relational verbs. These were presented in random order to the respondents, along with context sentences (read aloud by the researcher) designed to exclude any possible causal readings.

TABLE 1: Judgements by 145 northern HE speakers on the acceptability of twelve verbs occurring with PII.

N = 145	Acceptable		Acceptable
Dynamic verbs of activity		Stative verbs of perception	
BOOK	138	RECOGNISE	17
WRITE	136	UNDERSTAND	11
MAKE	125	SEE	10
Dynamic momentary verbs		Stative relational verbs	
JUMP	39	OWN	13
HIT	28	RESEMBLE	12
KICK	20	RELY ON	7

The questionnaire results, set out in Table 1, are striking confirmation of the findings based on the study of tape-recorded Belfast speech. PII is much more likely to occur with dynamic verbs (particularly of activity) than with stative verbs. It may at first seem to be a contradiction that the statal construction should appear most frequently with dynamic verbs, until it is appreciated that, for the state referred to in PII to exist, there must have been some prior action to bring it about. Our analysis of PII accounts for this quite nicely. The state described in the underlying main clause is seen to have been initiated by the action referred to in the embedded clause: hence the tendency for dynamic verbs of activity to appear in the embedded clause. In sentence (7), for example, the dynamic verb *eat* refers to an activity which has resulted in a state which the subject is now experiencing. A stative verb in the underlying embedded clause of the PII structure can obviously not initiate another state to be referred to in the main *have* clause. One state cannot give rise to another state without the intervention of some process or other. The probable reason that dynamic momentary verbs are much less likely to appear in PII sentences is that the effects of the action described are not felt to last long enough for the subject to experience them as a state.

The statal nature of PII is further exemplified by the severe restrictions on its occurrence with temporal adverbs; here again it differs widely from the StE perfect. One commonly accepted view of the StE present perfect is that it refers to "extended-now time" (McCoard 1978: 123-163), that is to a period leading up to and including the present. This characteristic distinguishes it from the StE preterite which refers to time anterior to and separated from the present ("then time"). Restrictions on the type of temporal adverb that can cooccur with the present perfect and preterite in StE reflect this distinction. Adverbs such as *yesterday*, *the other day*, *in 1916* refer to then time and thus may appear with the preterite but never with the present perfect. *So far*, *as yet*, *since Monday* are examples of adverbs which, since they refer to extended-now time, occur with the present perfect and not with the preterite. Some temporal adverbs (for example *never*, *always*, *often*) can occur with either tense-aspect form. Sentences (22) to (24) illustrate these cooccurrence restrictions in British StE. (Assignment of temporal adverbs to the three categories is slightly different in American StE, in which (22b), for example, is acceptable.)

(22a) I bought a red balloon yesterday.

(22b) *I've bought a red balloon yesterday.

(23a) Have you seen Anne yet?

(23b) *Did you see Anne yet?

(24a) I never wrote to him the whole time I was away.

(24b) I've never written to him, although I know he likes getting letters.

The temporal adverbs in these sentences refer to the events described by the verb in its preterite or present perfect form. In HE, on the other hand, any temporal adverb that appears in PII sentences refers not to the event described in the past participle but to lexical have. The occurrence of a temporal adverb therefore depends partly on the tense of have. Have in its past form admits then time adverbs, as any verb in its simple past form does:

(25) I had the letter written yesterday (but I tore it up this morning).

PII sentences with nonpast have exclude then time adverbs, in the same way that the StE perfect does. But not all extended-now time adverbs can occur with PII: the choice of adverb is dependent on its being compatible with the statal nature of the construction. In its nonpast form, PII will usually admit adverbs which refer to a state located in a period leading up to the present time:

(26) I have four books read so far.

but adverbs describing indefinite events in a period leading up to the present are excluded from PII:

(27) *I have "Ulysses" read only once.

Sentences such as (27) are further evidence that PII is not simply a StE perfect with a transformationally postposed past participle. Applying the participle movement transformation to StE (28) would yield in HE the unacceptable sentence (27).

(28) I have read "Ulysses" only once.

In other cases, the transformation would generate possible HE sentences which, however, have quite different readings from their alleged StE counterparts (in contravention of the principle that transformations do not change meanings). Sentences (29) (StE) and (30) (PII), for example, are not equivalent:

(29a) He has never arranged anything.

(29b) NEVER [HE have+nonpast ARRANGE+ed ANYTHING]

(30a) He never has anything arranged.

(30b) NEVER [HE HAVE+nonpast] + ANYTHING ARRANGE+ed

In (29a), *never* refers to indefinite events in a period leading up to the moment of speaking. The same adverb in (30a), on the other hand, refers to a state of affairs which extends to time both anterior and posterior to the moment of speaking. The different behaviour of temporal adverbs with respect to PII and the StE perfect is quite clearly reflected in the scope of the adverb in the structures underlying the two constructions. In (29b) the scope of *never* is the whole clause, including the verbal group *have arranged*. In (30b) the scope of *never* is the main clause only, including the verb *have*; the embedded passive sentence, including the participle *arranged*, lies outside the scope of the adverb. In the StE perfect construction, the temporal adverb refers to the action described in the verb in its perfect form, while in PII the adverb refers to the statal element carried by lexical *have*.

Where a temporal adverb is required to modify directly a verb describing an event or events in extended-now time, HE resorts to one of the noncompletive tense-aspect forms illustrated in sentences (9) to (12). In the case of intransitive verbs and transitive stative verbs, of course, these and PI are the only tense-aspect forms available to refer to extended-now time, since PII is restricted to transitive dynamic verbs, as has been already pointed out. The extended-now time element which is present in the StE perfect verb-forms in sentences (9) to (12) is lacking in the simple and continous verb-forms of the corresponding HE sentences, where it is left to the temporal adverbs to carry the aspectual information.

The statal analysis of PII brings it into line with other HE verbal constructions which show a clear preoccupation with the result of an action rather than with the action itself. The presence of *be* in PI (sentence (8)) and in constructions such as *I'll be gone* point to a consciousness of state as opposed to action. Henry claims that this is characteristic of much of the verbal system of HE, setting it apart from the StE system (1957: 179).

4. *The origins of PII*

Some writers have argued that the verbal system of HE is essentially identical to that of Irish, in terms of the tense-aspect distinctions it operates with, and that these categories are realised in the shape of English morphemes (Henry 1957: 161-179; Bliss, no date: 15). This would partly account for the matching ranges in Irish and HE of tense-aspect forms that correspond to the StE perfect. Irish lacks a grammaticalised perfect like that of StE, using instead simple past or nonpast verbal forms, a situation that is closely paralleled in basic HE:

(31) Chuaigh sé amach.
GO+past HE OUT

HE He went out.
StE He has gone out/He went out.

(32) Tá sé marbh le fada riamh.
BE+nonpast HE DEAD WITH LONG-TIME EVER

HE He's dead (with) a long time.
StE He has been dead for a long time.

In addition, Irish has two periphrastic perfect-like constructions that closely resemble HE PI and PII:

(33) Tá sé tréis an bád a dhíol.
BE+nonpast HE AFTER THE BOAT SELLING

HE He's after selling the boat.

(34) Tá an bád díolta aige
BE+nonpast THE BOAT SOLD AT-HIM

HE He has the boat sold.

HE PI is quite clearly a calque on the Irish 'immediate perfect' illustrated in (33). No British English dialect apparently has this construction.[4]

Similarly, most writers on the subject claim that HE PII is a calque on the Irish construction in (34) (which Greene also refers to as PII) (Henry 1957: 177; Bliss 1972: 73; Sullivan 1976: 125; Greene 1979). On the face of it, this claim seems plausible. If we compare the Irish and HE sentences in (34), we see that they have similar constituent order as well as semantic content. Both constructions contain the sequence noun (bád, boat) plus some verbal form (the verbal adjective díolta and the -ed-participle sold); both have statal and possessive connotations. The tá - NP - ag+pron construction in (34) is identical to that which occurs in simple possessive sentences without a verbal adjective:

(35) Tá bád mór aige.
BE+nonpast BOAT BIG AT-HIM
'He has a big boat.'

A problem with the claim that HE PII is a translation-borrowing from Irish relates to the history of PII in Irish itself. Greene claims that PII in Irish is of relatively recent origin, dating back to the seventeenth century (1979: 136). This hardly leaves the construction much time to establish itself as a model for translation-borrowing into HE which had already begun to emerge in the seventeenth century. Moreover, Greene points out that PII in Irish is only common in Connacht and Munster (1979: 131). However, HE PII is to be found throughout Ireland. If Irish were the only source for the development of HE PII, it would be difficult to explain how the construction has come to be so common in northern HE where the predominant non-English influence has been Ulster Irish in which, according to Greene, PII is rare (1979: 137).

The widespread use of PII in HE points to other origins of the construction. Clearly we must not overlook the fact that have - NP - V+ed structures do appear in StE and other English dialects. Although the most usual interpretation of such structures in StE is a causal one, other readings are occasionally to be found. (Chomsky discusses a possible possessive interpretation of the sentence I had a book stolen (1965: 21-22).) Completive readings are quite common in many non-southern British English dialects (Kirchner 1952: 403, 406-409), and there is documentary evidence that completive have - NP - V+ed structures were once much more common in the standard dialect of London than is now the case. Kirchner (1952: 402-403) and Visser (1973: 2189-2190) cite numerous examples from the history of English of 'split' perfects, including the following from Shakespeare (Kirchner 1952: 402):

He which hath your noble father slain. (Hamlet IV, 7, 4)

Have you the lion's part written? (Midsummer Night's Dream I, 2, 68)

It is generally agreed that the completive *have* - NP - V+*ed* construction is a relic of an "old" perfect which served as a model for the development of the "new" perfect in StE (Jespersen 1949: 29-30; Traugott 1972: 93-94; Visser 1973: 2189). This development is shared with other European languages that have a periphrastic perfect construction. The *have* of the old perfect is assumed to be a lexical verb denoting possession and the participle a complement of the object noun phrase (Visser 1973: 2189).

The rise of the StE modern perfect can be seen in terms of the development of syntactic constructions via the grammaticalisation of discourse. In this connection, Givón discusses two extreme poles of communicative mode: the pragmatic and the syntactic (1979: 97-98). Certain syntactic, tightly-bound constructions can be shown to have arisen from looser, conjoined constructions that are typical of the pragmatic mode. Givón cites the development of auxiliary verbs into tense-aspect-modality markers as an example of grammaticalisation (1979: 96-97). Two loosely concatenated clauses, each with its own verb, become subjoined; then by a diachronic process of raising they become condensed into a single clause. The verbs from each of the original clauses amalgamate to form a complex verbal group. The verb from the first clause becomes morphologised as a marker of tense, aspect or modality, while the second verb becomes the sole full lexical verb of the new sentence. In a process such as this, the most common verbs to occur in the first clause, in a uniform cross-language fashion, include *want*, *go*, *be* and, most importantly for the present discussion, *have*. The process can be seen at work in the development of the StE new perfect as a periphrastic tense-aspect construction. The two underlying subjoined clauses of the old perfect (one containing lexical *have*, the other an -*ed*-participle) have become condensed into the single clause of the new perfect. *Have* has been relegated to the status of tense-aspect marker within the verbal group which has as its head the verb from the original embedded clause. The cohesion within the new verbal group is reflected in the diachronic movement of the participle to the immediate right of *have*, a position it had already held in intransitive constructions, where the *have* perfect was replacing the older *be* perfect. The development of the new perfect from the old has been accompanied by a semantic change. In the old perfect, attention is focused on the state resulting from the action described in the participle, while in the new the focus is shifted on to the action itself.

The new construction has not entirely replaced the old one. The older perfect has steadily lost ground to the new, but in the seventeenth century when the increasing influence of English in Ireland was giving birth to early HE, the old perfect was more common than it is today (Visser 1973: 2189-2190). Judging by the perseverance of the older construction in modern regional varieties of English, it was probably even more common in the seventeenth century in the regional British English source dialects of HE than in the standard dialect of London. It seems likely then that the English old perfect was the form on which HE PII was modelled. Only now is the new perfect making inroads into HE, via those varieties that are most influenced by StE.

A second change in English that is relevant to a discussion of PII in HE involves an alteration in the status of *have* in certain environments. In StE, *have* is increasingly becoming reserved for auxiliary functions. Where it originally had the status of a full verb denoting possession it is being replaced by *have got* (Quirk et al. 1972: 80). The construction in (36a) is much more usual in southern British StE than that in (36b):

(36a) Have you got a pen?

(36b) Have you a pen?

This change is also affecting the old perfect where *have* denoting possession is increasingly being replaced by *have got* (compare the StE sentences *I have the tickets booked* and *I've got the tickets booked*). Not all dialects of English have adopted this newer *have got* form in possessive and old perfect constructions. *Have* in sentences such as (36b) is common in many regional varieties of English and is certainly the usual form in basic HE.

It seems then that, in certain varieties of English, including StE, two related innovations are affecting the old perfect: (a) its replacement by the new perfect, and (b) the replacement of the *have* of possession by *have got*. HE can be numbered among those dialects where these changes have had little or no impact. HE PII can be viewed as a continuation of the English old perfect, with lexical *have*, preserving the original statal, possessive connotations that are now absent from the StE new, actional perfect.

5. *Conclusion*

I have argued here that, for various reasons, HE PII is not simply a nonstandard variant of the StE perfect. While the latter is a grammaticalised tense-aspect form that is fully integrated into the verbal system of StE, HE PII is a looser expression consisting of two underlying subjoined clauses. Whereas *have* in the StE perfect is a tense-aspect marking formative, in HE PII it has the status of a full lexical verb that can be analysed as identical to possessive *have*. The meaning of HE PII shows a clear preoccupation with the state that results from the action referred to in the -*ed*-participle, while in the StE perfect attention is focused on the action itself. It is tempting to see this disparity as the outcome of the StE perfect being imperfectly adopted in HE because of Irish interference. However, while many features of HE nonstandard syntax are clearly Irish in origin, it would be a mistake, in the case of PII, to ignore the fact that the construction is attested in some nonstandard and/or regional English dialects as well as in earlier forms of StE. In fact, it turns out that the differences between PII and the StE perfect stem from the fact that the former preserves features of an older English perfect which has been almost completely replaced in StE by the latter.

That is not to say, however, that Irish has had no influence at all on the evolution of PII in HE. The similarities between HE PII and Irish PII are obvious. But this influence is more likely to have been reinforcing or preservative rather than exclusive and direct. From the seventeeth century onwards, as English gradually gained ascendancy in many parts of Ireland, Irish speakers were exposed to many varieties of English: the standard dialect of the landed gentry and senior administrators and the regional dialects of British settlers. No one variety alone served as a model for the acquisition of English. As HE evolved, Irish speakers were presumably able to select from this variable English speech those grammatical features that most nearly approximated in function Irish features they felt it necessary to preserve. Thus speakers who were loath to lose the Irish consuetudinal aspect category may have found, in the nonstandard

English dialects with which they came in contact, a rough equivalent that was missing from the standard dialect of London. Similarly, the have - NP - V+ed construction, which was more typical of regional British English varieties, is likely to have been taken as a model for HE PII, since it contains the statal elements of Irish PII which the StE new actional perfect lacks.

FOOTNOTES

1. I am grateful to Roger Lass, Jim Milroy and Lesley Milroy for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article. Final responsibility for what appears here naturally rests with the author.

2. These examples are from Lunny 1981 (138-139).

3. Casual observation of spontaneous Belfast speech found PII to be more common than its occurrence in the tape recordings would suggest. The relative infrequency of the construction in the tapes can probably be ascribed to the constraints of the recording situation. Much of the taped conversation consisted of narrative, banter and reflection on life in Belfast, all of which tended to favour the use of simple and continuous past and nonpast forms over PII.

4. John Widdowson reports that PI is found in Newfoundland English which is strongly influenced by Hiberno-English (personal communication). Visser notes He's behind telling you ('He's just told you') as occurring in Devon (1973: 2211). This too is probably Celtic in origin and might be attributed to earlier interference from Cornish, cf. Welsh Yr wyf wedi canu (literally 'I am after sing').

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THE SIMULTANEOUS ACQUISITION OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH BY A GROUP OF CHILDREN LIVING IN IRELAND.

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INTRODUCTORY

The acquisition of language by any child is an outstanding intellectual achievement. When a child acquires two languages simultaneously, when he uses them effectively in controlling the world around him, when he does so seemingly without involving any conscious effort, his accomplishment impresses us adults, who have had to struggle hard and for a long time at mastering a second language, as something extraordinary and wonderful.

The area of Bilingualism that this project mainly focuses on, is Infant Bilingualism or Family Bilingualism, rather than School Bilingualism, or National Bilingualism.

Infant Bilingualism concerns itself with the early exposure to language other than the mother tongue. Whether it becomes an asset or a liability will depend on a number of variables such as genetic endowment, parental education, economic status, cultural background, social class and life opportunities. Many other factors are important too, such as age at which second language learning begins, the degree of proficiency in the first language, the quality of the language experiences, and the relative political position of both languages, as well as the acceptance afforded the speaker in each cultural milieu.

The project described in this article will study the simultaneous acquisition of French and English by a group of children living in Ireland and whose home background is bilingual. There will be three main parts to the study (only the first of which is discussed in details in this paper):

1. An analysis of the conditions in which bilingualism has developed. This will involve the elaboration of a language background questionnaire.

2. A linguistic analysis comprising:
   a) A description of the language development in French and English of the children concerned.
   b) A comparison with the language development of unilingual speakers of French and English of roughly the same age.

c) A comparison of the rate of development of the two languages being simultaneously acquired by each child.

3 An attempt to correlate the results of part 2 - "success" and "failure" in the simultaneous acquisition of these 2 languages - with the extra-linguistic factors analysed in part 1 i.e. communication in the home, degree of contact with unilingual native speakers, physical contact with France etc.

THE STUDY: (FIRST PART)

I Twenty-four bilingual families living mostly in Dublin have been briefly interviewed either face to face or on the telephone.
The total number of children in these families is 43, 22 boys and 21 girls, whose ages range from 3 months to 16 years.
I have provisionally decided upon 6 age-groups:

- from 3 to 12 months
- from 18 months to 2
- from 3 to 4
- from 5 to 6
- from 7 to 8
- from 12 to 16

In 15 of those 24 families the mother is of French nationality and the father is Irish.
In 4 families the father is French and the mothers are English, French, Irish and Dutch.
In 5 families, both parents are of the same nationality (2 families are French, 2 families are English, 1 is Irish).

II THE LANGUAGE STRATEGIES OF THESE BILINGUAL FAMILIES

The bilingual family has to choose the medium of communication in the home and several choices are possible:

- Everybody speaks the language of the father.
- Everybody speaks the language of the mother.
- Both languages are used freely or according to an implicit or overt pattern.
- The language spoken in the home is different from the language of the community.
- The language spoken in the home is different from the language

of the community and different from the native language of both parents.

- The language spoken in the home is the native language of both parents but not the language of the community.

The results of the first short interviews with parents involved in this study show that in 17 of the bilingual families both languages (i.e. French and English) are used in the home:

16 of these families use the 2 languages according to a consciously chosen pattern.

In one of these families both parents (of different nationalities) speak both languages to their 2 sons, indiscriminately, without separating the 2 languages in any way.

It is interesting to note, even at the very early stage of this project, that only one family out of 24 did not consciously decide on a particular strategy - all other families discussed and decided on a particular strategy in order to foster bilingualism in their children.

One would tend to conclude that in that particular case the language of the community would prevail (i.e. English) but other cases were reported in the other families, of English being the dominant language.

This case will be studied further on in this research.

Of the 17 families who use both languages in the home 16 are families where the parents are of different nationality; in one family both parents are English and French is spoken in the home.

Of the remaining 7 families in the study, 3 speak French only in the home and 4 English only.

In the case of the 3 families who speak French at home the parents are not always both French; indeed, in one of these families the parents are both English.

Of the four families who speak English at home, in one case both parents are Irish, in 2 cases the fathers are French and the mothers are English and Irish (and know only a little French) and in the last case the father is French and the mother is Irish but the parents are now separated.

After this preliminary description of the families involved one can try to explore the various strategies they use to foster bilingualism in their children.

> "A policy of planned repartition is composed of one or a number of language strategies. For purpose of analysis, these can be divided into two categories - strategies of dichotomy or fixed alternatives, and strategies of alternation involving the practice of spontaneous switching from one language to the other".
> (Schmidt-Mackey 1, 1977, p. 132)

As was mentioned previously only one family out of 24 chose the strategy of alternation, where both parents use both languages indifferently when speaking to their children.

All other families use the strategy of dichotomy or fixed alternatives.

Strategies of dichotomy can be divided into those of person, place, time, topic, activity.

a) The Strategy of person (one person, one language) is also called the Grammont method - Grammont's theory was that if one separated the two languages from infancy it would help the child learn two languages without additional effort or confusion. (Grammont, 1902).

   It is the most common formula reported in most studies of child bilingualism and it seems to be the most common strategy of the families involved in this research.

   The families using this strategy are the families where parents are of different nationality and in all of those families except one, it is the mother who is of French nationality.

   Ronjat in 1909 reported such a case: his son spoke French to him and German to his mother. Ronjat believed this strategy would place both languages on an equal footing but his study over 5 years shows that there were switches in language dominance.

   Then from 1939 Werner Leopold used the same strategy with his daughter to whom he spoke only German and his wife spoke only English. She achieved mastery of both languages

but they were never equally strong.
Leopold's results are very similar to those of Ronjat and in both cases it is concluded that the child's learning processes were not badly affected because of their childhood bilingualism.
Another interesting report of the use of the strategy of person is the experiment carried out by G. Sauders, an Australian teacher of German who taught German to his two sons by speaking German to them all the time, even though German was not his native language. In an environment far removed from Germany the children acquired a mastery of the German language almost equal to their mastery of English without any negative effects on their learning processes.

b) The Strategy of place is a common practice also but often imposed by necessity, as in the case of immigrant families (common in France, Germany and the U.S.A.).
This strategy is used by 8 families in this project. For only 3 of them the parents are of different nationalities and in those 3 cases the language of the home is English. French is acquired in the French school.
For the remaining 5 families, French is the language of the home but in those families, the parents are not always both French (only 2 such cases).
There are problems associated with this strategy if the language of the home is not the language of the community. The status of the home language can be eroded by the incursions of the community in the home (visitors, friends, neighbours etc.)
But there can also be problems in the strategy of person: how can one keep speaking French when living in an English speaking environment? Interestingly though there does not seem to be problems of language dominance in the cases of families speaking English at home and whose children attend the French school in Dublin. Seven of the children in this study attend the French school. All those cases will be analysed in more detail further on in the project.

As for the strategy of person, there are published reports of research in child bilingualism fostered by the strategy of place:

Milivoie Pavlovitch in 1920 describes the acquisition of French and Serbian by his son. They were living in France and chose Serbian as their home language. His study covers the first two years only but he comes to the same positive conclusions as Ronjat.

Then in 1930 the Kenyeres family studied the language of their daughter who at the age of 7 was sent to a French school in Geneva. Their home language was Hungarian. They report that after 6 months French became the dominant language in some domains and that it was acquired faster than her first language but obviously also acquired differently. Then in 1959 the Penfield family, who were English speaking decided to make German the language of the nursery and they employed a German nurse. The parents spoke German (or tried to) every time they entered the nursery. Penfield reports no confusion, believing that the language switch according to place became a conditioned reflex.

In 1959 also,the social anthropologist, Robbins Burling studied the language development in English and Garo of his son. He had heard English only until he arrived in India at age 1 and 4 months and he was then in contact mostly with Garo speakers. In 1970 Oksaar studied her 3 year old son's use of Swedish and Estonian. The home language was Estonian and Swedish the language of the community. She reports her son keeping the two languages apart in the home and outside the home, except sometimes when both friends and parents were in the home, when Swedish would be used.

In 1972 Harumi Itoh and Evelyn Hatch studied the acquisition of English by a Japanese child who started attending a nursery-school in Los Angeles at age 2½. This study is interesting, for the child went through a period of rejection of the

English language. It was the affectionate interaction with an adult, his aunt, which produced the change in attitude toward learning the second language. One could say in that case that a change of strategy was involved to overcome negative effects.

From these studies as well as others one could say that a change of place will promote the learning of another language. However it can also be a factor in the forgetting of a language. An example of such a phenomenon is reported by Desire Tits who studied the language of a 6 year old girl refugee from the Spanish Civil War. She was adopted by a Belgian family in Brussels and within 3 months had forgotten Spanish, her native language and replaced it by her second language, French.

It would seem that it is possible for children at a very early age to associate even without conditioning, the right place with the right language sometimes even with stubborness.

Several families in this study report their children systematically refusing to speak any English when they are in France.

c) The third type of Strategy is that of dividing language according to time, topic or activity.

It is the least common strategy because it is not always easy or workable in the home.

"The switch from one language to another must be innerdirected" says I. Schmidt Mackey (1977, p. 138).

With the strategies of place or person there seems to be a conditioned reflex and unconscious associations impose the appropriate language on the speaker. In 1976 a Doctoral thesis by Past reports on his daughter's acquisition of English and Spanish in Texas. Both parents spoke Spanish to their daughter one and a half hours per day.

One family in this study is using the strategy of time: both parents (French mother, Irish father) speak French to their children in the home or outside on one day of the week, usually Saturday. The children are reported to find it difficult to remember that they are supposed to speak French but the parents try to make it a game, despite many difficulties. The strategy of time could also involve the learning of a first language first and after a few years the learning of a second language.

Topic or Activity divisions are not often chosen a priori as a basis for language strategy but quite a few of the children in the present project are reported by the parents to switch to English (or French in other cases) when talking about their experiences at school or playgroup. The switching to another language seems to be conditioned by the fact that the topic or activity referred to is associated with groups outside the home.

In bilingual schools the strategies of time, topic and activities are used a lot and the working language will change according to those divisions with many fewer problems than in the home.

It should also be added after describing these three types of strategies that they could be mixed, or changed after a while, different from one child to another. This project offers one case of a family who switched from the place strategy to the person strategy after the child started to show dominance in English.

III LANGUAGE BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE (L.B.Q.)

After examining the different possible language strategies of the bilingual family, it is necessary to find out more about the reasons for such strategies and get a clear picture of the home linguistic environment of the bilingual children involved.

A language background questionnaire will be devised to probe a range of environmental variables in order to try and define a bilingual child's sociolinguistic milieu.

The method used in the questionnaire is self-report from the mother and later on from the father to test reliability.

The aim is to try and calculate the overall respective language use in the home as well as language specifically directed to and from the child in terms of mean language input, mean language output and "background noise" or language spoken between family members in which the child is not directly involved.
The aim of the L.B.Q. is to get an insight into the nature of the child's exposure to the two languages and to find an answer to the question of who speaks what, to whom, where, when, how and why, in the bilingual home.
There are several language background questionnaires published:

In 1934 Hoffman designed an L.B.Q. for school children but it is not applicable to pre-school children.

In 1971 Skoczylas designed a questionnaire for investigating home bilingual usage.

In 1977 Wendly Redlinger produced a very interesting L.B.Q. for getting information on the home linguistic environment of bilingual children. It is the first questionnaire to take into account the relative amount of time spent with the child by the various interlocutors. It was designed to evaluate the language of children belonging to linguistic minorities in the U.S.A. as they entered the school system in order to place them in the best possible learning situation. The questionnaire was used to get sociolinguistic data on 43 bilingual pre-school children, who were tested later on for relative language ability. Environmental variables were associated with three bilingual conditions; Spanish dominance, English dominance, and balanced bilingualism.

In 1981 an L.B.Q. was designed by G. Harrisson, Bellin Wynford and B. Piette for bilingual mothers in Wales and the language of their children. The aim of the questionnaire was to find out more about the mothers' attitude towards Welsh, and towards bilingualism in their children.

The conclusion of that questionnaire is an interesting one for this study. It is that mothers' attitudes strongly influence the language of their children.

The language background questionnaire designed for this project will be divided into five parts:

The first part will set out to discover

1. Who speaks what language to whom, when, where, how and why. The amount of time spent by different people (father, mother or caretaker) speaking different languages will be calculated on a weekly basis (most mothers being working mothers a daily calculation would not be representative).
2. The attitude of the parents towards bilingualism in general will be investigated.
   Parents will be asked whether they chose consciously to make their child bilingual and for what reasons, whether both languages are highly valued in the home, and whether they believe in the intrinsic value of a knowledge of more than one language, whether they believe bilingualism is a positive asset or were ever afraid their child's language development might be slowed down. Family, affective and cultural reasons for wanting their children to be bilingual will be investigated.
3. The attitude of the parents towards language use, language quality, their own language aptitudes in French and English will be investigaged also.
   Each parent will be asked to evaluate the other parent's competence in his/her respective second language. They they will be asked whether they consciously avoid transfer, language mixing and to describe the difficulties involved.
   They will also be asked whether they ever depart or have departed from their original strategy (when, where, why), what language they use when they quote and how they feel about supplying a word in the second language when the child is having difficulty

expressing himself or herself.
They will also evaluate how difficult it is to speak to their child in one language only.
This particular part of the questionnaire is designed to clarify two different stages in the simultaneous acquisition of languages fostering bilingualism and maintaining bilingualism.
Among all the families involved in this project none report great difficulties in fostering bilingualism in their child but there are many problems involved in maintaining French in a predominantly English environment, particularly after the child enters the Irish school system and has more and more contact outside the home.
It would seem though that children attending the French school have no problems of English dominance. Whereas one family where both parents are French and whose 5 year old daughter started school last September is already showing English as her dominant language.

4. The fourth part of the questionnaire will deal with the various problems and solutions to maintaining bilingualism.
Physical contact with France will be analysed in terms of degree, quantity and quality. Parents will be asked about what other kinds of reinforcement in French or English is given to the child (books, magazines, records, radio etc.) and whether their children are in contact with native speakers of French in Ireland. Reading and writing in both languages will be considered also as well as attendance at the French school or bilingual class in the Alliance Francaise of Dublin.

5. The fifth and last part of the questionnaire will investigate the attitude of the child towards his or her use of two languages.

Parents will be asked whether their child ever refused to speak English or French and in what conditons, whether their child feels more Irish than French or more French than Irish or more English than French in some cases.

In the case of both parents being English or Irish the parents will be asked how their child feels about speaking French in the home for example. Attitude of the child towards France and his or her visits there, whether the child has a particular accent and whether he or she ever addresses a native speaker of French in English or the reverse will be studied also.

Lastly the questionnaire will give the opportunity to parents to recount examples of transfer or language mixing they will undoubtedly have noticed in the language development of their bilingual child.

CONCLUSION

According to Vernon Jensen (1962):

> "There are several conditions known to be conducive to promoting success and prevent failure for children engaged in the acquisition of two languages or more. Parents and teachers should keep language in separate contexts so that a coordinate language system will develop. It is vital to have the best language models available in both languages as children will readily imitate phonology, intonation, form, syntax. Since language grows out of experience, it is essential to provide children with a rich and varied background of environmental encounters so that sensory impressions, images, percepts and concepts may be tested, verified, encoded in language".

There are of course many other factors, social, economic, political, affecting the outcome of dual language learning.

I would hope that observations of the degrees of success or failure of different language strategies of bilingual families would throw some light upon the question of how man acquires the ability to speak.

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CHILD SYNTAX IN CONTEXT

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The study of syntax in children is today an academic growth industry. Developments in cognitive psychology and transformational theories of universal grammar have opened the field of child language to a host of investigators of various persuasions. Teachers, speech therapists, and others working with children may have had cause for optimism, that theories were being developed which would help make sense out of the puzzling facts of children's linguistic behaviour. Yet progress in theoretical insight that informs the 'applied' fields has been slow, and from a linguistic point of view, I seriously question whether most recent work in child language has even begun to address the fundamental issues involved. This paper is intended as a brief look at some of the background to current approaches to child language, and a proposal for the further study of syntax in children.

Language as discussed in this paper is an act of negotiation of meaning and intent between two or more people, using definable objects (phonological words in syntactic structures) as a medium. It is a system of pragmatic, syntactic, phonological, and social rules which are negotiated every time people speak. Typically, language is concerned with change: in social relations, in information states, in behaviour, in the nature of the conversation itself, and so forth. To conceive of language in such a way is to make certain statements about how language is to be studied: in particular, this paper starts with actual speech as a basis for systematic study, rather than starting with abstract representations and working down to interactional language use.

To avoid the ambiguity which often plagues child language study, I distinguish here between 'child language' and 'language acquisition.' Though the two terms are often used nearly synonymously, they imply quite different concepts. 'Child language' refers to language produced by children in interaction with others, understandable as a system for relating sound to meaning, while 'language acquisition' refers to the process of acquiring mental representations which will work to produce specified linguistic forms.

This distinction has important implications for the study of language in children. Child language must be analysed according to the rules by which all language is analysed, in ways determined by particular linguistic theories. Linguistic theory, by extension, must have a developed concept of child language and be able to account for it in the data base. Child language thus is not a thing apart from adult language; if a conceptual construct is necessary for understanding the language of a child, then there must be a principled relationship between that construct and the analysis of adult language.

Language acquisition, as a fundamentally psychological process, proceeds in the individual as a result of his or her experience with language in a social environment. Theoretical constructs which are not necessary in the analysis of language become strictly necessary in explaining the acquisition of mental representations, whether these are representations of language, time, space, social structure, body parts, or anything else. Conversely, some specifically linguistic constructs may not have an implied isomorphism or even a topographical similarity to psychological constructs, in that language as a collective behaviour with a semiotic base has a different ontological status from the structure of individual psychology. The overlap between child language and language acquisition is by no means self-evident, and constitutes a major area for further theoretical investigation.

Models of Syntax in Children

The dominant model in applied fields dealing with language in children (e.g., speech therapy) is that of the performance structure treatment. (I refer here to the well-known distinction between 'competence' and 'performance' developed by N. Chomsky (1965).) Specifically, child syntax is analysed on the basis of actual utterances, rather than through any abstract mechanism which has recourse to structures not readily observed in performance. This approach is succintly summarised by Crystal, Fletcher, and Garman (1976, p. 35) who express the desire to 'make the fewest possible assumptions about the nature of the mental reality underlying speech, and concentrate instead on an exhaustive account of the speech actually observed.' They note (ibid.) that they 'have never found an analysis in transformational terms to be useful for more than a small part of the overall picture.' Lee (1974, p. 3) similarly argues for an approach which 'does not adhere strictly to any formalised grammatical theory or method.'

A second group of child language studies lies in the transformational tradition. McNeill (1970), for example, presupposes more than argues for the validity of transformational grammar, stating (p. 82) that the question of 'how are transformational grammars learned?...remains one of the major mysteries in the acquisition of language.' C. Chomsky (1969, p. 3) clearly contradicts the performance structure approach:

> a child who is acquiring language has the task of constructing for himself a... set of rules which will characterize the language that surrounds him... When the child speaks, he gives us evidence of various aspects of his internalized grammar, but there are certainly many aspects of grammar that are not at all evident from spontaneous speech.

More recent work (e.g., Wexler and Culicover (1980) and Hornstein and Lightfoot (1981)) has continued the transformational approach, concentrating particularly on the notion of universal grammar and restrictions on the power of transformations.

The work of Slobin (1973, 1979, etc.) and others presents a third approach, emphasising the acquisition process much more than child language itself. Thus, for example, Slobin's (1973) 'Operating Principles' in morphophonology are designed to account for the sequential emergence of specific morphological forms in various languages in terms of hypothesised cognitive strategies. They do not attempt to account for the structure of language in general, nor do they rely on an explicit relation to a particular linguistic theory. Like performance structure treatments, most psycholinguistic acquisition research concentrates on ability as shown in behaviour (either production or comprehension in a task setting), but like the transformational approach, cognitive psycholinguistics has recourse to abstract structures as explanatory principles. Whereas the transformationalist abstract principle is strictly grammatical, the abstract structure in cognitive psycholinguistics is psychological and not specifically linguistic

Child Language in a Game Model

In what follows, I argue for a linguistic theory which effectively encompasses child and adult language. In particular, I support a theory which (1) uses language behaviour as the base for linguistic analysis, without prejudice to the value of native speaker judgments, hypothetical examples beyond a given corpus, specialised tests, etc., (2) makes use in describing syntax of a generative grammar which is not transformational, (3) places language in a pragmatic context for syntactic and semantic interpretation, and (4) is amenable to well-constructed psychological theory. Grammars such as those developed by Brame (1978), Dik (1978), and Kac (n.d.) do not use any transformations, yet they can still be seen as generative in that they explicitly 'express structural relations among the sentences of the corpus and the indefinite number of sentences generated by the grammar beyond the corpus' (Chomsky, 1957, p. 49). Such grammars provide the analyst with explicit tools meeting criterion (2) above. For discussion of points (3) and (4) within the concept of 'levels of adequacy' see Dik (1978, pp. 2ff).

To make sense out of actual linguistic utterances, I propose to analyse language as an interactional game, in which participants proceed on the basis of a 'for all intents and purposes' sharing of values on planes of pragmatic, syntactic, and semantic representation. Linguistic games have been defined by Jens Allwood (quoted in Kiefer, 1980, p. 149) as interactions in which:

(i) a sender tries to verbally display or signal information to a receiver,
(ii) a receiver apprehends and reconstructs that information,
(iii) a receiver understands and takes a stand on the information,
(iv) a receiver behaviorally reacts to the information, within a relatively short period of time after he has apprehended and understood it.

In elaborating this definition, note that games are not always successful in Allwood's terms: they may break down and require repair with reference to pragmatics, syntax, or semantics, or they may be terminated entirely at some stage. Pragmatic mismatches between participants, for example, may create difficulties in establishing the game. Consider the following conversation between two people in adjacent rooms, with a curtain drawn part-way between them:

(1) A: There's some miso soup there if you want it.
(15 seconds of silence)
A: Did you hear me?
B: I did, you said there was soup. I don't know if I want any or not.

In (1), Speaker A initiates a conversational game with a declarative sentence that can be interpreted both as an offer and a request for a response, beyond its status as a statement of fact. Speaker B violates the expectations of A's opening move, and requires A to return with a re-definition, ascertaining whether or not B has heard the conversational demand. B's response is significant: 'I did' answers the re-definition move made by A; 'you said there was soup' establishes that the semantics of A's first utterance was received by B; and the final part of B's response attends specifically to an implied offer of soup, while giving a justification for not responding, i.e., not playing the game.

Consider now a dialogue between a mother and her four year old child, who is playing with a balloon in an adjacent room.

(2) A: Mummy, how much do we have to buy for these?
B: Do we have to buy these? Of course we do, we got it at Moon's.
A: Mummy, how much do we have to buy for these?
B: We had to buy it. It cost a pound.

In (2), Speaker A has initiated a conversation with an utterance that B accepts as a question, and to which B responds with a pragmatically appropriate answer. A's utterance, however, cannot be generated by B's grammar, and is both ungrammatical and ambiguous. That the logical possibility of stopping the game on the basis that A's remark is ungrammatical not only did not arise in (2) but does not arise in general suggests that conversationalists interpret utterances wherever possible, regardless of grammaticality. Using this characteristic of texts as a starting point, the relative importance of grammaticality judgments in linguistic theory may be questioned.

Interactional language games can be analysed according to the following rubric grammar, that is, a system of rules (grammar) which provides an overall heading (rubric) under which more detailed theory can operate to explain the details of the interaction. In the rubric grammar, a conversation is analysed at gross levels of pragmatics, sentential syntax, and semantic interpretation, simply to display whether or not a 'for all intents and purposes' match has been shown between speakers at each stage in the interaction. The various devices by which discourse is tied together, and the different structures which particular types of discourse exhibit, can be seen within the rubric. Further analysis can take many paths: pragmatic theory will be needed to specify the nature of speech acts found in the text; syntactic theory will apply to both sentential structure and what Palek (1968, 1977) terms 'hyper-syntax' (cross-reference and textual inter-connection); and semantic theory will be necessary to analyse reference, interpretation, and so forth.

A fourth level of analysis should properly be included in a full treatment of conversational interaction: a social plane, on which conflict and solidarity, equality and inequality, as expressed through language are analysed. Due to the restricted nature of this paper, such a plane is not included in further discussion.

The rubric grammar thus indicates values attached to pragmatic, syntactic, or semantic functions manifested in each expression of the conversational text. An 'expression' may be (maximally) a single sentence or (minimally) an utterance interpretable as a single word. Each expression is a 'move' in a conversational game, such that a speaker uses one or more functions at each level per expression. The notation '$f_i(x_n)$' in the grammar signifies for each function f_i (pragmatic, syntactic, or semantic, denoted by a subscript p, y, or e, respectively) a unique argument x_n within the expression. Each argument x is numbered sequentially through the text. Thus '$f_y(x_1)$' denotes the first syntactic argument of the text, '$f_p(x_1,x_2)$' denotes an expression with two pragmatic interpretations, and so forth.

Several further notational conventions are necessary in defining the rubric grammar. While single brackets around a given x_n are interpreted as 'value x_n selected,' double brackets signify a reformulation of an earlier function, that is, a paraphrase in pragmatic, syntactic, or semantic terms. The notation '$f_p((x_5))$', for example, denotes that the fifth pragmatic argument has been reformulated by a subsequent expression, rather than fully responded to.

An asterisk denotes the selection by a conversational partner of a functional value introduced in an earlier expression: thus '$f_p(x_1)$*' signals that the first pragmatic argument of the text has been responded to appropriately by a second speaker. A reformulation which involves the introduction of new syntactic or semantic material is seen as a rewriting operation, denoted by an arrow, as in the notation '$f_y(x_1 \quad x_9)$' in which the first syntactic argument has been rephrased by substituting new material. Such rewritings are typically framed in constructions such as 'Oh, you mean X, not Y.' Like the clarification act performed in the second line of conversation (1), rewritings are a part of language ability which is learned relatively late in the acquisition process.

A rubric grammar matrix for conversation (2) is displayed in Table I. Each expression is denoted by 'E' with a subscript for the initial of the speaker and the ordering of the expression in the set of that speaker's conversational turns. Key words in the expression provide an index to the actual text. Each value on each of the three planes discussed thus far is then listed for each expression. The matrix allows one expression to have multiple functions, so that, for example, E_{b1} below is both an appropriate reply to E_{a1} (a demand for attention) and a reformulation of the question in E_{a2}. One-word utterances having no syntactic interpretation receive the notation '$f_y(x_0)$'. Ambiguity at any level is denoted by assigning more than one value x to the appropriate function f.

TABLE I

E_{a1}	E_{a2}	E_{b1}	E_{b2}	E_{b3}	E_{a3}	E_{a4}
Mummy	How much...	Do we ...	Of course...	We got it...	Mummy	How much...
$f_p(x_1)$	$f_p(x_2)$	$f_p(x_1)\bullet$ $f_p((x_2))$	$f_p((x_2))\bullet$	$f_p(x_3)$	$f_p(x_1)$	$f_p(x_2)$
$f_y(x_0)$	$f_y(x_1; x_2)$	$f_y((x_1))$	$f_y(x_1)\bullet$	$f_y(x_3)$	$f_y(x_0)$	$f_y(x_1; x_2)$
$f_e(x_1)$	$f_e(x_2; x_3)$	$f_e((x_2))$	$f_e(x_2)\bullet$	$f_e(x_4)$	$f_e(x_1)$	$f_e(x_2; x_3)$

E_{b4}	E_{b5}
We had to...	It cost a pound.
$f_p(x_1)\bullet$ $f_p(x_2)\bullet$	$f_p(x_2)\bullet$ $f_p(x_4)$
$f_y(x_1)\bullet$	$f_y(x_2)\bullet$
$f_e(x_2)\bullet$	$f_e(x_3)\bullet$

In viewing conversation (2) as a game, the rubric grammar shows precisely where the game has gone ahead and where it has failed to do so. Thus where E_{a2} is semantically and syntactically ambiguous (arising from its ill-formedness in adult terms), E_{b1} is clearly a selection of one of two interpretations at each of these two levels. E_{a4} shows the child's strategy in a game where his opening move has been misinterpreted, i.e., the game has not gone ahead. If one assumes, following the remarks at the beginning of this paper, that language typically involves change, repetition of E_{a2} in E_{a4} can be readily understood as a means of expressing that the desired change has not come about and that another attempt is being made. Speaker B is thus in a position to scan E_{a4} and look for another interpretation to which she can respond. E_{b4} represents a transition from one interpretation to the next, re-establishing the information presented in C_{b2}, which was itself a response to a re-formulated version of the child's initial utterance. C_{b5} thus responds directly to the interpretation of $C_{a2,4}$ which had been unrecognised until then.

The rubric grammar is context-sensitive. In assigning values for any function $f(x)$, judgments are made by examining the relations exhibited in the text as a whole, not by recourse to, for example, ambiguity as defined in a context-free grammar. If the text reveals that the context has forced a single interpretation on an utterance, then the utterance is not ambiguous in the rubric grammar. Conversely, if a text shows multiple interpretations of an utterance which a context-free grammar shows to be unambiguous, the rubric grammar must note the ambiguity which has evolved in the actual conditions of use. The rubric grammar does not require a reformulation of observed semantic arguments, a classification of speech acts, or other analytical operations. It is sufficient to observe from the text the contextually-defined moves made by each expression in the game, and to note the relations among the arguments put forward in the text. This approach implies that all language is inherently ambiguous -- that language's status as social semiotic contains within it the possibility that any expression can be ambiguous or unambiguous, meaningless or meaningful in any of an indefinite number of contextually-defined manners.

Child Syntax

Since the rubric grammar does not analyse structures within any level displayed schematically in the matrix, further theory must be applied in examining any conversation or its sub-components. In Table I, the ambiguity of C_{a2}, together with the successful resolution of the problems created by the ambiguity, constitute the most marked feature of conversation (2). The acquisition of syntax typically takes place under similar conditions of output and feedback, such that the child's output is ungrammatical and uninterpretable or ambiguous in adult terms often enough that only a restructuring of the child's grammar will generate an output that in turn receives a successful outcome for any language game. The study of syntax in children can go on to specify the nature of the syntactic structures which they produce, in relation to relevant adult structures which may [illegible] data, conditioning factors in discourse, and so forth. The non-transformational grammars mentioned earlier may be [illegible] to show such relations in a linguistically significant [illegible] without resorting to the insertion of 'missing' lexical items (which have no material basis in the interaction) or the use of structure-changing operations. These grammars have not thus far been extended to child language, and what follows is necessarily only a brief suggestion of what may be possible in one approach.

Expression E_{a2} can be understood by examining the [illegible] structures of the words 'buy' and 'pay' within the framework [illegible] by Dik (1978). Following Dik, we can assign virtually identical 'predicate frames' to these two words as follows, [illegible] term x denotes a semantically specified argument of Agent, Goal, or Instrument. (Space limitations preclude a full discussion of the terminology in Dik (1978), to which the reader is referred.)

(3) $\text{pay}_V(x_1{:}\,\text{animate}(x_1))_{Ag}$
$(x_2{:}\,\text{commodity}(x_2))_{Go}$
$(x_3{:}\,\text{money}(x_3))_{Inst}$

(4) $\text{buy}_V(x_1{:}\,\text{animate}(x_1))_{Ag}$
$(x_2{:}\,\text{commodity}(x_2))_{Go}$
$(x_3{:}\,\text{money}(x_3))_{Inst}$

The difference between 'buy' and 'pay' lies in their [illegible] of the syntactic functions of Subject and Object as defined by Dik. Crucially, the Inst of 'pay' must occupy Obj position (immediately following the verb in this construction), while it is the [illegible] that is in Obj position. Thus:

(5) we_{SubjAg} buy them_{ObjGo} for a pound_{Inst}

(6) we_{SubjAg} pay a $\text{pound}_{ObjInst}$ for them_{Go} .

Expression E_{a2} thus uses a predicate frame [illegible]:

(7) $\text{buy}_V(x_1{:}\,\text{animate})_{AgSubj}\ (x_2{:}\,\text{commodity}(x_2))$ [illegible]
[illegible] $(x_3{:}\,\text{quantity}(x_3))$ [illegible] .

where the Go is not treated as Obj. Had this Go been so marked, expression rules and lexical insertion would have yielded the grammatical expression, 'How much do we have to buy these for?'

Speaker B in (2) is faced with three strategies of interpretation for E_{a2}, which she recognises (via her reformulation) to be anomalous. First, the verb 'buy' can be attended to as most salient, and the quantity argument for the Inst omitted from interpretation. This procedure is followed in E_{b1-3}. Alternatively, the Go that A has not marked as Obj can be interpreted as an intended Obj, or, with equal results for semantics, the verb 'buy' can be interpreted as an intended verb 'pay,' a verb which does allow the functional schema in (7). Following either of the last two strategies yields the correct result in the case we have been examining. In general, I suggest that the structural problems and interpretive strategies found in texts of conversations with children have fundamental importance both for describing the nature of child language and in understanding the structural aspects of the acquisition process

At this stage in the development of non-transformational generative grammars, it is not possible to go much further in the analysis of non-adult syntax. A grammar of Dik's type might well be modified to include a principle of functional deviance (PFD) in the manner of Brame (1978), so that a principled account can be given of syntactic ill-formedness by the failure of lexical insertion rules to apply correctly to necessary functional arguments. The acquisition of language may be seen as the acquisition of rules for interpretation and predication using semantic and syntactic schemata in interactional settings, made possible by a cognitive operation which recognises the dependence of certain linguistic constituents on others. Interchanges such as (2), then, provide the child with the opportunity to test hypothetical predication schemata, and by success or failure in language games, to revise rules in order to ensure successful outcomes.

The preceding approach can be used to make a number of more general hypotheses about language. Language change and linguistic variation may best be understood in such a framework, in that language contact (dialect contact, etc.) takes place under local conditions of social interaction in which language games must be played successfully by speakers in spite of formal differences in their speech. The structure of such games and the successful points of contact between speakers across formal boundaries have important consequences for theories of language variation and change. A game theory conception may help to explain communication which occurs linguistically between speakers who share no language in a real sense (as travellers often experience), or may explain how speakers arrive at judgments of mutual intelligibility or lack thereof. In the case of child language, such a game approach, together with in-depth investigation of particular problems, should speak to the needs of the analyst who is committed to analysing performance rather than abstract concepts, yet who is also committed to a [illegible] description of syntax and an understanding of the fundamental character of linguistic ability.

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DEARCAIDH, SPRIOCANNA AGUS CUR I GCRÍCH FOGHLAIMEOIRÍ GAEILGE

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Cur i láthair an abhair

D'fhéadfaí rangú teoiriciúil a dhéanamh ar lucht foghlama na Gaeilge mar dhara teanga de réir a n-acmhainní cumarsáide, de réir a gcumais chun an teanga labhartha a thuiscint is a ghiniúint:

(1) Na daoine ar cuma nó cainteoirí dúchais Gaeltachta iad. Tá máistreacht iomlán fhulangach agus ghníomhach acu ar chóras na Gaeilge idir fhuaimeanna, infhilleacha, chomhréir agus fhoclóir.
(2) Na daoine ar féidir leo cumarsáid a dhéanamh le cainteoirí dúchais tharla go bhfuil máistreacht fhulangach acu ar chóras na Gaeilge agus tharla go bhfuil cainteoirí dúchais ábalta ar a n-iarrachtaí labhartha a thuiscint.
(3) Na daoine atá suite áit éigin idir a gcéad teanga agus an sprioctheanga - idir an Béarla agus an Ghaeilge; na daoine a bhfuil idirtheanga ('interlanguage') acu a dhéanann cúis dóibh mar uirlis chumarsáide ina measc féin, is é sin le daoine eile atá sa staid chéanna leo.

Ní haon rud neamhghnách é go mbeadh an roinnt seo le déanamh ar fhoghlaimeoirí dara teanga ar bith. Is beag foghlaimeoir, áfach, a bhaineann amach foirfeacht an chainteora dhúchais in aon teanga. Tarann sé seo gur i ndáileadh na bhfoghlaimeoirí sa dá ghrúpa eile atá an difríocht le brath idir chás na Gaeilge agus cás theangacha na Mór-Roinne in Éirinn. Ar ndóigh, is beag feidhm a bheadh le hidirtheanga Fraincise, Gearmáinise nó eile sa tír seo. Is amhlaidh a bhíonn fonn mór ar fhoghlaimeoirí theangacha na Mór-Roinne teacht chun cinn agus oiread smachta agus is féidir leo a fháil ar an sprioctheanga, d'fhonn teagmháil le lucht a labhartha. Is mór idir seo agus cás na Gaeilge: tá buanú braite ar idirtheanga foghlaimeoirí Gaeilge sa tslí go ndéantar comparáid idir shaghas na Gaeilge atá ag teacht chun cinn i measc foghlaimeoirí agus saghas an Bhéarla a saolaíodh in Éirinn tar éis an athraithe teanga. Is éard atá fúm a dhéanamh sa pháipéar seo ná earraíocht a bhaint as teoiricí [illegible] is aitiúchtúla ar chur i gcrích foghlaimeoirí Gaeilge mar aon le fianaise i dtaobh dearcadh agus spriocanna chun an staid atá acu a léiriú is a mhíniú.

Cainteoirí dúchais ina mionlach de chainteoirí Gaeilge

Is é an chéad phointe atá le tabhairt faoi deara ná gur líonmhaire go fada mór na foghlaimeoirí a bhfuil labhairt na Gaeilge acu ná na cainteoirí dúchais. De réir Daonáireamh na hÉireann 1971 bhí Gaeilge ag 789,429 duine sna 26 contae, líon arb ionann é agus 28.3% den daonra iomlán a bhí 3 bliana d'aois nó os a chionn (lch. x). 55,440 duine le Gaeilge nó 2.2% den daonra iomlán a bhí 3 bliana d'aois nó os a chionn a bhí ina gcónaí sa Ghaeltacht (lch. xi). D'fhágfadh seo coibhneas de c. 17 foghlaimeoir le Gaeilge i leith gach cainteora ó dhúchas. Tá a fhios againn, áfach, ó Tuarascáil An Choiste um Thaighde ar Dhearcadh an Phobail i dTaobh na Gaeilge go bhfreagródh Gaeilgeoirí dhaonáireamh 1971 dá sampla féin ó 1973 ar scála cumais Guttman anuas go dtí 'limited conversational ability' (lch. 129). Mar sin b'fhearr cloí leis an gcoibhneas in Tuarascáil idir 'at least fairly fluent non-native speaker' (7.4%) agus 'native speaker' (1.9%), coibhneas arb ionann é agus c. 4:1 (lch. 129). Chun é a chur ar shlí eile, níl an teanga ó dhúchas ach ag 20% de lucht labhartha réasúnta líofa na Gaeilge: mionlach de lucht labhartha na Gaeilge is ea muintir na Gaeltachta.

Dearcaidh an phobail i dtaobh na Gaeilge

Féachaimis anois ar dhearcaidh an phobail i dtaobh na Gaeilge mar chomhartha eitneach, i dtaobh na Gaeltachta agus i dtaobh oiriúnacht na Gaeilge don saol nua-aimseartha, mar a léirítear iad i dtorthaí shuirbhéireacht Tuarascáil:

Tábla 1 (a)

ATTITUDES TOWARDS IRISH AS A SYMBOL OF ETHNIC IDENTITY, AND TOWARDS EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN AND TRANSMIT IRISH

Very Negative	Fairly Negative	Negative-Neutral	Neutral-Positive	Fairly Positive	Very Positive
7%	13%	16%	20%	20%	24%

(*Tuarascáil*, *43*, *28*)

Tábla 1 (b)

ATTITUDE TO IRISH AS AN ETHNIC SYMBOL

	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree
Ireland would not really be Ireland without its Irish-speaking people	64%	3%	34%
Without Irish, Ireland would certainly lose its identity as a separate culture	65%	6%	28%
No real Irishman can be against the revival of Irish	72%	3%	[illegible]

(Tuarascáil, [illegible])

Níor mhór a mheabhrú nach ionann tuiscint an duine gan Ghaeilge ar cad is 'Gaeilge' ann agus tuiscint an chainteora líofa a bhfuil teacht aige go díreach ar chultúr na teanga.

Tuairimí i leith na Gaeltachta agus i leith oiriúnacht na Gaeilge do shaol na linne seo

Cuirimis tuairimí an phobail i leith na Gaeltachta i gcomparáid le tuairimí an phobail i dtaobh oiriúnacht na Gaeilge mar mheán cumarsáide i saol na linne seo:

Tábla 2 (a)

ATTITUDES TOWARDS GAELTACHT PEOPLE AND TOWARDS GOVERNMENT POLICY ON THE GAELTACHT

Highly Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Very Positive
4%	7%	16%	26%	48%

(Tuarascáil, 50)

Tábla 2 (b)

BELIEFS ABOUT THE VIABILITY OF IRISH

	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree
If the Gaeltacht dies out, Irish will die out also	60%	7%	33%
Gaeltacht areas are dying out at present	53%	19%	28%
If nothing is done to prevent it Irish will disappear in a generation or two	71%	5%	24%

(Tuarascáil, 47)

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Tábla 3 (a)

FEELINGS OF APATHY ABOUT IRISH AND EVALUATION OF ITS UTILITY AS PART OF THE 'MODERN' WORLD

Strongly Negative	Negative-Neutral	Neutral-Positive	Positive	Strongly Positive
44%	29%	14%	8%	6%

(*Tuarascáil*, 50)

Tábla 3 (b)

FEELINGS OF APATHY ABOUT IRISH ... AND ASSOCIATED BELIEFS, ABOUT THE RELEVANCE AND FATE OF THE LANGUAGE

	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree
Irish is less useful than any continental language	79%	3%	18%
The Irish language cannot be made suitable for business and science	62%	11%	28%

(*Tuarascáil*, 46)

Is léir mar sin go gceaptar coitianta nach bhfuil an Ghaeilge 'nua-aimseartha', nach mairfidh sí, go bhfuil an Ghaeltacht ag fáil bháis. Cá hionadh nárbh fhiú le daoine stró a chur orthu féin chun leagan den Ghaeilge atá ann, go háirithe leagan di a labhraítear sa Ghaeltacht, a fhoghlaim? Tá fianaise ann ar mheon daltaí áirithe iar-bhunoideachais ar an gceist: Léiríonn staidéar comhriochta ('matched guise study') a deineadh i measc daltaí áirithe ón gcéad is ón séú bliain meánscoile go raibh buanchruth ar thuairim lucht na chéad bhliana, ar a dtuairim de chainteoirí Gaeilge. Ceistíodh na daltaí i dtaobh cainteoirí Béarla is Gaeilge a raibh a nguth taifeadta ar téip. Níorbh eol do na daltaí gurbh ionann na daoine a bhí ag labhairt as Gaeilge agus as Béarla. Na difríochtaí a shamhlaigh na freagróirí idir an cainteoir céanna ag labhairt as Gaeilge agus as Béarla, cuirtear síos iad do dhearcadh na bhfeagróirí i leith an dá theanga. Seo a leanas toradh an taighde:

> 'These tables show a clear stereotype of an Irish speaker emerging amongst the 1st year pupils. He is seen as being smaller, uglier, weaker, of poorer health, more old-fashioned, less educated, poorer, less confident, less interesting, more religious, less likeable, lower class, of lower leadership ability, lazier and more submissive compared to an English speaker ... Socially, an Irish speaker is more undesirable ... He is more likely to be a farm labourer or a small

/....

> farmer... In the case of the 6th years there are still highly significant differences between the guises. However, other factors have obviously become important and there are no stereotypes based simply on language.
>
> *(Tuarascáil, 454, 453 - 57, 300)*

> In fact, for one of the speakers - with a Dublin working-class accent in English and a clear Dublin-cum-Connemara accent in Irish - the guise seemed to have been almost completely reversed. That is, where the first year pupils gave a significantly higher evaluation to the speaker in his English voice the sixth year pupils completely reversed this. An additional and related finding to this was when one compared the three different voices in Irish for both groups the most highly evaluated "voice" in Irish was that of the school-learned Irish accent and not that of the native Gaeltacht speaker. The former is, apparently, taken as a "marker" of educational success whereas the native speaker is evaluated as of lower status and lower acceptability.
>
> *(Tuarascáil, 300 - 01)*

Éifeacht na Gaeltachta ar úsáid na Gaeilge i measc foghlaimeoirí

Tá léiriú ar laghad na teagmhála leis an nGaeltacht agus ar easpa éifeacht na Gaeltachta ar úsáid Ghaeilge taobh amuigh di le fáil sa chur síos in Tuarascáil ar shuíomhanna úsáide na teanga. Tá na suíomhanna rangaithe anseo in ord tábhachta agus an céatadán den iomlán freagróirí taobh amuigh den Ghaeltacht a n-úsáidtear an Ghaeilge nó frásaí Gaeilge sa bhaile acu 'i gcónaí'/'go minic' agus 'uaireanta' suimithe le chéile:

Tábla 4

Ord Tábhachta	Suíomh	Céadatán
1ú	Helping children with homework	7.5%
2ú	General conversation	6.6%
3ú	At mealtimes	5.6%
4ú	At family prayer, church	4.3%
5ú	When in Gaeltacht	3.7%
6ú	When abroad	2.5%
7ú	Dances, concerts, pubs, meetings	2.2%
8ú	So others could not understand	1.9%
9ú	When angry or excited	1.7%

(Tuarascáil, 196)

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Cé go bhfuil tionchar réimse na scolaíochta le léamh ar an bpríomhshuíomh, is suimiúil a laghad de rian institiúidiúil atá ar na suíomhanna i gcoitinne. Pé scéal é, níl an Ghaeltacht ach sa chúigiú hionad ar an liosta seo agus 'thar lear' ar na sála aici! Ar ndóigh, ní mór sonrú a chur in ísle an leibhéil úsáide trí chéile.

Tá a thuilleadh eolais ar éifeacht tréimhse sa Ghaeltacht ar fhoghlaimeoirí Gaeilge le fáil i dtuarascáil a réitigh an t-údar seo do Bhord na Gaeilge i 1977: *Dearcadh na Mac Léinn i Leith Cúrsaí na gColáistí Samhraidh*. Is éard atá sa tuarascáil seo ná suirbhéireacht ar shampla fánach ('random sample') 5% de na mic léinn go léir a d'fhreastail ar Choláiste Samhraidh sa Ghaeltacht sa bhliain 1976, d'fhonn eolas a chur ar a gcúlra, ar a dtuairim faoi na cúrsaí samhraidh agus ar an tionchar a bhí ag na coláistí orthu maidir le dearcadh i leith na Gaeilge. Is tríd an bpost a deineadh an tsuirbhéireacht, agus fágann an ráta ard freagartha de 84% go bhfuil bonn muiníneach staitistiúil faoi na torthaí.

Tábhacht mheánach a chuir na freagróirí seo leis an suíomh Gaeltachta nuair a iarradh orthu na slite a chabhraigh le feabhas a chur ar an gcumas Gaeilge a lua.

Tábla 5

SLITE INAR CABHRAÍODH LE FEABHAS A CHUR AR CHUMAS GAEILGE NA BHFAISNÉISEOIRÍ AGUS A N-ORD TÁBHACHTA

Ord Tábhachta	Slí inar cabhraíodh le cumas Gaeilge	Céadadán de iomlán na bhfaisnéiseoirí
1ú	Trí ranganna	75.0%
2ú	Trí chaint le múinteoirí/eagraithe	56.3%
3ú	Trí chaint le muintir an tí	54.8%
4ú	Trí bhualadh le muintir na háite	33.0%
5ú	Trí chaitheamh aimsire	27.5%
5ú	Trí chaint le mic léinn eile	27.5%

(Mac Mathúna, 83)

Seo a leanas an teagmháil a bhí ag na mic léinn le muintir an tí agus le muintir na háite faoi seach:

Tábla 6 (a)

MINICÍOCHT CHOMHRÁ GAEILGE LE MUINTIR AN TÍ

Roinnt uaireanta gach lá	57.3%
Uair gach lá nó mar sin	15.6%
Gach cúpla lá	2.6%
Anois agus arís	[illegible]
Ní raibh riamh	[illegible]

(Mac Mathúna, 81)

Tábla 6 (b)

MINICÍOCHT CHOMHRÁ GAEILGE LE MUINTIR NA HÁITE

Roinnt uaireanta gach lá	23.3%
Uair gach lá nó mar sin	17.3%
Gach cúpla lá	9.6%
Anois agus arís	31.4%
Ní raibh riamh	18.4%

(Mac Mathúna, 63)

Ar ndóigh níorbh fhéidir a léamh ar na figiúirí seo leo féin cad ina thaobh go raibh an easpa teagmhála le muintir na Gaeltachta ann, cé acu an easpa faille, tola nó cumais faoi dear é. Is fíor go mbíonn sé deacair go leor ar aon duine teagmháil le muintir na háite agus é ar saoire i gceantar nua dó.

D'fhoilsigh Bord na Gaeilge tuarascáil le E. A. Hilliard dar teideal Léirmheas ar Dhianchúrsaí Fhoras na Gaeilge (1981). Is éard atá sa tuarascáil seo ná toradh suirbhéireachta ar na daoine uilig a d'fhreastail ar na dianchúrsaí Gaeilge a d'eagraigh Foras na Gaeilge, faoi choimirce Ghael-Linn, le cabhair airgid ó Bhord na Gaeilge, le linn na gceithre bliana 1976 - 80. Scrúdaítear inti na dálaí inar tharla méadú ar úsáid Ghaeilge na bhfreagróirí. Is sa chúigiú háit (30.4%) a bhí an dáil 'Sa Ghaeltacht, le muintir na Gaeltachta'. Chun tosaigh uirthi seo bhí:

Tábla 7

In Ord Méadaithe	Méadú Iomlán %	Dáil
(1)	40.6%	Leis na leanaí am ceachtanna
(2)	40.5%	Eagraíochtaí nó gníomhaíochtaí a bhaineann leis an nGaeilge
(3)	38.2%	Leis na leanaí in amannaí eile
(4)	33.3%	Le leanaí eile.

(Hilliard, 18)

Cuireann na torthaí seo le fianaise Tuarascáil An Choiste um Thaighde ar Dhearcadh an Phobail i dtaobh na Gaeilge. Is léir gur fusa leis na freagróirí plé le leanaí agus iad ar labhairt sa Ghaeilge mar dhara teanga, ar an ábhar is dócha, gur lú an baol go spreagfaidh a n-iarrachtaí fonn fonóide. Is suntasach go bhfuil comhthéacsanna Gaelacha lasmuigh den Ghaeltacht chun cinn go maith ar 'Sa Ghaeltacht, le muintir na Gaeltachta'. San 11.5 áit le méadú i gcás 25.6% freagróirí a bhí an dáil 'Sa Ghaeltacht, le cuairteoirí eile'. Ar ndóigh bheadh an méadú teagmhála le muintir na Gaeltachta taobh le turasanna saoire don chuid is mó; d'fhéadfadh ócáidí Gaelacha a bheith ann uair ar bith i gcaitheamh na bliana. B'fhéidir mar sin gur mó is ábhar iontais airde éifeachta na Gaeltachta ar na freagróirí ná a mhalairt.

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Saghas na Gaeilge atá ag foghlaimeoirí

I suirbhéireacht Hilliard ar na dianchúrsaí, "Iarradh ar na freagróirí an méid deacrachta a bhí acu i gcás gach uile cheann de cheithre scil ar leith teanga a léiriú. Ba iad sin:

(1) Fuaimniú ceart.

(2) Cruinneas gramadaí.

(3) Tú féin a chur in iúl.

(4) Aistriú focal áirithe.

Rinneadh comparáid ar chumas Gaeilge gach aon fhreagróra roimh an gcúrsa agus ina dhiaidh le teacht ar an méid treisiú nó neartú a d'fhéadfadh tarlú. Déanadh é sin le haghaidh cumas tuisceana agus cumas labhartha. Scrúdaíodh freisin na scóranna ar gach aon scil teanga roimh an gcúrsa agus ina dhiaidh. Baineadh úsáid as an difríocht a bhí eatarthu lena chruthú ar fheabhsaigh scileanna teanga nó nár fheabhsaigh." *(Hilliard, 9)*

Tháinig an feabhas ba mhó ar a éifeachtaí is a bhí freagróirí in ann iad féin a chur in iúl (i gcás 40.7% de na freagróirí). Ina dhiaidh sin tháinig feabhsúcháin maidir le gramadach chruinn a úsáid (i gcás 31.3% de na freagróirí). Ansin tháinig feabhsúcháin maidir leis an leagan Gaeilge ar fhocla áirithe a bheith acu (27.9% de na freagróirí), agus feabhsúcháin ó thaobh an fhuaimnithe de (27.3% de na freagróirí). Cé gur bhain an feabhas ba lú (go comhréireach) le deacrachtaí ó thaobh an fhuaimnithe de, ní mór a mheabhrú gurbh í a chuir dua ar an líon ba lú freagróirí. Dúirt duine as gach uile cheathrar nach raibh deacracht ar bith le fuaimniú acu roimh an gcúrsa (24.4%); i gcomparáid leis seo, ní raibh ach duine amháin as gach uile scór a dúirt nach raibh deacrachtaí acu maidir len iad féin a chur in iúl (6%) nó le stór focal (5%). (Féach *Hilliard, 12 - 13)*

Bailíodh eolas in Tuarascáil chomh maith i dtaobh na réimsí ina raibh deacrachtaí ag na foghlaimeoirí agus iad ag iarraidh an Ghaeilge a labhairt.

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Tábla 8

IN IRISH WOULD YOU SAY YOU HAVE NONE, SOME OR MUCH DIFFICULTY WITH

	National Sample		
Skill	None	Some	Much
	%	%	%
Pronunciation	20	24	56
Making (my)self understood	15	22	61
Expressing what you mean	12	23	62
Using correct grammar	11	19	67
Thinking quickly enough to keep up with conversation	8	18	70
Finding right word for special topics	6	19	72

*Much category combines 'much' with 'not applicable' - those people who did not answer the question because they had no Irish at all, and thus presumably would have 'much' difficulty.

(*Tuarascáil*, 122, 471)

Mar sin ba í an fhoghraíocht ba lú deacracht ag an sampla náisiúnta agus cúrsaí foclóra teicniúla ba mhó deacracht acu, díreach faoi mar a bhí i gcás shampla na Gaeltachta (cf. Tuarascáil, 122). Toradh suaithinseach ait is ea é seo, gan dabht.

Faoi mar a léireofar thíos, is féidir amhras oibiachtúil a chaitheamh ar thuairiscí suibiachtúla mar gheall ar easpa deacrachta leis an bhfoghraíocht. Is spéisiúil a thabhairt faoi deara, áfach, gur chloígh lucht réitithe Tuarascáil le tuairim íseal seo an phobail d'ionad na foghraíochta, agus iad ag réiteach an scála Guttman ar deineadh tagairt dó cheana, mar atá, 'Construction of a Guttman scale for the National Sample based on Speaking Ability and Self-Report on Six Conversational Skills'. Is í an aicme 'No Difficulty with Pronunciation' is lú tábhacht ar na sé scil cainte a áirítear agus í le fáil mar thréith mheánach i measc an dreama a bhfuil cumas 'parts of conversations' acu. (*Tuarascáil*, 127 - 28)

In éagmais faisnéis oibiachtúil fhoilsithe i dtaobh cumas labhartha caithfear dul i mbun na hoibre ar mhodh timpeallach. Ach comparáid a dhéanamh idir Ghaeilge agus Béarla cífear láithreach go bhfuil an córas claochluithe tosaigh sa Ghaeilge, córas morfafhóinéimeach ('morpho-phonemic') ar na difríochtaí is bunúsaí idir an dá theanga: Is athrú fóinéimeach ar chonsain atá i gceist le séimhiú; is athrú fóinéimeach ar chonsain agus ar ghutaí araon atá i gceist le hurú; cuireann an dá shaghas athruithe claochlú ar dheilbhíocht focal; ní mor a mheabhrú go bhfuil feidhm ghramadúil ag an dá chóras mhorfafhóinéimeacha.

Is ríléir ar an dá imleabhar de Earráidí Scríofa Gaeilge a d'ullmhaigh Tomás Ó Domhnalláin agus Dónall Ó Baoill go bhfuil an próiseas a bhaineann le séimhiú/urú ag cur isteach ar na foghlaimeoirí. Cé go maítear 'nach deacrachtaí consan atá ag cur isteach ar an bhfoghlaimeoir' (Cuid I, 26) agus 'nach gcuireann siad (i.e. lucht foghlama) an séimhiú i bhfeidhm beag beann ar na consain

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a bhíonn i gceist (Cuid I, 47),(cf. Cuid I, 50 i dtaobh an uraithe), maolaítear ar an dearcadh seo ábhairín i gCuid II, 74 mar a ndeirtear 'gurb é an próiseas a bhaineann le séimhiú/urú, agus nach deacrachtaí consan ar fad, atá ag cur isteach ar an bhfoghlaimeoir'.

Tá Tábla 9 (a) bunaithe ar Léaráid 7.3 in Earráidí Scríofa Gaeilge (Cuid II, 141), a léiríonn an scaipeadh ar earráidí de réir thúslitreacha na bhfocal cáilitheach.

Tábla 9 (a)

Túslitreacha	Líon Earráidí
c	119
m	104
d	34
f	30
b	30
g	20
t	12
s	11
p	6

Seo a leanas ord minicíochta thúschonsan na bhfocal cáilitheach a tharla i 100,000 focal de ghnáthchaint Ghaeilge na Gaeltachta a ndearnadh mionanailís orthu in Buntús Gaeilge:

Tábla 9 (b)

Túslitreacha
s
m
f
c
t
d
g
b

(Earráidí Scríofa Gaeilge, Cuid II, 142)

Tugtar faoi deara an toradh i gcás c, d agus g go háirithe. Téann E.S.G. Cuid II, chomh fada lena rá 'Is cosúil mar sin go bhfuil baint éigin ag fuaimniú le minicíocht na n-earráidí atá i gceist.' (lch. 142) Is baolach nach ligfidh an fhianaise dúinn dul níos sia ná sin go fóill. Tá mionanailís ar chaint Ghaeltachta againn in Buntús Gaeilge agus ó H. Hartmann, go háirithe in Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie 33(1974) agus 37(1979), agus tá E.S.G., I agus II againn ar shampla de 200 aiste ardteistiméireachta. Tá anailís ar chaint daoine a d'fhoghlaim an Ghaeilge mar dhara teanga uainn (tá Dónall Ó Baoill agus Deirdre Ní Cheallaigh, Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann i mbun taighde uirthi seo) agus iniúchadh ar shaothar scríofa ó shampla de dhaltaí ón nGaeltacht, d'fhonn comparáide leis an sampla náisiúnta. Ach aon duine a bhfuil cluasa chun éisteachta air tá a fhios aige nach ionann foghraíocht foghlaimeoirí Gaeilge agus foghraíocht cainteoirí dúchais, go mbíonn foghraíocht na bhfoghlaimeoirí go mór faoi thionchar fhuaimeanna an Bhéarla agus gur deacair do mhúinteoirí tabhairt orthu aithris níos dlúithe a dhéanamh ar chainteoirí na Gaeltachta. Ní idirdhealaíonn siad idir chonsain leathana agus consain chaola sa Ghaeilge faoi mar is gá go fóinéimiúil. Agus tá col acu le fuaimeanna ar nós /x/, /x'/, /ɣ/ agus /ɣ'/ nach bhfuil sa Bhéarla.

An treoir atá ar fáil d'fhoghlaimeoirí

Ba mhaith liom anois an dearcadh atá ag córas oideachais an Stáit i leith sprioc teanga agus cultúir na Gaeilge mar dhara teanga a iniúchadh, féachaint cén treoir atá ar fáil d'fhoghlaimeoirí. D'aithin an tOllamh R. A. Breatnach, 'Revival or Survival? An Examination of the Irish Language Policy of the State', in Studies xlv No. 178 (Summer 1956) 129-45, an fhadhb a bhí ann is ní raibh aon amhras air i dtaobh an rogha a dhéanfadh sé féin, mar atá an Ghaeilge dhúchasach 'traditional Irish'.

> Many people ... are disposed to regard the development and spread of incorrect Irish as an inevitable phase which in due time will give way to a second in the course of which the "incorrect" in some unexplained way will become "correct". But in the field of language, no more than elsewhere, good does not come out of evil. If, by some strange chance, the language as school-children speak it should become the vernacular of any part of the country, without the exertion of an extremely powerful influence and check from the Gaeltacht, it is certain, on the basis of the clear evidence of linguistic history, that it would develop according to laws of its own and diverge still further from traditional Irish. Hence, especially in view of the weak position of the Gaeltacht, it is no mere pedantic predilection to reject "school Irish" as a norm which must be temporarily accepted. Further it may be noted that the establishment of a standard literary language would be powerless to impose any real check on the natural development of the new parole, for a spoken language evolves independently in accordance with tendencies peculiar to itself.
>
> To countenance in the schools or anywhere else, then, a norm of speech that is not as close an approximation as circumstance allow of a living dialect would seem to be a fundamental mistake which, by abrogating traditional standards of correctness, would only result in the stultification of the efforts being made to teach and extend Irish as a spoken language.
> ([illegible] 141-42)

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Cuirtear tábhacht mhór le Gaeilge na Gaeltachta in Buntús Gaeilge - Réamhthuarascáil:

> Má tá an Ghaeilge le bheith mar ghnáthmheán cumarsáide ag daoine, ní foláir é bheith ar a gcumas acu a bpearsantacht féin a léiriú go saoráideach cruthaitheach sa teanga sin le linn dóibh bheith i gcomhluadar cainteoirí dúchais Gaeilge. (lch. 2)

> Os é cuspóir na hoibre a chur ar chumas an fhoghlaimeora gabháil i bpáirt chainte agus comhrá le Gaeilgeoirí dúchais a luaithe is féidir é, ní móide gur ábhar iontais le héinne é má deirtear gur sa Ghaeilge sin faoi mar a labhraítear coitianta sa Ghaeltacht anois í a chaithfear an t-ábhar foghlama do na tosaitheoirí a lorg. Mar sin, is ar bheochaint na Gaeltachta, mar atá sí i láthair na huaire, a bunaíodh an taighde seo. (lch. 10)

Trí eilimint atá in corpus Buntús Gaeilge féin, mar atá:
(1) Comhrá mhuintir na Gaeltachta:

> Tuairim 180 cainteoirí dúchais, óg is aosta, ina gceart-timpeallacht féin agus ar ócáidí nádúrtha, a chuir na comhráite ar fáil dúinn. Le léargas a fháil ar chóras na Gaeilge amhail mar is beo faoi láthair di, mar mheán cumarsáide ag pobal na Gaeltachta féin, i gcoibhneas le daonra fíor-Ghaeltachta na gCúigí éagsúla is ea cruinníodh na solaoidí. (lch. 11)

(2) Sainfhocail riachtanacha a sholáthraigh cainteoirí dúchais Gaeilge:

> ... lorgaíodh fianaise ó 260 cainteoirí dúchais Gaeilge faoi na focail ba riachtanaí, dar leo, chun trácht ar ghnáth-ábhair áirithe chomrá. Ar an mbealach sin tiomsaíodh breis ar 100,000 focal ar fad, scrúdaíodh iad, agus, dá thoradh samhlaítear níos mó ná 10% de na cainteoirí dúchais óna ndearnadh an tiomsú a bheith ar aon intinn i dtaobh gá a bheith le 1,000 áirithe focal díobh sin. (lch. 14)

(3) Sainfhocail riachtanacha Bhéarla na Galltachta:

> Níor mhór don té ar mian leis Buntús Gaeilge a úsáid mar bhun dá chuid múinteoireachta sa Ghalltacht aird a thabhairt ar mheon agus ar theanga na bhfoghlaimeoirí. De bharr taighde breise a rinneadh ar thuairimí 260 duine de mhuintir na Galltachta i dtaobh na bhfocal is mó, dar leo, ba ghá, do ghnáth-ábhar comhrá

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> (i mBéarla) cuireadh focail áirithe breise
> leis an mBuntús ... Focail iad seo a bhfuil
> a gcomhshamhail go hard ar liosta minicíochta na
> Galltachta ach nach bhfuil ar liosta na
> Gaeltachta, nó nach bhfuil sách ard air le
> go dtuillfidís áit sa Bhuntús. Fuarthas an
> leagan Gaeilge de na focail sin ó liostaí na
> Gaeltachta (nuair b'ann dóibh) nó ó chainteoirí dúchais údarásacha ó na cúigí éagsúla.
> (lch. 15)

Is ar thorthaí taighde Buntús Gaeilge a bunaíodh an cúrsa foghlama Buntús Cainte, a d'ullmhaigh Tomás Ó Domhnalláin, agus cúrsaí comhrá na bunscoile.

Dealraíonn sé, áfach, nach bpléitear saghas na sprioctheanga ná an spriocchultúir in Buntús Cainte ná in Curaclam na Bunscoile. Lámhleabhar an Oide. Cuid I sna codanna 'Gaeilge sa Ghaeltacht' (lgh. 27 - 54) ná 'Gaeilge sa Ghalltacht' (lgh. 55 - 77), taobh amuigh den chéad bhuntáiste a shamhlaítear a bheith ag baint leis 'Na Nuachúrsaí Gaeilge':

> 'Tá na buntáistí seo a leanas ag baint leis
> na nuachúrsaí agus leis an modh teagaisc a
> ghabhann leo:-
>
> (i) Is de thoradh taighde ar an teanga bheo
> a roghnaíodh agus a céimníodh ábhar na gceachtanna idir fhoclóir, chomhréir agus dheilbhíocht.'
>
> *(Curaclam na Bunscoile. Lámhleabhar an Oide, Cuid I, lch. 55)*

Is cosúil nach bhfuil aon tagairt ach oiread do shaghas na sprioctheanga ná an spriocchultúir sna 'Lámhleabhair don Oide' a d'ullmhaigh An Roinn Oideachais, agus a ghabhann leis na Cúrsaí Comhrá Gaeilge.

Ar an tacaíocht a mheasann an lámhleabhar do mhúinteoirí sna sé chontae a bheith ar fáil do theagasc na Gaeilge mar dhara teanga tá:

(i) fianaise is éifeacht (a) shloinnte is chéadainmneacha
(b) logainmneacha

(ii) Béarla na hÉireann

(iii) cóngaracht na Gaeltachta; féach:

> In dealing with the teaching of Irish in the
> primary school, consideration can be given
> to certain environmental factors which bear
> on the subject in Ireland. Unlike other
> languages, Irish does have immediate historical
> relevance for school pupils here. Surnames,
> Christian names, names of towns, counties,
> rivers, fields and numerous other geographical

/....

> features are in most cases derived directly from Irish.... e.g. Shankill, Knock, Belfast, Sean, Nuala, Erne, Lagan, Armagh, Fermanagh, O'Neill, MacShane, Devenney. In everyday conversation in town and country children here make use of words and idioms which are obviously peculiar to our language environment and cannot be overlooked in a consideration of the teaching of Irish. Since children here are in relatively close proximity to Irish-speaking areas they can familiarise themselves with Irish sounds and speech without serious difficulty. These factors are of considerable help in the teaching of Irish and confer certain advantages which no other second language can claim to the same extent in Ireland.
>
> *(Primary Education. Teachers' Guides, lch. 106)*

Ba mhaith liom anois comparáid ghairid a dhéanamh idir an treoir a thugtar in An Roinn Oideachais, Rialacha agus Clár do leith Meánscoileanna 1981/82, i gcás na Gaeilge agus i gcás nuatheangacha na Mór-Roinne. I gcás na Gaeilge sa Mheánteistiméireacht maítear:

> Is é is príomhchuspóir do na cúrsaí seo ná a chur ar a gcumas do dhaltaí an teanga a thabhairt leo go cruinn agus go líofa, agus is den riachtanas é go ndéanfaí an ghné labhartha a shaothrú ó thosach amach. (lch, 48)

Ó thaobh na Gaeilge san Ardteistiméireacht deirtear:

> Is é an aidhm atá leis na cúrsaí seo ná a chur ar a gcumas do dhaltaí an teanga a labhairt agus a scríobh go beacht. Ba chóir cúram ar leith a dhéanamh d'fhoghraíocht na teanga ó thosach amach agus moltar an modh díreach mar mhodh teagaisc i gcoitinne. (lch. 158)

Ach dírítear aird mhúinteoirí is fhoghlaimeoirí na Fraincise, na Gearmáinise, na Spáinnise is na hIodáilise ar phobal is ar chultúr na sprioctheanga. Cuirim i gcás i réamhrá na Meánteistiméireachta luaitear i measc nithe eile:

> The main aims of the teaching should be to enable the pupils (a) to understand the target language as spoken by an educated native, (b) to develop accuracy and fluency in oral expression ... exercises in the sounds and intonation of the target language together with conversation practice should be a regular feature of classroom activity.
>
> The pupils should gradually be acquainted with the life and culture of the people whose language they are learning. (lgh. 95 - 96)

Cé go samhlaíonn *Skeleton Syllabus (Principles and Guidelines)* aidhmeanna ginearálta oideachais le múineadh na dteangacha iasachtacha pléitear:

> *The role of 'civilization'*
>
> The pupil should know where and by whom the target language is spoken. He should have a critical awareness of some salient features of the way of life of the speech community in question. This awareness should be in part derived from and always related to the linguistic content of the course.
>
> *Language skills*
>
> The linguistic aim of foreign language teaching is to develop communicative skills in the target language. (lch. 7)

Conclúidí agus impleachtaí

Maidir leis an nGaeilge de, chonaiceamar go bhfuil tuairimí an phobail an-mheasctha. Cuirtear tábhacht mhór léi mar chomhartha eitneach ach táthar go mór in amhras faoina hoiriúint don saol nua-aimseartha; táthar den tuairim, fiú amhain, gur ar éigean a mhairfidh sí mar theanga. Tá an pobal go mór i bhfábhar na Gaeltachta, ach arís ceaptar nach mairfidh sí agus níl aon éifeacht mhór aici ar úsáid na Gaeilge sa tír i gcoitinne ná ar shaghas na Gaeilge inti. Is é an chuid is suaithinsí den staidéar seo ná a dhoiléire is atá na spriocanna a ghabhann le cláracha múinte na Gaeilge. Níl aon rianú cruinn iomlán déanta ar spriocanna mhúineadh na Gaeilge i gcomhthéacs shaol na linne seo agus na haimsire atá romhainn. Níor mhór ceann a thógáil do chultúr na Gaeilge, do chumarsáid le pobal na Gaeltachta is do chruthú is chothú pobal Gaeilge ar fud na tíre. Is fíor, ar ndóigh, gur socruithe polaitiúla atá i gceist ar deireadh thiar, ach ní dóigh liom go dtugann na treoracha oifigiúla a cheart don chomhaontú náisiúnta atá ann i gcás na Gaeilge agus atá léirithe i suirbhéireachtaí dearcadh agus i gcláracha na bpáirtithe polaitíochta. Tá na siollabais doiléir maidir le saghas na Gaeilge atá le múineadh agus maidir le comhdhéanamh agus ról phobal agus chultúr na sprioctheanga. Is baolach go bhfuil an doiléire seo ag déanamh a cion féin chun idirtheanga Ghaeilge a bhuanú i mbéal foghlaimeoirí. Is dócha go bhfásfadh idirtheanga éigin i measc foghlaimeoirí is cuma a iontaobhacht a bheadh na spriocanna foghlama, ach shamhlódh duine gurb é gnó na gcláracha teagaisc staid shealadach idirtheangach a shárú. Nárbh ait an scéal é dá mbeadh an scolaíocht ina bean chabhartha agus criól nua Gaeilge/Béarla á shaolú?

TAGAIRTÍ

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ALIEN INTRUSIONS IN LEARNER FRENCH:
A CASE STUDY

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1. *Introductory*

1.1 *Background*

In spring 1980 a friend of mine, a gentleman by the name of Philip Casey, approached me and asked if I would give him some French lessons. He told me that he had visited France a few times (see Appendix A), had picked up a little French, and would now like to build on his knowledge of the language. I agreed to his request, and, in an attempt to discover what kind of level my prospective lessons would need to be pitched at, I interviewed him in French for about half an hour.

Given his relatively scant exposure to the language, Philip's communicative range in French was surprisingly extensive. It was this that initially made me think that it might be interesting to record Philip interacting in French with some native-speakers of French. When I put this idea to him, he reacted very favourably - eager as he was to practise his French!

Accordingly, over the next couple of months I arranged for Philip to meet and talk to three native-speakers of French - Brigitte Petersen, Juliette Péchenart and Claude Aschenbrenner. Brigitte and Juliette were language assistants attached to the French Department of Trinity College; Claude was taking a postgraduate course in the College. Substantial parts of all three encounters were recorded on audio tape.

1.2 *The recordings*

The first recording, which took place on May 21st, 1980, and involved Brigitte, was rather a rough-and-ready affair. Philip and Brigitte simply sat in my office chatting to each other in French for about half an hour, unattended except by a Uher 4000 portable tape-recorder.

The second recording, involving Juliette, took place a week later (May 28th, 1980) and was made in the sound recording studio of the Trinity College Centre for Language and Communication Studies. A section of conversation in French and lasting again about thirty minutes was recorded.

The third recording was made in the same recording studio on June 18th, 1980. This time the subjects, Claude and Philip, were asked to converse for a while in English and then for a while in French, but to keep as far as possible to one language at a time. About fifteen minutes of their French conversation were recorded.

1.3 *Focus of the analysis*

As the recordings were transcribed it became clear that they contained data that were interesting from a number of points of view. One aspect of the data that immediately caught my attention was the wealth of examples they seemed to provide of 'language transfer'. Philip had English as his first language and had learnt two other languages (excluding Latin) apart from French - Irish and Spanish (see Appendix A). My very first impression on listening to the tapes was that much of what Philip was producing in French, or as French, was strongly influenced by his knowledge of these other languages, and especially by his knowledge of Spanish.

It was, in fact, on this aspect of the data that I first focused. I decided to analyse everything Philip had produced when he was supposed to be speaking French which deviated from French norms and which seemed to show the influence of another language/other languages. The present paper reports on the results of that analysis and discusses some possible implications of these results.

2. *Changing views of language transfer*

Before entering into a detailed discussion of these particular data, it may be useful to examine briefly how ideas about the general question of language transfer have evolved over the past two or three decades. (1)

2.1 *Contrastive analysis*

During the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s the phenomenon of language transfer was a dominant theme in linguistics, and especially in applied linguistics. A particularly influential book during this period was Robert Lado's *Linguistics Across Cultures* (1957), in which he discussed some practical implications of what he regarded as a self-evident fact, namely

> ... that individuals tend to transfer the form and meanings, and the distribution of forms and meanings, of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture - both productively when attempting to speak the language ... and receptively when attempting to grasp and understand the language ... as practised by natives.
>
> (Lado 1957, p.2)

This assumption gave the impetus to the widespread interest in and rapid development of contrastive analysis, that is, the detailed comparison of languages in order to establish where their forms and structures diverged, since its corollary was that in the comparison between native and foreign language lay 'the key to ease or difficulty in foreign language learning' (Lado 1957, p.1).

2.2 *Error analysis and 'transitional competence'*

From the late 1960s the capacity of contrastive analysis consistently or accurately to predict second language learners' difficulties began to be called into question (see, e.g., Corder 1967; Wilkins 1968; Lee 1968; Nemser 1971). Moreover, the results of a number of studies suggested that no more than a third of second language learners' errors were attributable to language transfer (see, e.g., Lance 1969; George 1971; Brudhiprabha 1972; all reported in Richards and Sampson 1974, p.5). Most researchers continued to assume, however, that whether or not contrastive analysis could *predict* second language learners' errors, at least a proportion of such errors could be *accounted for* in terms of contrasts between language systems and of language transfer.

Nevertheless, interest began to shift away from the specific question of language transfer to the learner's global 'transitional competence' (Corder 1967), otherwise known as his 'interlanguage' (Selinker 1969) or his 'approximative system' (Nemser 1971). What all of these expressions refer to is the 'highly structured' (Selinker 1969, p.24) 'deviant linguistic system actually employed by the learner attempting to utilize the target language' (Nemser 1971; reprint p.55), the assumption being that 'the learner is using a definite system of language at every point in his development' (Corder 1967; reprint p.24).

Furthermore, the processes operative in second language learning were compared to those creative processes manifest in first language acquisition which had led to the postulation of the so-called 'innateness hypothesis' (see, e.g., Corder 1967; reprint pp.21-22). Studies such as those of Roar Ravem (1968; 1970) revealed 'striking similarities' (Ravem 1970; reprint p.140) between the stages passed through by first and second language learners in the acquisition of particular structures.

2.3 *'Creative construction'*

This last-mentioned line of thinking was taken much further in the work of Heidi Dulay and Marina Burt who propounded the view that both first and second language learning was to some extent independent 'from external input factors such as the exact form of the modeled utterances, frequency of occurrence, or rewards for correctness' (Dulay and Burt 1977; reprint p.67) and that the essential process operative in both was 'creative construction':

> ... learners gradually reconstruct rules for speech they hear, guided by innate mechanisms which cause them to formulate certain types of hypotheses about the language system being acquired, until the mismatch between what they are exposed to and what they produce is resolved.
>
> (*ibid., loc. cit.*)

In its strongest version the 'creative construction' hypothesis was expressed in the equation:

L_2 acquisition = L_1 acquisition

(Dulay and Burt 1974a, p.96)

which clearly allowed little room for the notion of language transfer. In fact, the evidence of Dulay and Burt's own studies (1973, 1974b, 1974c) obliged them to retreat somewhat from this position (1974d, p.225), but transfer has continued to be de-emphasized in their work. One reason for this may be that their research has concentrated on morpheme-acquisition; it is, as John Schumann suggests, possible that 'morphemes do not lend themselves to interference' (Schumann 1975, p.18). Another reason for this diffidence of Dulay and Burt (and their collaborators) with regard to language transfer is, for sure, its (from their point of view) dubious psycholinguistic associations.

2.4 *The psychological debate*

When language transfer became fashionable as an object of systematic study and as a factor to be taken account of in the design of language courses, the dominant psychological model of language learning was that propounded by the behaviourists. According to this, language learning is a matter of habit formation, of particular linguistic responses becoming associated by dint of repetition with particular linguistic and extralinguistic stimuli.

Language transfer, on this view, is explained in roughly the following terms:

> An old habit (that of using one's first language) hinders or facilitates the formation of a new habit (learning a new language) depending on the differences or similarities, respectively, between the old and the new.
>
> (Dulay and Burt 1974a, p.97)

Thus, in *Linguistics Across Cultures* Lado argues that educational psychology should recognize the 'importance of the native language habits in foreign language learning' (p.2), speaks of the sound-system of a language as 'a system of automatic and semi-automatic habits' (p.11), describes grammatical structure as a 'habit system' (p.58), states that reading and writing depend on 'sets of habits which involve automatic association between the symbols and the language units they represent' (p.96), and so on.

Now, as is well known, the work of Noam Chomsky and his followers has, more recently, seriously undermined the habit-formation view of language learning. In his review (1959) of the most highly developed behaviourist account of language learning and use - B. F. Skinner's *Verbal Behavior* - and in many subsequent publications (e.g., 1965; 1966; 1972) Chomsky has argued that far from being a fixed repertoire of stimulus-bound verbal habits, human language is typically open-ended and stimulus-free. For Chomsky and Chomskyans, therefore, language learning is appropriately described not in terms of the formation by conditioning of habitual behaviour patterns but in terms of cognitive development, that is to say, in terms of the evolution of (tacit) linguistic knowledge.

Linguists who broadly share this Chomskyan perspective are faced with a problem when they come to deal with language transfer. Since they reject the behaviourist model in general, they can hardly accept the behaviourist claim that transfer is a matter of one set of habits interfering with another. One way round this problem - the one followed by Dulay and Burt (see above, 2.3) - is to attempt to argue the phenomenon away. Another solution - the one favoured by Stephen Pit Corder and others - is to seek to accommodate language transfer within a cognitive framework.

Corder's original explanation of transfer errors was that they were symptoms of a hypothesis-testing process by which the learner resolved the questions:

> 'Are the systems of the new language the same or different from those of the language I know?' 'And if different what is their nature?'
>
> (Corder 1967; reprint p.27)

On this view, such errors

> ... are best not regarded as the persistence of old habits, but rather as signs that the learner is investigating the systems of the new language.
>
> (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*)

More recently, Corder has added a new dimension to this account. He now makes a distinction between transfer features resulting from this 'progressive restructuring' of the mother tongue system 'to approximate it ever more to the target' (Corder 1978, p.75) and 'borrowings' resulting from 'resource expansion'. 'Resource expansion' he defines as a 'risk taking strategy'

> ... aimed at increasing by one means or another our linguistic resources, either by skilful manipulation of what we already know: paraphrase, circumlocution or principled guessing, word-coinage, borrowing from whatever resources we have available, notably our mother tongue, but often from other languages we know, greater recourse to paralinguistic behavior (gesture, etc.), and only in extreme cases switching to another language or seeking our interlocutor's help by asking for a translation, or picking up clues from his language.
>
> (*ibid.*, p.84)

'Resource expansion' was earlier proposed by Leonard Newmark and David Reibel as a general explanation for transfer:

> ... a person knows how to speak one language, say his native one; but in his early stages of learning the new one, there are many things he has not yet learned to do ... What can he do other than use what he already knows to make up for what he does not know? To an observer who knows the target language, the learner will seem to be stubbornly substituting the native habits for target habits. But from the learner's point of view, all he is doing is the best he can: to fill in his gaps of training he refers for help to what he already knows.
>
> (Newmark and Reibel 1968, pp.159-160)

The same kind of notion has also been explored by Eric Kellerman in the last few years (Kellerman 1977; 1978).

The connexion between 'restructuring' and 'resource expansion' is made by Corder in the following terms:

> The risk-taking strategies ... may all yield, in principle, learning outcomes. If a guess is accepted by our interlocutor, then the form is incorporated into our repertoire as part of the target language. A translation or borrowing that succeeds is similarly incorporated. Those that fail provide information about the limits of the target language ... Principled guessing and hypothesis testing are one and the same thing.
>
> (Corder 1978, p.85)

> ... successful borrowing may lead to learning - incorporation into the learner's interlanguage system. In the end the only way we can distinguish between the two is the systematic

> nature of transfer features and the nonce occurrence of borrowings.
>
> (*ibid.*, pp.85-86)

In other words 'restructuring' and 'resource expansion' are both seen as aspects of the learner's response to his ignorance of the target language and as aspects of the progressive reduction of that ignorance.

It has to be said that such efforts to reconcile language transfer with the cognitive approach to language learning and use have not met with universal acclaim. Carl James, for example, has recently cast on them a very cold eye. The following quotations are taken from Chapter 2 of his book *Contrastive Analysis* (1980):

> We must ... beware of confusing shifts in terminology with more fundamental shifts which really offer alternative explanations of observed phenomena.
>
> (p.21)

> It appears that attempts to accommodate CA [contrastive analysis] under cognitivism are not very profitable: thinking in terms of a 'strategy' of transfer seems to add little to our understanding of the mechanisms involved.
>
> (p.25)

2.5 *Two questions*

From the foregoing discussion at least two questions emerge:

i) Is language transfer, in fact, a feature of second language learners' output in their target language?

ii) If language transfer does take place is it more plausibly explained in behaviourist or in cognitivist terms?

It is hoped that the study reported here will make some small contribution to answering these questions.

3. *The analysis*

Returning now to Philip's French, the three samples thereof collected in the manner described earlier were subjected to an analysis which comprised two principal stages.

3.1 *Stage one*

The first stage was concerned with identifying errors explicable in terms of language transfer and categorizing them according to their source language(s) and the particular norms they violated. It proceeded as follows:

i) An attempt was made to isolate all utterances which were judged to deviate semantically or grammatically from French norms and whose deviancy could plausibly be related to Philip's knowledge of another language/other languages.

ii) The utterances so isolated were then classified according to the language(s) which were deemed to offer a plausible source for their respective deviancy.

iii) Utterances which were judged to exhibit the same pattern of deviancy (e.g., '*pour* for *pendant* in the expression of duration', 'omission of subject pronoun', 'omission of partitive article', etc.) were grouped together and recorded as 'occurrences' of that particular pattern or 'intrusion'-type.

This description calls, perhaps, for a few comments. First, it will have been noted that only deviant utterances came within the scope of the analysis. The reason for this is quite simple: where there is no deviation from the norms of the target language it is extremely difficult to argue that the learner is doing anything other than exercising his knowledge of those norms (or, in behaviourist terms, exhibiting successful conditioning) - however much one may suspect that so-called 'positive transfer' from another language may be operative.

Secondly, it will have been observed that the analysis focuses exclusively on the 'primary level of articulation', that is to say grammar and semantics. This limitation springs from the purely practical considerations of time and space.

Thirdly, there is no denying that there is a large element of subjectivity in this kind of analysis - implicitly referred to in words like 'judged', 'plausibly', etc. Findings based on such an analysis must therefore be treated with due caution. As Gerhard Nickel has recently remarked,

> ... there is no doubt that the number of 'ambiguous errors' is quite large and that according to one's point of view they are either interpreted in an intra- or interlingual way.
>
> (Nickel 1981, p.9)

Actually, it may be impossible to prove conclusively that the cause of *any* particular second language error is its perpetrator's knowledge of another language (rather than, say, the overgeneralization of a target language rule). All one can do, it seems to me, is clearly to present the evidence on which one's judgments are based and to hope that one's judgments are, by and large, shared.

Finally, as far as the postulation of transfer sources is concerned, there are many cases where more than one of the languages known by Philip offers a possible source for a particular deviation. In such cases all possibilities were noted without any attempt being made to pick out the prime or most probable source. (Thus, the ordering of postulated sources in Appendix B has no significance.) (2)

3.2 *Stage two*

The second stage of the analysis was an attempt to extract from the data some clues about the circumstances under which and the process by which knowledge of/conditioning in one language can become operative in the use of another. The key issue was taken to be whether or not Philip's transfers were a function of ignorance.

As should be clear from earlier discussion, ignorance is seen by cognitivists as the root cause of language transfer. Whereas the behaviourist account relies on the notion of 'interference' by one (or more than one) set of habits with the acquisition and operation of another, cognitivists see transfer (including what Corder calls 'borrowing') as one means by which the learner mitigates the effects of his ignorance and reduces it.

James, whose attitude towards the cognitivist approach has already been indicated (see above, 2.4), devotes more than three pages (pp.22-25) of his recent book (1980) to a critique of ignorance as a 'cognitivist alternative' (p.22). First he argues that ignorance and interference 'do not refer to, or explain, the same phenomenon' (p.22). He cites evidence from a study carried out by Libuse Dušková (1969) to show that learners' ignorance of a particular construction may result not in transfer but in avoidance of that construction (pp.22-23; cf. Schachter 1974; Kleinmann 1978). He also contends that transfer may occur when there is no question of ignorance, as, for example, in the case of 'backward interference' from second to first language (p.23).

He goes on to make three more points on the subject of ignorance and transfer. He dismisses Kellerman's suggestion that 'the learner assesses his knowledge with respect to a particular TL [target language] feature and finds it lacking' (Kellerman 1977, p.73) as logically unsound:

> Who supplies the particular L_2 form for him to assess his ignorance of it? If he can supply the form himself ... then how can he be said to be ignorant of it in the first place?
>
> (James 1980, p.24)

He then claims that equal ignorance with respect to a given second language structure on the part of speakers of different native languages will not result in equal transfer problems if the native languages in question diverge from the target language in different ways (*ibid.*, p.24). Finally, he casts doubt upon the idea that 'any mildly conscientious teacher' will ask his pupils 'to perform *specific L_2 items* before giving them some reasonable access or "exposure" to the L_2 item in question' (*ibid.*, p.24).

Cognitivists might counter these points as follows:

i) Ignorance without transfer does not undermine the cognitivist position in the least, since in the cognitivist account the transfer process is seen merely as a common consequence of ignorance - not as identical with it, nor as *inevitably* triggered by it (cf. Kellerman 1977, p.72).

ii) Transfer without ignorance can only be deemed proven by examples of 'backward interference' if one is prepared to exclude from one's definition of ignorance the concept of temporary ignorance, e.g., the momentary forgetting of parts of a language system (cf. below 4.2).

iii) It is not logically unsound to say that learners may know they do not know a particular part of the target language system very well (such consciousness of ignorance is precisely what underlies the 'avoidance strategies' cited by James with reference to Dušková's work); nor is it logically unsound to say that learners may not know whether or not a particular way of saying something which exists in, say, their first language also exists within any other language (cf. Kellerman 1977, pp.99-130).

iv) It is not suggested by cognitivists that native-speakers of different languages who are learning the same target language and who are equally ignorant of that target language may not experience different kinds of transfer problems - only that in all cases ignorance is at the bottom of such problems (but cf. Kellerman 1977, pp.77-80).

v) Any validity which the 'conscientious teacher' argument might have is strictly limited to the artificial domain of the conventional formal language class; in natural communication the learner may often be stretched beyond the range of language of which his learning experience has given him anything like a sure grasp. Indeed, even within the most traditional language class there is always the possibility that a learner may wish to express something his 'conscientious teacher' has not yet covered!

The conclusion to be drawn from the juxtaposition of such arguments, *pro* and *contra*, is, surely, that the substantive issue remains unresolved: is transfer a consequence of ignorance or is it not? It was this question that stage two of the analysis sought chiefly to address. (3)

Two principal kinds of evidence were considered: distributional and contextual. In the first place, it was ascertained to what extent particular transfer errors were consistently produced by Philip throughout, and to what extent they alternated with non-deviant equivalents. For example, it having been noted that Philip often omitted the partitive article, the data were scanned for instances where this article was required and where Philip employed it appropriately.

Secondly, the immediate contexts of Philip's transfer errors were examined for overt indications of ignorance. In order to discover what such indications might be, a close study was made of Philip's lapses into English, the assumption being that where he had recourse to English this was by and large because he was at a loss for, i.e. ignorant of, a particular word or construction in French.

In fact, three of these unadapted English 'intrusions' turned out to be merely 'pseudo-intrusions', since, although their larger context was an interchange in French, at a 'local' level each of them can be seen as part of an English interchange initiated by one of Philip's interlocutors:

Brigitte: sans aucune idée précise en tête
Philip: mm hm
Brigitte: oui
Philip: exactement oui
Brigitte: *precise ... er precise idea*
Philip: *without any precise*
Brigitte: *of what you were going to do*
Philip: *exactly*
Brigitte: oui oui

(Appendix B, 5)

Brigitte: est-ce que écrire un poème
Philip: mm
Brigitte: pour toi c'est une chose assez facile? facile *means easy*
Philip: oui oui *but em did you say* pourquoi ou pour toi
Brigitte: non pour toi pour toi

(Appendix B, 16)

Philip: mais mon ... instru instrument ... er
Juliette: oui oui
Philip: [fava'rit] ... est ... les [pi a 'pipa] ... er
Juliette (miming): ça?
Philip: oui
Juliette: *uileann pipes?*
Philip: *uileann pipes yeh*

(Appendix B, 22)

As far as the seventeen other occurrences of unadapted English 'intrusions' were concerned, their immediate contexts were characterized as follows (Appendix D (a)):

- in all but one case there were 'hesitation phenomena' - pauses, 'ers' and/or stuttering
- in five cases there was some other attempt, in French, to express what was also expressed in English
- in three cases there were features often associated with frustration or exasperation - 'oh!' and/or noisy exhalation
- in three cases there was question intonation not in keeping with the global meaning of the utterance
- in three cases there was laughter
- in two cases there was an explicit query about the form (to be) used - 'comment [di]?', 'tu comprends?'
- in one case there was an apology - 'pardon'

In addition, the switch to English can itself be considered a contextual feature - present here, of course, in all cases. The immediate contexts of 'intrusions' other than these lapses into English were investigated with a view to discovering how many of them were also characterized by such features.

Apart from distributional and contextual evidence, two further subsidiary kinds of evidence bearing on the circumstances and process of transfer were taken into account. These were, on the one hand, a few remarks of Philip's, made when he was listening to the tapes being played back, and which were noted at the time, and, on the other, the comparative showings of English, Irish and Spanish as possible source languages for Philip's transfer errors.

4. *Results and Discussion*

4.1 *Stage one*

The results of stage one of the analysis are set out in some detail in Appendix B. In terms of figures they can be summarized as follows:

i) The total number of deviancy patterns judged to be 'alien intrusions' (including the 'pseudo-intrusions' discussed earlier; cf. 3.2) was 55; these 'intrusion'-types between them accounted for 157 deviant utterances.

ii) Of the total number of 'intrusion'-types 18, accounting for 20 deviant utterances, were unadapted English expressions.

iii) Of the total number of 'intrusion'-types 2, accounting for 15 deviant utterances, were unadapted Spanish expressions.

iv) The remainder - i.e. 35 'intrusion'-types, accounting for 122 deviant utterances - were all to some extent 'Francized'.

It is of course this last-mentioned, 'Francized' category of 'intrusions' that would normally be described as transfer errors, and they are nothing if not abundant. Given that the conversation samples lasted about an hour and a quarter in toto, it is an easy matter to calculate that, on average, one of Philip's transfer errors manifested itself roughly every thirty-seven seconds. Moreover, taking into account the fact that about half the time specified was occupied by Philip's various interlocutors and the fact that pauses often occurred between conversational turns, one can infer that when Philip was speaking his average rate of transfer error production was no less than three deviations a minute.

Thus, with reference to the first question posed earlier in 2.5, as far as this particular second language learner is concerned, language transfer certainly does seem to be a feature of his output in his target language, and a feature of some significance at that.

4.2 *Stage two*

Detailed results of stage two of the analysis are presented in Appendices C and D.

The distributional evidence can be summed up as follows:

i) As far as Philip's spontaneous production is concerned, 25 Francized 'intrusion'-types, accounting for 84 deviant utterances, were used with complete consistency throughout; i.e. Philip never used an indefinite article with *autre*, never used *par* before *exemple*, never used the partitive article except in immediate word-for-word repetitions of expressions used by the native-speaker, etc. (Appendix C (a)).

ii) Non-deviant versions of three further Francized 'intrusion'-types, accounting for three deviant utterances, only began to appear after Philip had been explicitly and specifically 'corrected' by the native speaker; thus, when, early in the first recording, Philip used the form *le* [tar] for 'in the evening' Brigitte 'corrected' this (incorrectly!) as *dans la soirée*; in the subsequent recording Philip appropriately used *soirée*; similarly, Philip used both *pays* and *champs* for 'countryside' before Brigitte gave him the word *campagne*, after which he consistently used *campagne* of rural parts (Appendix C (b)).

iii) Added together these two categories amount to 28 Francized 'intrusion'-types (out of a total of 35) with between them 87 occurrences (out of a total of 122 Francized 'intrusion' occurrences).

Thus, in a large majority of cases of transfer there was complete consistency of use - at least up to the point of 'correction' by the native-speaker. Such consistency can, it seems to me, be taken as at least *prima facie* evidence that very often when Philip produced a transfer error he simply did not have 'productive knowledge' of the non-deviant alternative. This interpretation becomes all the more plausible if one considers that when an alternative was actually brought explicitly to his attention by his native-speaker interlocutor the 'intrusion' was immediately abandoned, never (in these data at least) to re-appear. (4)

Consistency of use was *not* exhibited by seven of the thirty-five Francized 'intrusion'-types:

- *pour* for *pendant/ø* in the expression of duration (Appendix B, 6)
- failure to distinguish appropriately between *savoir* and *connaître* (Appendix B, 7)
- *pour* for ø in the expression of point of time (Appendix B, 27)
- omission of subject pronoun (Appendix B, 30)
- *pourquoi* for *parce que* (Appendix B, 34)
- omission of definite article with names of countries (Appendix B, 44)
- omission of *de* after expression of quantity (Appendix B, 46)

In all of these cases there was fluctuation between deviant and non-deviant alternatives. For example, alongside the three instances of *pourquoi* being used with the meaning 'because' there are two instances of *parce que* being (spontaneously) used with the same meaning; alongside the 8 instances of omission of the definite article with names of countries there are three instances of the definite article being (spontaneously) employed perfectly appropriately with names of countries; alongside the two instances of failure to distinguish appropriately between *savoir* and *connaître* there are twenty-four instances of *savoir* and *connaître* being (spontaneously) utilized in a manner which properly reflect this distinction.

At first sight cases such as these appear to lend support to the behaviourist vision of competing sets of habits 'interfering' with one another. There are, however, other possible interpretations. One is that inconsistency simply reflects the dynamic nature of language learning, the fact that the learner does not move jerkily from state of knowledge A to state of knowledge B but smoothly along a continuum from not knowing to knowing. This dynamic model of language learning implies that there are phases intermediate between complete ignorance and secure knowledge:

> There is a time at which the learner does not appear to know or use some bit of language, and there may be a later time when he always uses it correctly when the context requires, but in between these times there is a longer or shorter period during which he sometimes uses it and sometimes doesn't, when his behavior is apparently inconsistent.
>
> (Corder 1978, p.74)

On this view the alternation between 'intrusions' and their non-deviant versions might simply reflect a state of uncertainty - intermediate between ignorance and full productive knowledge, and the proportion of transfer errors produced in respect of particular aspects of the language as compared with non-deviant forms might reflect whereabouts the learner is on the continuum between knowing and not knowing those aspects of the language.

Another, though not incompatible, interpretation would be that the occasional production of transfer errors in a particular sub-part of a target language may reflect temporary lapses into 'productive ignorance' (cf. note 3). Even in our native language we are prone to forget fleetingly, for example, what a particular word means or to have moments when we 'cannot find the right word', 'the right turn of phrase'. Second language learners are not immune to such experiences; on the contrary. Whether or not one wishes to describe them as the disruption by 'performance' factors - such as tiredness - of underlying linguistic knowledge, or 'competence' (cf. Chomsky 1965, p.5; Corder 1967; reprint pp.24-25), their reality can hardly be denied. If, then, it is true that consistent patterns of transfer relate to complete and 'ongoing' ignorance, it is logical to suppose that inconsistent patterns of transfer may relate to temporary states of ignorance.

Turning now to the contextual evidence, it was found that

i) The immediate contexts of 13 of the 35 Francized 'intrusion'-types each exhibited on at least one occasion 2 or more of the features which co-occurred with unadapted English 'intrusions' (Appendix D (a) and (c); cf. 3.2).

ii) Of these contexts 4 exhibited 3 or more of the features in question.

Thus, the proportion of Francized 'intrusions' in the company, as it were, of contextual features which were postulated as symptoms of ignorance was quite small. Nevertheless, these occurrences provide further evidence of a link between Philip's production of transfer errors and ignorance.

Moreover, contextual features such as 'other attempt (in French)', 'indication of frustration', 'apology', 'explicit query', etc. suggest not just ignorance, but consciousness of ignorance (cf. Kellerman 1977, p.89). If, when communicating through a second language, one makes more than one attempt at something, expresses frustration, apologizes, asks how to say it, and so on, one can hardly remain unaware that there is a gap in one's knowledge. What this seems further to imply is that the transfer (or 'borrowing') process itself may in some instances be a conscious and deliberate act.

Certainly, Philip described his adaptation or assimilation of Spanish *tarde* to [tar], of Spanish *después* to *depuis* and of Spanish *campo* to *champ* as processes of which he was fully aware whilst they were happening. With regard to another case, that of *huit kilomètres de Paris*, he stated that his hesitation and query were occasioned by the fact that he did not know or could not remember the French for 'near', and that he eventually produced *huit kilomètres de* as a way round the problem. The transfer in this particular case (omission of *à*) does not appear to have been consciously arrived at, but the general interpretation of the contextual features in question as indicative of ignorance, consciousness of ignorance and the conscious implementation of a 'resource expansion' strategy is nevertheless supported by Philip's remarks.

It is striking how many of the thirteen 'intrusion'-types occurring in contexts marked by the features discussed have Spanish as a postulated source. Spanish is judged to be the only possible source for seven of them and one of two possible sources for two more. The obvious question which arises is: if in such cases Philip was engaging in 'resource expansion', why did he choose to 'borrow' from a language he knew only imperfectly rather than his mother tongue?

One answer may be that Philip had certain notions about the degree of relatedness and similarity between French and Spanish as opposed to French and English (cf. Kellerman 1977, pp.85-99; Corder 1978, p.86). If he had read or been told that Spanish was closer to French than English was, and/or had previously experienced more communicative success in French with transfers from Spanish than with transfers from English, he might have developed a general policy of preferring Spanish as a transfer source. Such a policy might then have been both consciously and unconsciously pursued (cf. Kellerman 1977, p.89).

Support for the hypothesis that Philip was using Spanish as a preferred transfer source is provided by a comparison of the figures for Francized 'intrusions' with, respectively, a possible English, Irish and Spanish source:

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Francized 'intrusions' with a possible English source</td><td colspan="2">English postulated as only possible source</td><td colspan="2">English postulated as one possible source amongst others</td><td colspan="2">Total no. of Francized 'intrusions' with possible English source</td></tr>
<tr><td>'Intrusion'-types</td><td>Occurrences</td><td>'Intrusion'-types</td><td>Occurrences</td><td>'Intrusion'-types</td><td>Occurrences</td></tr>
<tr><td>7</td><td>11</td><td>17</td><td>87</td><td>24</td><td>98</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Francized 'intrusions' with a possible Irish source</td><td colspan="2">Irish postulated as only possible source</td><td colspan="2">Irish postulated as one possible source amongst others</td><td colspan="2">Total no. of Francized 'intrusions' with possible Irish source</td></tr>
<tr><td>'Intrusion'-types</td><td>Occurrences</td><td>'Intrusion'-types</td><td>Occurrences</td><td>'Intrusion'-types</td><td>Occurrences</td></tr>
<tr><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>11</td><td>60</td><td>11</td><td>60</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Francized 'intrusions' with a possible Spanish source</td><td colspan="2">Spanish postulated as only possible source</td><td colspan="2">Spanish postulated as one possible source amongst others</td><td colspan="2">Total no. of Francized 'intrusions' with possible Spanish source</td></tr>
<tr><td>'Intrusion'-types</td><td>Occurrences</td><td>'Intrusion'-types</td><td>Occurrences</td><td>'Intrusion'-types</td><td>Occurrences</td></tr>
<tr><td>10</td><td>22</td><td>14</td><td>85</td><td>24</td><td>107</td></tr>
</table>

It transpires that in terms both of its postulation as a sole possible source and of its total showing as a possible source Spanish, as well as leaving Irish far behind, also has the edge over English (cf. first impression referred to above in 1.3). Moreover, the distribution and contexts of the two *unadapted* Spanish forms used by Philip - ES and ALLÍ - are interpretable as evidence in favour of the suggestion that Philip might conceive of French and Spanish as related and similar.

ALLÍ falls, distributionally speaking (see Appendix C (b)), into the same category as '*pays* for *campagne*', '*le* [tar] for *le soir*' and '*champ* for *campagne*'. That is to say, its non-deviant alternative - *là* - was not used at all by Philip until, quite late in the first recording, Brigitte introduced it explicitly as the correct substitute for ALLÍ. This suggests that at the time of the first recording up to the moment of Brigitte's correction the French word for 'there' was not part of Philip's productive knowledge.

In contextual terms, ALLÍ is comparable to the 'intrusions' listed in Appendix D (c) (cf. Appendix D (b)). Each of its occurrences is marked by two of the contextual features derived from occurrences of unadapted English forms and taken to be indications of both ignorance and consciousness of ignorance (see above). A possible reconstruction, then, of Philip's uses of ALLÍ would be that having realized that the French word for 'there' was not part of his productive knowledge, he consciously 'borrowed' the unmodified Spanish form in the hope that it would at least approximate to its French equivalent. This may seem a crude tactic, but it is worth remembering that if employed in order to communicate common notions such as 'to' (Spanish *a*; French *à*), 'from' (Spanish *de*; French *de*), 'well' (Spanish *bien*; French *bien*), 'badly' (Spanish *mal*; French *mal*), 'to come' (Spanish *venir*; French *venir*), 'to leave' (Spanish *partir*; French *partir*), etc. it would be extremely effective, and that Philip may well have often employed it successfully previously.

ES is a more complicated case. Its use is not consistent - it alternates with *est* ([e]) - and none of its occurrences yield obvious clues as to the processes underlying its use. What may be revealing is the fact that in twelve of its thirteen occurrences it immediately precedes *que*. (In the one instance where it does not it is followed by a slight pause, which may indicate a 'false start'.) In each of these twelve cases where ES and *que* are collocated the global meaning of the utterance makes it clear that what is intended is something like *c'est que* (lit. 'it is that') of which the Spanish equivalent is *es que* [es ke]. Now, nowhere in Philip's data do we find *c'est que* - which appears to indicate that this expression was not available to him for productive purposes. It may be relevant also that ES in combination with French *que* sounds like the normal speed pronunciation of *est-ce que* (lit. 'is it that' - indicating question), and that Philip's questions in French are never marked with *est-ce que*.

What could have happened, I suggest, is that Philip, having heard *est-ce que* on a number of occasions, identified it with Spanish *es que* and then himself employed [ɛs kə] in French as if it were the equivalent of Spanish *es que*. Clearly, such an identification could only have occurred if Philip was operating on the assumption that French expressions which sounded like Spanish expressions often had the same meaning.

5. *Conclusion*

It is, I believe reasonable to claim that the study reported in this paper demonstrates the reality of the phenomenon traditionally termed 'language transfer' as a significant aspect of at least one second language learner's output in his target language. This study also provides support, again in the case of one particular second language learner, for the postulation of ignorance as the underlying cause of transfer. It further suggests that in some instances the transfer process may constitute a conscious act, and that a learner's perceptions of relationships between languages may influence his conscious and/or unconscious choice of transfer sources. In other words, insofar as it contributes to an understanding of the transfer process it tends to support the cognitivist rather than the behaviourist account of this process.

The degree to which Philip draws on his knowledge of other languages when speaking French may well explain his communicative range in that language, which - as was mentioned at the beginning of this paper - is surprisingly extensive given his very limited exposure to French. I have focused on transfers which manifested themselves as errors, but it is probable that at least as many transfers again came out as non-deviant utterances (cf. Kellerman 1977, pp.73-77). Indeed, even Philip's transfer errors were in the main successful in communicative terms - that is to say, most of them seemed to convey the intended meaning with little, if any, distortion. The fact that all three native-speakers of French involved knew English and had a smattering of Spanish may have assisted Philip in this regard, but it is likely, in my judgment, that entirely Spanish-less non-English-speaking Francophones too would have grasped his meaning without difficulty in most cases.

Inasmuch then as Philip was able with the help of transfers to express more in French than he would have been able to express without them, the 'alien intrusions' in his French can be seen not as reprehensible disfigurements but as useful supplements.

APPENDIX A

Philip's second language learning experiences recounted in his own words

Born in London of Irish parents in 1950, my first encounter with the notion of language as something one learned was at six years old, when my family settled in Ireland.

I had already been at school for 2 - 2½ years in London, but was demoted to junior infants because of my lack of Irish. Quite possibly my resentment at this, combined with the mechanical way Irish was taught, ensured that I never acquired a real grasp of the language. In 1961, I moved homes and schools to North Wexford, and here I acquired sufficient Irish to pass my primary certificate in 1964.

There followed a period of almost continuous hospitalization, and I did not officially begin my secondary education until I was eighteen, and even then it was interrupted on several occasions. Because of my age, it was decided I should skip 1st year, the result being that I encountered difficulty in every subject except English, History and Geography. No modern Continental language was taught in the school at that time, and I had to make do with Latin, which I found boring - mostly because I never discovered what Pluperfect Subjunctive actually means.

Nevertheless, with a basic vocabulary, I found I had a knack of 'sensing' what an unseen passage meant, and this, coupled with a good grasp of Roman history, ensured that Latin as well as English were among the honours I acquired in the Intermediate Certificate. I passed Irish.

In the Leaving Certificate, my teacher asked me to take a Lower Course paper in Latin, but aware of its strong emphasis on grammar, I opted for the Higher Course with its emphasis on unseen passages and Roman history, and passed it. I obtained Grade C in Higher Course English and Grade D in Lower Course Irish.

My younger brother, who was in the same year, went on to become a teacher of Irish at secondary level, and it was through him and a later acquaintance with Irish literature in translation that I developed a sympathy for and an interest in Irish. For example, when I was abroad, he would sometimes write me bilingual letters, and invariably end with a phrase like *sláinte an bhradáin agat*, which I thought wonderfully poetic. However, my subsequent resolve to learn Irish has come to very little.

In 1973 I went to France for the first time and spent ten days in Paris, alone and without a word of French. I still have the phrasebook with the words *Quel est le prix par nuit?* etc. underlined. Apart from a broken conversation with an Apache Indian alcoholic, and another with a Frenchman in which he used the ten English words he knew, and I the ten French words I had acquired, I heard little or no English during my stay. My 'conversation' with the Frenchman was the first time I 'Frenchified' an English word, and as far as I remember, he at least pretended to understand. It was also the first time, apart from reading *Quel est le prix par nuit?* to the *patron* that I attempted communication in a foreign language.

In 1974, I spent two nights in Paris en route to live in Spain. I arrived in Spain with less Spanish than French, although I had tried to learn Spanish by Linguaphone for a brief period beforehand. The first phrase I learned in Barcelona was in fact not Castilian, but an obscene Catalan toast.

My companion and I became habitués of a hotel bar close to our pension, and when the staff saw that we tried speaking to them in our very broken Spanish, they made a point of speaking slowly for us and actually teaching us words and phrases. The friendships and tuition flourished to such an extent that within six weeks I attended a Spanish wedding and managed, with the aid of an endless flow of wine, to speak my few words with as many people as had the courtesy to listen. I'm convinced I learned most of the Spanish I know during three months of sitting in the Hotel Park Bar every night, and that during the rest of my time in Spain, it gradually 'came to the surface' and improved with practice.

Unfortunately, linguistically speaking, I very rapidly became acquainted with the English speaking fraternity and because of my livelihood (TEFL) unwittingly began to socialize almost exclusively with them and their Spanish friends, who for the most part spoke fluent English and liked to practise it on me.

During my last nine months, however, I realised I was wasting a unique opportunity and applied myself more effectively, reading some books in Spanish and even studying a little formal grammar - a feat of endurance for me. I was very pleased when in Andalucia I was taken for a Northern Spaniard, and while I don't consider myself fluent, I can think and sometimes even dream in Spanish.

In 1976, on my way back to Spain (I spent the summers in Ireland, there being no work for me in Barcelona) I was invited to pick grapes for the weekend in Champagne. Although the work was hard and communication a nightmare, I enjoyed myself and agreed to return the following year, which I did.

Having left Spain that summer (1977), I was in a position to stay for the full season of twelve days. Again I was fortunate in meeting native speakers who were paragons of patience and who taught me a great deal of what I know. I didn't actually learn very much on this occasion, but I returned again in 1979, this time bringing a grammar to piece together what I was absorbing. My friends were even more enthusiastic when they saw I was progressing and by the end of this, my second full stay, I was joining in conversation and even arguing. I don't remember studying French in the intervening periods, apart from two or three lessons given me by a Barcelona girl in 1976.

APPENDIX B

Complete inventory of what were judged to be 'alien intrusions' in Philip's French - categorized according to the postulated source language(s)

(Capital letters, as in I TRIED TO GET, BUREAUCRACY, etc., indicate an unadapted non-French form.)

English

1.	THE EVENING	1 occurrence
2.	I TRIED TO GET	1 occurrence
3.	BUREAUCRACY	1 occurrence
4.	WITHOUT ANY PLANS WE WENT WITHOUT ANY PLANS	1 occurrence
5.	WITHOUT ANY PRECISE ... EXACTLY	1 occurrence
6.	*pour* for *pendant*/ø in the expression of duration	e.g., *nous sommes restés* [...] *pour trois années*; cf. English *we stayed for three years*; 3 occurrences
7.	failure to distinguish appropriately between *savoir* and *connaître*	*je ne sais pas personne*; *je connais où ...*; cf. English *I don't know anybody*; *I know where ...*; 2 occurrences
8.	I DIDN'T KNOW ANYBODY	1 occurrence
9.	A GLASS	1 occurrence
10.	OPEN	1 occurrence
11.	CLOSED	1 occurrence
12.	*pays* for *campagne*	cf. English *country* (= 'pays' and 'campagne'); 1 occurrence
13.	THE COUNTRYSIDE	1 occurrence

14.	TO BEGIN	1 occurrence
15.	SUDDENLY	3 occurrences
16.	BUT DID YOU SAY	1 occurrence
17.	PERHAPS	1 occurrence
18.	I HAVE TO WRITE IT	1 occurrence
19.	THE TENSION	1 occurrence
20.	WELL (interj.)	1 occurrence
21.	*ressembler* used with direct instead of indirect object	*ressemblent les* [...] *arbres*; cf. English *resemble the trees*; 1 occurrence
22.	UILEANN PIPES YEH	1 occurrence
23.	[kɔzmɔpoli'tʌn] for *cosmopolite*	cf. English *cosmopolitan*; 1 occurrence
24.	[kɔ̃sɛrva'tif] for *conservateur(s)*	cf. English *conservative*; 2 occurrences
25.	[tɪpi'kal] for *typiques*	cf. English *typical*; 1 occurrence

Spanish

26.	ES	present 3rd person singular of Spanish *ser* - 'to be' ; 13 occurrences
27.	*pour* for *à* in the expression of point of time	e.g., *pour le matin*; cf. Spanish *por la mañana* - lit. 'for the morning' ; 3 occurrences
28.	*le* [tar] for *le soir*	cf. Spanish *tarde* - 'evening' ; 1 occurrence
29.	*depuis* for *après* (adv.)	cf. Spanish *después* - 'afterwards' ; 3 occurrences
30	omission of subject pronoun	e.g., *sont* for *ils sont*; cf. Spanish *son* - 'they are' ; 7 occurrences
31	ALLÍ	Spanish adverb - 'there' ; 2 occurrences

32.	*champ* for *campagne*	cf. Spanish *campo* - 'countryside' ; 1 occurrence
33.	[prin'sip] for *début*	cf. Spanish *principio* - 'beginning' ; 1 occurrence
34.	*pourquoi* for *parce que*	cf. Spanish *porque* - 'because' ; 3 occurrences
35.	[ʒuvɛ'nɪs] for *jeunes*	cf. Spanish *jovenos* - 'youngpeople'; 1 occurrence
36.	[ʒũ] for *ensemble*	cf. Spanish *junto* - 'together' ; 1 occurrence
37.	[a'pris] for *se presse*	cf. Spanish *tener prisa* - lit. 'tohave haste' ; 1 occurrence

Irish/Spanish

38.	omission of indefinite article with *autre*	e.g., *autre amie;* cf. Irish *cara eile* - lit. 'friend other' ; Spanish *otra amiga* - lit. 'other friend' ; 3 occurrences

Irish/English

39.	omission of *à* in the expression of distance	e.g., *huit kilomètres de Paris;* cf. Irish *ocht gciliméadar ó Pháras* - lit. 'eight kilometres from Paris' ; English *eight kilometres from Paris;* 1 occurrence
40.	*histoires* [kur] for *nouvelles*	cf. Irish *gearrscéalta* - lit. 'shortstories' ; English *short stories;* 2 occurrences
41.	*être* for *avoir* in the expression of age	*le fermier* [...] *est trente-trois;* cf. Irish *tá an feirmeoir trí bliana déag is fiche d'aois* - lit. 'is the farmer three years ten and twenty of age' ; English *the farmer is thirty three;* 1 occurrence
42.	*les* ['pipa] for *la cornemuse*	cf. Irish *na píoba;* English *the pipes;* 1 occurrence

English/Spanish

43. [ɛs'pɛsialmɑ̃] for *particulièrement*	cf. English *especially*; Spanish *especialmente* - 'especially' ; 5 occurrences
44. omission of definite article with names of countries	e.g., *je connais Espagne*; cf. English *I know Spain*; Spanish *conozco España* - lit. 'Iknow Spain' ; 8 occurrences
45. [part] (with uvular *r*) for *partie*	cf. English *part*; Spanish *parte* - 'part' ; 2 occurrences
46. omission of *de* after expression of quantity	e.g., *beaucoup étrangers*; cf. English *many foreigners*; Spanish *muchos extranjeros* - lit. 'many foreigners' ; 10 occurrences
47. *famous* for *connu(e)*	cf. English *famous*; Spanish *famoso* - 'famous' ; 2 occurrences
48. [inklw'i] for *y compris*	cf. English *including*; Spanish *incluiendo* - 'including' ; 1 occurrence
49. *pour exemple* for *par exemple*	cf. English *for example*; Spanish *por ejemplo* - lit. 'for example' ; 2 occurrences

Irish/English/Spanish

50. *à* for *en* with names of countries and provinces	e.g., *il vient à Irlande*; cf. Irish *tagann sé go hÉirinn* - lit. 'comes he to Ireland' ; English *he comes to Ireland*; Spanish *viene a Irlanda* - lit. 'hecomes to Ireland' , 8 occurrences
51. omission of partitive article	e.g., *ils jouent musique traditionelle* cf. Irish *seineann siad ceol traidisiúnta* - lit. 'play they music traditional' ; English *they play traditional music*; Spanish *tocan música tradicional* - lit. 'theyplay music traditional' ; 27 occurrences

52.	*en/dans* for *à* with names of towns	e.g., *j'ai eu amis en Paris;* cf. Irish *bhí cairde agam i bPáras* - lit. 'were friends atme in Paris'; English *I had friends in Paris;* Spanish *tenía amigos en París* - lit. 'Ihad friends in Paris'; 9 occurrences with *en*, 1 occurrence with *dans*
53.	[ʃak] for *tous* in the expression of frequency	[ʃak] [...] *trois mois;* cf. Irish *gach tríú mí* - lit. 'every third month'; English *every three months;* Spanish *cada tres meses* - lit. 'every three months'; 1 occurrence
54.	*être intéressé en/dans* for *s'intéresser à/être intéressé par*	e.g., *tu es intéressé en musique;* cf. Irish *tá spéis agat i gceol* - lit. 'is interest atyou in music'; English *you are interested in music;* Spanish *te interesas en música* - lit. 'yourself youinterest in music'; 2 occurrences with *en*, 1 occurrence with *dans*
55.	omission of definite article with names of languages	e.g., *passer* [...] *de anglais* [...] *à français;* cf. Irish *dul ó Bhéarla go Fraincis* - lit. 'togo from English to French'; English *to pass from English (in)to French;* Spanish *pasar de inglés a francés* - lit. 'topass from English to French'; 3 occurrences

APPENDIX C

Distributional evidence

(Figures refer to itemization in Appendix B)

a) *Francized 'intrusions' non-deviant versions of which Philip never produced unprompted*

ressembler used with direct rather than indirect object	(21)
[kɔzmɔpɔli'tan] for *cosmopolite*	(23)
[kõserva'tif] for *conservateur(s)*	(24)
[tɪpi'kal] for *typiques*	(25)
depuis for *après* (adv.)	(29)
[prin'sɪp] for *début*	(33)
[ʒəvɛ'nɪs] for *jeunes*	(35)
[ʒũ] for *ensemble*	(36)
[a'pris] for *se presse*	(37)
omission of indefinite article with *autre*	(38)
omission of *à* in the expression of distance	(39)
histoires [kur] for *nouvelles*	(40)
être for *avoir* in the expression of age	(41)
['pipə] for [illegible]	(42)
[ɛs'pɛsiaɪmã] for *particulièrement*	(43)
['part] for [illegible]	(45)
[illegible] for [illegible]	(47)
['ɪnklə'ɪ] for [illegible]	(48)

pour exemple for *par exemple*	(49)
à for *en* with names of countries and provinces	(50)
omission of partitive article	(51)
en/dans for *à* with names of towns	(52)
[ʃak] for *tous* in the expression of frequency	(53)
être intéressé en/dans for *s'intéresser à/être intéressé par*	(54)
omission of definite article with names of languages	(55)

b) *Francized 'intrusions' non-deviant versions of which Philip began producing spontaneously only after explicit help/correction from the native-speaker*

pays for *campagne*	(12)
le [tar] for *le soir* ('corrected' as *dans la soirée*)	(28)
champ for *campagne*	(32)

(ALLÍ - for *là* - also follows this pattern)

APPENDIX D

Contextual evidence

(Arabic figures refer to itemization in Appendix B; small roman figures refer to occurrence number - e.g., (7i) = first occurrence of item 7)

a) *Contextual characterization of unadapted English 'intrusions'*

	other attempt (in French)	hesitation	indication of frustration	inappropriate question intonation	laughter	apology	explicit query	recourse to English
THE EVENING (1)	✓			✓				✓
I TRIED TO CUT (2)		✓	✓					
BUREAUCRACY (3)		✓			✓			
WITHOUT ANY PLANS WE WENT WITHOUT ANY PLANS (4)		✓	✓					✓
I DIDN'T KNOW ANYBODY (8)	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓
A GLASS (9)	✓	✓			✓			✓
OPEN (10)		✓		✓				✓
CLOSED (11)		✓						✓
THE COUNTRYSIDE (13)	✓							✓
TO BEGIN (14)		✓		✓				✓
SUDDENLY (15i)		✓						✓
SUDDENLY (15ii)		✓						✓
SUDDENLY (15iii)		✓					✓	✓
PERHAPS (17)		✓						✓
I HAVE TO WRITE IT (18)		✓						✓
THE TENSION (19)	✓	✓					✓	✓
WELL (interj.) (20)		✓			✓			✓

b) *Contextual characterization of occurrences of ALLÍ*

	other attempt (in French)	hesitation	indication of frustration	inappropriate question intonation	laughter	apology	explicit query	recourse to English
ALLÍ (31i)		✓		✓				
ALLÍ (31ii)		✓					✓	

c) *Characterization of adapted 'intrusions' with at least two of the contextual features noted in connexion with the unadapted English 'intrusions'*

	other attempt (in French)	hesitation	indication of frustration	inappropriate question intonation	laughter	apology	explicit query	recourse to English
le [tar] (28)				✓				✓
je ne sais pas personne (7i)		✓						✓
depuis (29i)		✓		✓				
huit kilomètres de Paris (39)		✓					✓	
pays (12)	✓	✓		✓				✓
champ (32)	✓	✓						✓
[prin'sip] (33)		✓		✓				
ressemblent les arbres (21)		✓		✓			✓	
fameux (47i)		✓		✓				
[inble'i] (48)		✓		✓				
[yuve'nis] (35)		✓		✓			✓	
[sɔ̃] (36)		✓					✓	
[a'pris] (37)		✓		✓				

NOTES

(1) For further discussion of some of the following see, e.g., Singleton (1981).

(2) Latin was excluded as a possible source language. According to Philip's own account (Appendix A) he never really had a productive knowledge of Latin, and approached it rather as a kind of puzzle.

(3) Since this study focuses on utterances which deviate from French norms, the ignorance referred to here would presumably be classed by Kellerman as 'ignorance-by-observation' (1977, *passim*) - i.e. what the learner does not know rather than what he thinks he does not know ('ignorance-by-self-evaluation'; *ibid.*, *passim*). The question of 'ignorance-by-self-evaluation' is, however, addressed in 4.2.

It should also be clear that, since this study deals with samples of linguistic output, what it reveals about ignorance has regard to '*productive* ignorance' - i.e. what is not available to the learner when he is trying to *produce* utterances (cf. note 4).

(4) I do not, of course, wish to suggest that a single correction can normally be expected to suffice to make a particular item permanently part of a learner's productive knowledge. I suspect that the three items discussed here had already been encountered by Philip and would have been understood by him if uttered by another speaker - i.e. were known 'receptively' - and that the native-speaker's interventions had the effect of 'topping up' this receptive knowledge and transforming it, at least temporarily, into productive knowledge.

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A STUDY OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF INTENSIVE SPEECH THERAPY IN THE REMEDIATION OF DELAYED PHONOLOGY.

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In order to provide the most effective Speech Therapy service for children in Primary School who have problems of delayed phonology, it is necessary to examine the role of intensive therapy vis-a-vis the more traditional once weekly visit to the Speech Clinic.

Traditionally, there has evolved a pattern of therapy, where the child attends the clinic once a week for a period of half an hour to an hour's duration. This practice has developed, partly in order to see as many patients in a week as is possible, partly to allow for a peripatetic service so that as many centres can be visited as possible, and partly because the demand for Speech Therapy services far exceeds the number of therapists.

These reasons are now becoming eroded, and with a more plentiful supply of therapists it is becoming appropriate to consider whether this traditional approach is the most effective.

Cooper, Moodley and Reynell (1978) comment that:-

"The more normal half an hour a week with a Speech Therapist is not enough for young children. A week is too long a gap, and a half hour session too little."

They further comment:-

"Most Speech Therapists are short of time, so it is wise to be economical with the Speech Therapist's and the parents' time, so that this may be used to the best advantage of the children."

Marge (in Irwin and Marge 1972 p. 303) discussing duration and frequency of clinic visits comments that the severity of the disability, the age of the child, the co-operation of the parents, together with the limitations in staff and clinical facilities determine how often and how long the child should be seen. He recommends that for any effectiveness to be shown in therapy, the sessions should be from half an hour to one hour in duration and the frequency should be from 2 - 5 times weekly.

It also needs to be considered whether children should receive therapy in a one-to-one situation or whether therapy is more useful as a group activity.

Marge (in Irwin and Marge 1972 p. 302) states that the arguments for or against either arrangement concern what is best for the child. On the one hand, some authorities hold that individual training allows for greater depth and intensity of programming resulting in a more effective effort which will take less time to reach a successful termination when compared with group sessions. On the other hand, some feel that group sessions, especially if the groups are small, provide communicative experience among the peer-group communications which enhance the training and cannot be offered by individual sessions. It is further argued that since children do learn from one another as readily as they do from adults, and since peer-group communications are an important function in a child's life, group sessions are not only useful, but also essential.

Kluppel (in Irwin and Marge 1972 p. 315) comments that some kind of communication takes place in inter-action within a group. If this is so, and if the object of any speech and language remediation is to improve communication, one could argue that group therapy would be a more meaningful environment in which effective communication could flourish. He further states that a critical variable in optimal learning is arranging for the appropriate environment.

The physical environment is one which can be therapeutically manipulated. The child may be seen at home, in school or in the Speech clinic. At home or in the clinic the parents may be present in the session, whereas at school this is unlikely, although there will be ready access to the class teacher, which may be denied in the other situations. Some authors, for example Jeffree and McConkey, (1976) Cooper et al, (1978) consider the awareness and involvement of the parents in the management of the child's communication problem to be of paramount importance, whereas others, for example Kluppel (in Irwin and Marge 1972 p. 366) take the opposite view. He comments:-

> "Therapy for the child's language deficits should be provided by professionals outside of the home. The parents should not be involved with therapeutic and teaching procedures. Parents direct attempts to teach their own children to talk, read, write, and/or compute are seldom satisfactory, and, if effective, are too costly in emotional flare-ups."

Cooper (1978) also sounds a warning note, about over involvement in the problems of parents who accompany their children to the clinic, thus:-

> "Less often recognised is the need to avoid over involvement in the personal problems of the parents. It is not the role of the Speech Therapist to become a psycho-therapist for the parents .. .. Clearly this sort of support cannot be avoided altogether, nor should it be, but it is too easy for parents to use a weekly session for working out their own personal problems with the therapist, and using the therapist as a 'leaning post' rather than focussing on the child"

There is a need in Speech remediation for the work of the remediator to be evaluated. Ventry and Schiavatti quote a report from ASHA in 1974 where it is stated that only 1.7% of their members reported 'research' as their principal activity. In 1974 also, in Britain in the findings of the Government enquiry into Speech therapy services this comment is made.

> "There is ample room for more evaluative studies of the effects of various kinds and patterns of treatment."

It goes on further to state:-

> "There is already some pressure for new patterns of Speech Therapy treatment other than short periodic treatment sessions, usually at weekly intervals ...... We hope to see expansion and further experimentation with group and intensive therapy".

This pilot study seeks to make an attempt to determine whether there is a greater advantage to the patient in attending the Speech Clinic intensively, or whether the child receives an equal or greater benefit from attending once a week. However, it is necessary to comment that once the therapeutic programme has been devised, it is important that the therapist has freedom within that framework, to implement the therapy in the most effective manner for both the patients and him/herself. Morley (1972) makes the point:-

> "Many therapists develop their own methods of treatment through experience and such methods may be more successful in their hands than any other".

Bearing this in mind, in this study, areas of therapeutic intervention were identified, but the therapeutic strategies which were employed were individual to the therapist. It was never intended that this study should assess therapists' skill, but that of therapeutic timing. The study was set up, with the co-operation and support of the City of Southampton Education Department, to assess the progress of children whose presenting speech problem was of phonological delay.

Organisation of the Study.

The children were selected initially by the teachers in Primary schools in the designated area. This area was a large, modern council housing estate on the East of the city. It was chosen because of the large number of children living in this district who had been reported to the Speech Therapist as having some problem needing investigation. There was a very high incidence of non-attendance at clinics. The teachers in the three primary schools on this estate were asked to submit lists of children in their schools whose speech caused them concern. These schools were then visited and the children's speech assessed using the Edinburgh Articulation test. This test, devised by Anthony, Bogle, Ingram & McIsaac (1974) samples phonemes within words, and both a quantitative and qualitative judgement is made. The quantitative score is translated into both a standard score, and an articulation age equivalent. The qualitative result allows for a judgement concerning the maturity or the deviancy of the child's utterance. On the quantitative result, a standard score of more than 15 points below the mean standard score of 100, warrants investigation and possible therapy.

All children selected for inclusion in the experiment obtained a standard score of between 70 and 85. Any children who achieved a score of less than 70 were excluded from the study, but were referred to the speech clinic for immediate attention by the therapist.

The parents of the children who fulfilled the first criterion of matched standard scores on the articulation test were then visited. Prior permission had been obtained for the Speech Therapist to see the children in school for purposes of testing, but the home visit fulfilled several objectives.
1) The purpose of the study was explained.
2) Permission was sought for the inclusion of their child in the study, and
3) A developmental questionnaire was completed, concerning the child's other development and his speech development. This gave an awareness as to whether the speech problem was an isolated problem or whether other areas of development were affected.

The children in the study were matched for sex, age, social class, and educational attainment. Information about these two last criteria was obtained from the class teacher. All children were aged under six years and were in the entrants class of their primary school. This was necessary for two reasons.
1) The Edinburgh Articulation Test is standardised on children aged 3 - 6 years, and
2) To eliminate as far as possible, the effects on speech, of the child's participation in school.

The study was organised to start during term 2 of the school year, i.e. January to March. This term was chosen in preference to the first term, in order that the child should have an opportunity to settle into school before any interruption was made to his school day, and in order that his teacher may become well acquainted with the child's achievements and problems.

Six children were randomly allocated to group A (intensive group) and six to group B (once weekly group).

The location of the study

The intensive therapy was carried out in a vacant class room in a primary school, the non-intensive therapy in the neighbourhood Speech Clinic. The aim here was to mirror as far as possible traditional speech therapy conditions with this group, except in the factor of attendance in a group rather than an individual situation. These children were brought to the clinic by the parent, whereas the children who were attending daily were transported to the school by taxi, financed and organised by the Education Department.

In the intensive group 100% attendance was recorded, whereas in the non-intensive group 1 child was lost from the study through non attendance and attendance of the others was erratic. This is what would be expected in the traditional attendance paradigm.

The timetable of the study.

In each group a total of 25 therapy sessions were recorded.

Group A attended daily from 10.00 a.m. until 12 noon for five weeks ....25 sessions.

Group B attended once weekly for two hours in a group, for 25 weeks.

The Speech Therapy personnel

There were two Speech Therapists involved in each group. There was one therapist constant in each group, but the second therapist varied from session to session in order to allow for her to remain involved in her own clinical duties.

These "temporary" therapists spent some time in both groups, in order to allow for some consistency and unity between the groups.

There were also Speech Therapy helpers attached to each group. These were semi-trained personnel with strict conditions regarding their involvement, and their purpose was to attend to the physical needs of the children, to arrange and replace equipment, and to make necessary games and materials for the clinical session. This left the therapists free to attend solely to the therapy session.

Assessments

Assessments of progress was carefully monitored.

The assessment programme was:-

Schedule Assessment

Group A	Group B
1. Prior to treatment	1. Prior to treatment
2. After five weeks therapy (treatment completed)	2. After five weeks therapy
3. Three months after therapy completed	3. After twenty five weeks (therapy completed)
	4. Three months after assessment three.

1. Selection assessment:- children were assessed to determine if they fulfilled selection criteria.
2. Children were assessed immediately prior to treatment, in order to have a base line prior to therapy.
3. Both groups were assessed after a period of five weeks therapy. This was at completion of therapy for Group A, but after only five sessions for Group B.
4. Group B only after 25 weeks, at end of therapy period.
5. Groups A and B three months after completion of each groups therapy.

The aims of these assessments were to:

1. Assess the immediate value of intensive versus non-intensive therapy.
   (a) over an identical time span, i.e. five weeks.
   (b) after an identical number of sessions i.e. 25.

2. To assess the stability and maintenance of any perceived progress in phonology of the intensive group versus non-intensive group three months after therapy has ceased in each case.
3. To determine whether progress which it is anticipated would have been achieved more slowly (as in non-intensive therapy) is more stable than that which it is presumed will be a more rapid acquisition.

The therapy session

Each session for each group was of two hours duration. The session varied between improvement of perceptual skills, i.e. auditory discrimination, memory, and sequencing. Tactile and motor skills, for both gross and fine movement awareness, and visual skills, for visual reinforcement and monitoring.

Sound work. Specific work graded to suit children in the group, on sound making, speech drills, and sound blending. Specific tasks on language stimulation were not included, although this was dealt with informally, in word games, story telling and news of current activities. During each session there was a break of a quarter of an hour, when the children could play outside (weather permitting) or have free play indoors. Each therapist was allowed freedom within the programme framework, as the intention was not to assess therapist skill, but therapy timing.

The presence of the "temporary" therapist in each group, helped maintain some notion of consistency.

Results

Results were analysed using a t-test. Intensive therapy results were compared, as were the results of non-intensive therapy. Then each group was compared, at specific points in the assessment timetable.

The results of the assessment prior to treatment were compared in the non-intensive group,

1) after five weeks treatment,
2) after 25 weeks treatment,
3) after three months stabilisation.

This latter showed the only statistical difference, a probability of more than .01.

The assessment after five weeks was compared with that after 25 weeks and also 3 months after therapy ceased. Significance was shown only in the comparison between five weeks and after three months stabilisation. $p > 005$

Finally in this group, results after 25 weeks were compared with results after 3 months, and no significance was found.

NON-INTENSIVE THERAPY RESULTS

GROUP	t	df	SIGNIFICANCE
A v B	1.24.	9	NS.
A v C	1.04.	9	NS.
A v D	3.45	9	0.005
B v C	0.94	9	NS.
B v D	2.21	9	0.05.
C v D	0.88	9	NS

A = Assessment immediately prior to treatment.
B = After five weeks therapy.
C = After 25 weeks therapy.
D = Three months after cessation of therapy.

In the intensive therapy group similar assessments were compared. Significance was shown ($p > 0.01$) when the assessment immediately prior to treatment was compared with results obtained after five weeks (25 sessions) therapy, and significance of $p > 0.005$ when the assessment results immediately prior to therapy were compared with those results achieved after 3 months stabilisation.

No significance was noted when results obtained after five weeks were compared with those obtained after three months stabilisation.

INTENSIVE THERAPY

GROUP	t	df	SIGNIFICANCE
A v B	2.79	11	0.01
A v C	3.174	11	0.005
B v C	0.487	11	NS

Finally results were compared between the non-intensive and the intensive therapy groups. There was only one area of significance, when the results achieved after five weeks were compared. This was after 25 sessions with the intensive group, and only five with the non-intensive group. Significance was shown $p > 0.005$. There was no significance when comparing the five week (intensive) group results with those achieved by the non-intensive group at 25 weeks. Both groups in this analysis has had 25 therapy sessions. Significance was not shown when comparing the intensive therapy group after three months stabilisation with the non-intensive group immediately on completion of therapy, and similarly, no significance emerged when comparing both groups after three months stabilisation.

INTENSIVE v. NON-INTENSIVE GROUP

GROUP	t	df	SIGNIFICANCE
B(I) v B(N)	5.72	10	0.005
B(I) v C(N)	0.31	10	NS
C(I) v C(N)	0.017	10	NS
C(I) v D(N)	1.173	10	NS

B(I) Assessment after five weeks therapy (25 sessions) (Intensive group).

B(N) Assessment after five weeks therapy (5 sessions) (Non-intensive group).

C(I) Assessment after three months stabilisation period.
(Intensive group).

C(N) Assessment after 25 weeks therapy.
(Non-intensive group).

D(N) Assessment after three months stabilisation period.
(Non-intensive group).

There is as to be expected, significant improvement shown after five weeks intensive therapy, versus five weeks weekly therapy. In both groups there is significant difference in the results achieved after the period of therapy, so it can be assumed that the therapy, was effective in achieving an improved result.

However, factors other than therapeutic progress need consideration.

1. The time factor.

Is it more viable for the child to be absent from school every morning for a comparatively short period of time, or for the child to be absent from school once a week for a longer period of time, bearing in mind that at this stage of education, a lesson is liable to be repeated several times before it is considered that the class should know it. The child missing a lesson more sporadically is at least likely to avail of it sometime during the teaching, whereas a child absent from school every morning may miss an important aspect of teaching completely. Conversely, one could argue that the child whose speech improves more rapidly, becomes a more effective communicator in a shorter period of time and this may have more favourable educational and psychological implications.

2. Was the time span of the experiment the optimum one?

It must be considered that the total number of sessions each group could attend might not be the most effective in terms of progress. The decision to have 25 sessions per group was made on the grounds that this was roughly equivalent to 6 months traditional therapy, and therefore there should be measurable progress.

3. The speech therapist may not be available for intensive therapy, particularly where a strong reliance is placed on part-time staff, and also on the number of sessions any one centre has arranged for in a week.

4. The Speech Therapist programmes. It may be easier to arrange for a period of intensive therapy for one particular speech problem, and then after a specified period of time this session is closed, to re-open in a different place. It may be a good strategy to employ speech therapists with particular interests, to develop a service to a large geographical area, so that one aspect of therapy can be concentrated on for a period of time in one place, and when that ceases, intensive therapy in another problem area can be provided under the guidance of a different therapist.

5. For this type of programme to be viable, a sufficient number of suitable patients must be available.

6. The provision of suitable accommodation can often prove a difficulty. It is sometimes difficult to provide even minimally suitable accommodation, on a once a week basis, without seeking accommodation which may be in use for two months and then not needed again for another four.

7. The convenience of the parents must be considered. It is unlikely that transport could be made available, as it was with one group in this study, and so it would be necessary to rely on the parents to bring the child to the clinic. Public transport, particularly in rural areas can be very spasmodic, it if exists at all, and it may be that if the child attends only once a week, arrangements can be made whereby one or other of the parents could bring the child, but to ask them to do this every day may be a financial as well as a physical impossibility.

8. Finally, and very importantly, the therapy prescribed must be in the patients best interests. With some children, group therapy is contra-indicated, because of the particular therapeutic needs of the child, and intensive therapy creates too much of a pressurising situation for therapy to be successful.

This study would suggest that there is little advantage in intensive therapy compared to the more traditional therapy method. It must be remembered that this was a pilot study, carried out on a very small sample, and, therefore, the results must be interpreted with caution. It can only be stated that with this sample, there is some evidence to suggest that although therapy with intensive methods produces an initial accelerated result, that over time these advantages are minimised, until eventually they become non-significant. This study would need to be repeated with a much larger sample, for valid reliable implications to be drawn.

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Réamhrá

Seo chugainn TEANGA 4. Tá muid ag foilsiú TEANGA sa leagan amach ar ghlac muid leis anuraidh. Cuireadh trí cinn de na páipéir atá san eagrán seo i láthair ag seimineáir de chuid IRAAL i 1983/84.

An tEagarthóir,
Iúil, 1984

Introduction

TEANGA 4 has arrived. We continue to publish TEANGA in the format adopted last year. Three of the articles which appear in this issue were presented at IRAAL seminars in 1983/84.

The Editor,
July, 1984.

to compare native French speakers' and Ulster speakers' renderings of the same material with a view to analysing what mistakes are made by the Ulster speakers in their production of French utterances. We have chosen for this purpose a number of dialogues from an article by Wioland and Wenk (1982) in 'Le français dans le monde'. These dialogues are recorded on a disk which is distributed with the journal.

In order to understand why certain errors are being made by Ulster students in the production of French, we need a conceptual framework which will show how English and French differ in the way in which they achieve their intonational effects. In an attempt to expose the basic mechanisms of interference between L_1 and L_2, we shall consider first of all rhythm and stress and secondly intonation patterns.

RHYTHM AND STRESS

Wenk and Wioland (1982), in a scholarly article, have developed a rhythmic typology for French which will serve to mediate insight into the intonation of French. Before summarising the main points of the article, however, it is essential for us to note one important point about the way in which information is structured in French and in English. French is divided up into sense groups (or as Wenk and Wioland call them 'rhythmic groups'), whereas English is broken up into tone groups and feet. The foot is the unit upon which the rhythm of spoken English is based and it always begins with a salient syllable ('ictus'), even if this breaks up a word. French rhythmic groups, however, do not violate constituent boundaries and never begin in the middle of a word. Compare the following sentences:

English: //Yes//I'll/leave you my ad/dress//.
Here the foot breaks up the word address.

French: /Oui,/je vous laisserai/mon adresse/.
In French the sense groups do not cross the constituent boundaries.

Now, let us turn to an examination of Wenk and Wioland's rhythmic typology of French:

1. 'Leader-timing' versus 'Trailer-timing'.

French is characterised as a trailer-timed language and English as a leader-timed language. That is, French is regulated group-finally.

whereas English is regulated group-initially. The term 'regulator' is used to describe that abstract rhythmic unit which determines the limits of rhythmic groups. The 'trailer/leader' distinction is related to the different tendencies exhibited by French and English with respect to stress placement. French stress is fixed and comes on the last syllable of a word and the last unit in a rhythmic group. In English, however, it is the first syllable of a word which tends to receive the main stress and in the foot, which is the basic unit of rhythmic organisation in English, the tonic also occurs at the beginning (see Delattre, 1963). The trailer-timed/leader-timed concept has important implications for the pronunciation of French and English.

2. Tense versus Lax Articulation.

French as a trailer-timed language will display a tension build-up, tending towards release only at the end of the utterance. This results in a greater degree of habitual muscular tension, producing a more tense articulation than is to be found in leader-timed languages. It can be very difficult for native speakers of English to learn to articulate French in a sufficiently crisp manner. It is hard for them to avoid putting strong stresses on some syllables, weakening other syllables and realising adjuncts in a neutral tone. The more lax style of delivery affects the quality of English vowels, making the English vowel system full of diphthongs and schwas. The anglophone student of French may well find it difficult to produce the precise and steady articulation necessary to do justice to French vowels, because the tense articulation of segments actually derives from the rhythmic, trailer-timed organisation of the French language.

3. Stress.

a) The Importance of Duration in French

Wenk and Wioland point out that there exist different cues for the realisation of stress in French and in English. Stress in English is associated with pitch variation. The native English-speaker tends to bring to the French language his expectations of increased force, pitch-jump and a peculiar type of vowel reduction. This mental set sometimes renders him incapable of detecting French stress, let alone realising it in a convincing manner.

Whereas in English, pitch is the most important correlate of stress, the same is not true of French. Delattre (1938) has identified duration as the element most closely associated with stress in the French language. In fact, in Delattre's 1938 study, the duration of stressed e was on average twice that of the unstressed e. In a later study (Delattre 1966), the research results reveal that the physical intensity of final-syllable vowels in French is in fact 10% lower than that of non final-syllable vowels. It is these lower-intensity, long, final syllables which are critical in contributing to the realisation of stress in French.

b) Delayed Pitch Change

We have seen that the correlates of stress are different in French and in English. There is yet another respect in which stress is realised differently in each language. Wenk and Wioland show that French intonation contours are often characterised by delayed pitch change and that in French sentences which are syntactically identical (e.g. interrogative and declarative sentences), but distinguished from each other by intonation, listeners may be unable to differentiate question from statement if the last portion of the sentence-final vowel is eliminated through tape-cutting or some other technique.

The extent to which pitch change is delayed in French has been high-lighted by Faure (1973) who showed that interrogative and declarative utterances only differ in the melodic variation of a small portion of the last syllable. Faure segmented the final tonic syllable into 6 portions, almost identical to each other. Each segment was 1/6 of the total duration of the syllable. It was discovered that most subjects took until the 5th segment to decide that the sentence was interrogative.

It can be difficult for the anglophone student of French to develop sufficient auditory discrimination to be sensitive to the interplay of pitch change, duration and intensity which characterises French intonation. The native English person tends to aply his L_1 habit of pitch jump in contexts where delayed pitch change is called for.

4. Pause Placement.

Wenk and Wioland draw attention to the importance of pause placement in French. One of the norms governing such placement is that trailer-timing does not allow pauses in the middle of rhythmic groups.

Pauses may occur

a) between any two rhythmic groups

b) at the beginning and/or end of a rhythmic group containing markedly fewer syllables than a neighbouring group or groups.

Pause placement may serve a demarcatory function, especially when it occurs at major syntactic boundaries. Alternatively, it may be used to equalise the duration of adjacent rhythmic groups, when one rhythmic group has many more syllables than the next.

Example:

/Notre industrialisation/.......... commence/.

The dots indicate pause placement and the pause tends to make the second rhythmic group last almost as long as the first, even though there is a disparity in the number of syllables contained in each group.

5. Syllable Count in Each Rhythmic Group.

Wenk and Wioland (op. cit., pp.206-7) note that French speakers tend to produce successive rhythmic groups of equal or nearly equal syllable count. Also, rhythmic groups tend to be small - on average two and a half syllables per rhythmic group. Thus, Wioland (1982b), in elaborating pedagogical principles for foreigners to apply in speaking French, advocates that learners should express themselves in short rhythmic groups because this facilitates comprehension. A long sequence of non-delimited syllables is difficult to understand even in one's own language, let alone in the mouth of a foreigner.

6. Syllabic Structure.

Wioland (1982a) draws attention to the importance in French of syllabic structure. There exists in spoken French a very strong trend towards open syllabicity - open syllables represent 80.36% of occurrences (CV: 70.56%; V:9.8%). Consequently, the syllable-final position is *weak* for a consonant, whereas the syllable-initial position is *strong*. Syllable-final consonants, therefore, must not be too energetically articulated. Within rhythmic groups, words tend to lose their individuality in favour of rhythmic groups, and consonants seem to function more like initial phonemes of the previous syllable. Thus, Wioland (1982b) advises students of French to retard as long as possible the beginning of the *following* rhythmic group rather than to concentrate on prolonging each appropriate syllable. This makes it easier to produce a lax articulation of the syllable-final consonant and to achieve a delayed pitch change.

INTONATION PATTERNS

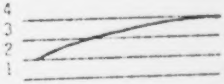
Intonation contours or patterns describe the general speech melody of a sentence which derives from the pitch of the voice. The use of pitch to form intonation contours has been studied by Delattre (1966) for French. We shall compare these with certain equivalent English utterances using mainly the system of Halliday (1967; 1970) and also considering the work of Jarman and Cruttenden (1976) on the speech of an Anglo-Irish dialect of Belfast[1].

Delattre takes the function of intonation to be a dual one. It operates, first of all, as a signal of grammatical structure, allowing us to tell one logical mode of expression apart from another, e.g. questions, statements, commands etc. Secondly, it allows us to communicate personal attitudes such as surprise, curiosity, impatience, joy, fear etc. Delattre's analysis, however, mostly disregards the second of these functions and confines itself to the first.

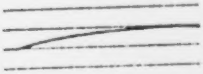
The contours fall into four groups: declaratives, interrogatives, parenthetics and exclamation.

First of all, we shall consider the declaratives. These consist of major and minor continuations, finality, implication and command.

The major continuation is a mid-to-high rise (2-4), whereas the minor continuation is a slight rise from mid (2-3).



major continuation

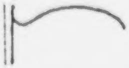


minor continuation

One way in which the opposition between major and minor continuations functions is to unite short sense groups (bearing the minor continuation contour) into one larger sense group which will finish off with a major continuation contour. The two different types of continuation can also be used to disambiguate sentences (see Delattre, 1966).

In Southern Standard English, (SSE), the minor and major continuations would probably correspond to Halliday's pretonic and tone 4 respectively.

Tone 4 is as follows:

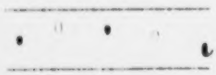


There is a slight rise in the approach as the speaker moves into the falling tonic but the maximum force or intensity comes on the fall.

The pretonic has no one particular tone associated with it, only a characteristic contour, which Halliday suggests is determined by the tone of the tonic in the tonic segment. In Ulster English, there is either a marked step-down (UNFALL) or step-up (UNRISE) from the last syllable of the pretonic to the first syllable of the tonic (Jarman and Cruttenden, 1976, p.4). This recalls Bolinger's pitch accents C and B (1965, pp.47-51). The nearest Ulster English equivalent to Delattre's major continuation may be Jarman and Cruttenden's tone 1 which, with a high pretonic, is the semantically unmarked tone for statements. It usually occurs towards the end of a tone-group and is rarely followed by more than two or three syllables. It is a low rise. Another tone which often follows an UNFALL is tone 2, a high rise, which is a more marked tone than the low rise. It indicates more personal involvement and interest than tone 1.

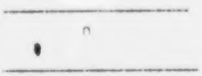
Tones 1 and 2 in Ulster English are as follows:

Tone 1: low rise



/I think it's quite nice./

Tone 2: high rise

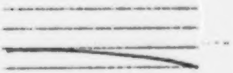


/teaching?/

(0 represents accented syllables other than the tonic ●:
● represents unaccented syllables.)

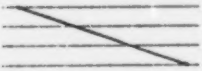
It should be noted that the Ulster tones 1 and 2 are the opposite in realisation to SSE tone 4 which has the main force on the fall. Jarman and Cruttenden demonstrate that Belfast intonation makes extensive use of rising pitch, where SSE would use a falling pitch. "Around 70% of all tone groups ..... had a rising nuclear tone", they state (op. cit., p.11). We may note that although this rising tone is strange to the SSE speaker, it may coincide to some extent at least with French pitch movement, thus perhaps ensuring that Ulster speakers of French will have rather less difficulty than SSE speakers in "keeping their voice up" at the end of *major* and *minor continuations*. There is, however, the danger that Ulster English speakers with their tendency to pitch rise, may have difficulty in learning the *delayed* pitch change which is characteristic of French. They may tend to begin the pitch change too early or to 'jump' in a way which would be alien to a native French speaker. We note the statement of Jarman and Cruttenden that in Ulster English: "The tonic syllable is marked by a dramatic change of pitch" (op. cit., p.8).

So much then for the continuatives. The two types of continuation often work together with another declarative contour - *finality*. This is a low fall in French (2-1).



finality

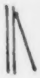
This contour must be seen in contrast with *command* which falls from a much higher level than *finality* (4-1).



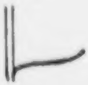
command

In SSE, Halliday does not devote much attention to the tone(s) characterising *finality*. However, he sees *command* as being conveyed by a combination of tones 1 and 3. There is also a form of command expressing compromise or concession which uses tone 4. Tones 1 and 3 are as follows:

Tone 1: falling

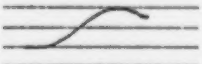


Tone 3: low rising



In Ulster English, the unmarked tone for commands is tone 1, low rise, as for statements.

Implication is Delattre's fifth declarative contour and is different from the others in that it communicates personal attitudes rather than signalling grammatical structure. It is a mid-to-high rise+fall (2-4).


implication

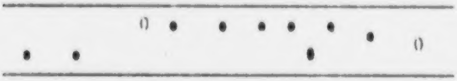
In SSE, the nearest equivalent to Delattre's implication is probably Halliday's tone 4. This tone can be used to imply some sort of reservation or contrast but the specific interpretation varies according to the actual speech situation.

//4 it's/very ef/ficient.//

Here, the use of tone 4 conveys something like: "there's a but about it".

In Ulster English, the nearest functional equivalent of Delattre's implication is probably Jarman and Cruttenden's tone 3 which generally marks contrast or correction. This is a rise-fall, involving a sharp rise from low to high, followed by a slow fall to mid, usually drawn out over several syllables.

Tone 3: rise fall

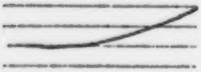


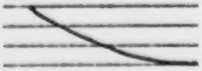
/Are you going for generalities then?/

The major part of the pitch movement of this tone is rising.

Now, having dealt with the declaratives, let us proceed to consider the interrogatives. Here, we have two types of question, polar (yes/no), which Delattre terms question, and non-polar which Delattre terms interrogative.

These tones are as follows:


question
2-4
mid-to-high rising



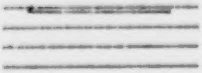
interrogative
4-1
high-to-low fall

In SSE, Halliday's tone 2 is the neutral tone for yes/no questions.
It is either 2 high rising ‖/ or 2 falling-rising (pointed) ‖∨
The high rising form is the neutral type.

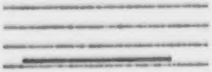
For Ulster (Belfast) English, Jarman and Cruttenden (op. cit.) derive tone 2, a high rise, as the equivalent of Halliday's tone 2. It takes the form of a rise from mid to high or to a higher point than the level of the preceding pretonic and is the neutral tone for both yes/no and WH-questions. This tone 2 can be used therefore, to indicate the equivalent of either question or interrogation in French. The SSE tone for conveying interrogation is tone 1. In both Ulster English and SSE, there is a falling pretonic, but in Ulster English, the pitch level on the 'onset', i.e. the first salient syllable of the pretonic, is higher than in SSE. This 'stepping-down' movement is followed:

1. in Ulster English by a rise-fall
2. in SSE by a fall, but there is a rise in pitch preceding the fall.

The declarative and interrogative contours constitute the major speech functions. Turning now to the minor speech functions, we notice that echo and parenthesis are in complementary distribution.

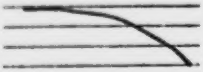


echo
4-4



parenthesis
1-1

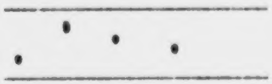
Parenthesis is used after falling contours and echo after rising ones. Exclamation is the inverse of question.



exclamation
4-1

The closest SSE equivalents to Delattre's parenthetic categories are probably Halliday's apposition and 'tail' (1970, pp.36-7). Items in apposition display tone concord, and a 'tail' simply continues the pitch movement of the tonic segment, falling if the final contour of the tonic is falling and rising if it is rising. The SSF equivalent for Delattre's *exclamation* can have several variants (see Halliday, 1970, p. 29). Tone 1 is the neutral tone for exclamations, indicating simply 'information received and noted'. Tone 2 seeks confirmation, while tone 5 expresses surprise or conveys sudden realisation. For Ulster English, Jarman and Cruttenden (op. cit.) make no mention of *apposition* or '*tail*' but they do state that their tone 4 in statements is confined almost entirely to those of an exclamatory nature.

Tone 4: fall (high to mid).



/It *must* be just/

We notice that in Ulster English thre is a marked step-up from the pretonic to the tonic whereas in French, there is no comparable jump in pitch. We should also, en passant, note that speakers of Ulster English have a tendency to place the tonic on non-lexical items which would not usually attract an accent in other forms of British English.

Example:

/ and the microphone stuck up *it*./

(Jarman and Cruttenden, 1976, p.8)

This is a tendency which can cause difficulty when an Ulster student is learning to speak a foreign language. Now let us turn our attention to some concrete examples of French produced by Ulster students.

ANALYSIS OF DIALOGUES

The corpus of material which we have chosen to analyse is a series of three French dialogues composed by Wioland and Wenk (1982)[2]. The native speakers of Ulster English (2 females and 1 male), who read these dialogues have all studied French at school for five years and have obtained good marks in the subject in their public examinations. They are now mature adults. The two females are both teachers and the male is a customs officer. They have been attending a course of evening classes in French at which they have the opportunity to listen to tape-recordings of native French speakers, engage in conversational French and do drills in the language laboratory. They have not, however, received any explicit instruction in the intonation of French.

So far as their linguistic background goes, they are all fairly typical intermediate-level language students with a favourable attitude towards French and a desire to improve their command of the spoken language. They were simply presented with the written dialogues, given a minute or so to scan each one, an then asked to read into a microphone. They did not hear the model utterances before they produced their own rendering, so they cannot have been influenced by them.

Text: Dialogue 1 Reader: Miss M.

A Il fait froid aujourd'hui?

B Moins quatorze à l'abri à six heures.
A Je n'sais pas si je sors.
B Les trottoirs sont sablés.
A J'ai trop peur de tomber.
Le verglas! A mon âge, vous savez.
Vous êtes jeune; vous verrez.

Analysis

/ Il fait froid / aujourd'hui? /

The adjunct in French is given more prominence than in English. Miss M. 'tails' away as she would do in L. post-tonic. She appears to take the sentence as a statement rather than as a question.

/ Moins 14° / à l'abri / à six heures. /

In French, each rhythmic group begins lower than the last. Miss M.'s glissando in each group betrays an RP consciousness and her finality is different from the French fall. It is gentle and gradual, whereas the French fall is abrupt, 'normal' pitch being maintained until the last minute. The three rhythmic groups are in paratactic relation and even though each begins lower than the last, they have the same intonation contours.

/ Je ne sais pas / si je sors. /

In 'Ulster French' pas is de-stressed and the main stress is (wrongly) on the penultimate sais. On sors the delayed pitch change (DPC) is not achieved.

/ Les trottoirs / sont sablés. /

In English, the first, rather than the second syllable of trottoirs, and sablés is stressed and is given a slightly higher pitch than the second syllable. In French, the rise at the end of trottoirs and the fall at the end of sablés are very slight but in English, the student produces long glides up and down at the end of each rhythmic group.

/ J'ai trop peur / de tomber. /

Miss M. says tout instead of trop and emphasises the word by rising to a higher pitch, no doubt because she is transferring to L_2 her L_1 habit of realising stress by pitch, rather than by length.

/ Le verglas! / À mon âge, / vous savez. /

Miss M. stresses the first instead of the second syllable of verglas. She does not make the ez on the end of savez long enough. In French, the three rhythmic groups step down in pitch.

le verglas
à mon âge
vous savez.

Miss M. does not impart this stepping intonation to the phrases. They are in fact in paratactic relation and so there should be pitch concord between them, but Miss M. takes âge to be the nuclear stress of the 'sentence' and chooses to give it the greatest prominence. This she does by uttering the word at a higher pitch.

/ Vous êtes jeune / vous verrez. /

Whereas the French speaker gives emphasis to one word in the sentence - jeune, Miss M. emphasises two words, vous and jeune. cf. English: // You're / young // There is much more movement on Miss M.'s vowel in jeune than there is the native French version.

Text: Dialogue 2 Reader: Mrs. M.

A Qu'est-ce qui t'arrive? Tu t'sens pas bien?
B J'ai des vertiges. T'as d'l'aspirine?
A Assieds-toi là. Ne t'énerve pas.
Reste tranquille! Je t'en apporte.
B J'ai mauvaise mine?
A T'en fais donc pas. T'es magnifique!
B Je m'sens d'jà mieux.

Analysis

/Qu'est-ce qui t'arrive?/

The student makes the sentence into 2 rhythm groups.

/Tu t'sens pas bien?/

Again, the student breaks up the utterance into 2 groups when it should be one breath group.

/J'ai des vertiges./

The DPC on vertiges is not achieved. She falls on the tonic but there

APPENDIX 1

PUBLIC SPEAKING

ASSESSMENT FORM I

SPEAKER:____________________ DATE:__________ STAGE:__________

TOPIC:____________________ TIME:__________

	5 EXCELLENT	4 VERY GOOD	3 GOOD	2 FAIR	1 POOR
I. CONTENT:					
II. ORGANIZATION:					
III. DELIVERY: a. Eye Contact:					
b. Stance/ Movement:					

COMMENTS:______________________________________

____

____

____

APPENDIX 2

PUBLIC SPEAKING ASSESSMENT FORM II

SPEAKER: ____________ DATE: ____________ STAGE: ________

TOPIC: ____________ TIME: ____________

	5 EXCELLENT	4 VERY GOOD	3 GOOD	2 FAIR	1 POOR
I. PERSUASIVE RATING:					
II. CONTENT:					
III. ORGANIZATION: a. Introduction:					
b. Body:					
c. Conclusion:					
IV. DELIVERY: a. Eye Contact:					
b. Stance/ Movement:					
c. Gestures:					

COMMENTS: ______________________________

____

____

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APPENDIX 3

PUBLIC SPEAKING ASSESSMENT FORM III

SPEAKER:________________________ DATE:________________ STAGE:__________

TOPIC:__________________________ TIME:________________

	5 EXCELLENT	4 VERY GOOD	3 GOOD	2 FAIR	1 POOR
I. INSTRUCTIVE RATING:					
II. CONTENT:					
III. ORGANIZATION:					
IV. DELIVERY:					
a. Eye Contact:					
b. Stance/ Movement:					
c. Gestures:					
d. Voice Quality:					
V. USE OF A-V AIDS:					
VI. USE OF NOTES AS AIDE-MEMOIRE:					

COMMENTS:____

____

____

____

APPENDIX 4

PUBLIC SPEAKING

ASSESSMENT FORM IV

	20	15	15	10	15	25	
	Content	Organization	Delivery	Humour	Team-Work	Personal Rating	TOTAL
Team 1, Government: Speaker 1 Name:							
Speaker 2 Name:							
Team 2, Opposition: Speaker 1 Name:							
Speaker 2 Name:							

COMMENTS:

Chairperson:

	5	4	3	2	1
	EXCELLENT	VERY GOOD	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
Organization:					
Delivery:					

COMMENTS:

APPENDIX 5

Please fill in the following: AGE:_____ SEX:_____

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
1. Have you come to the College directly from Secondary School?	____	____	____
2. Have you had any experience of any kind, in Public Speaking before coming to the College?	____	____	____
If YES, please explain, what kind, how much.			
____			
____			
____			
____			
____			
3. Are you going to compete in the public speaking competition at the College?	____	____	____
4. Do you participate in the Debating Society at the College?	____	____	____
5. Do you like public speaking?	____	____	____
6. Do you like other forms of Public Speaking?	____	____	____
If YES, please give examples:			
____			
____			
____			
____			
____			
7. Is improving your public speaking an important goal for you?	____	____	____
8. Do you think improving your public speaking will help you later in your career?	____	____	____

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
9. Do you think you have improved in your public speaking this year?	____	____	____
10. Is the progression, with more time etc., helpful?	____	____	____

Please fill in the following with comments on the oral communication section of the course that you have found most helpful and how it could be improved.

USING THE FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEW TO ASSESS THE COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE OF FIRST-YEAR L2 LEARNERS

Marie-Annick Gash,
Trinity College, Dublin.

This paper presents one aspect of a longitudinal evaluation of first year pupils learning French through the communicative approach. The data were collected during the school year 1982-1983. The pupils and their teachers were using I. T. E. Modern Language Project Materials. There are three parts to the evaluation : one, a classroom observation instrument, based on Sinclair and Coulthard's 1975 model, analyses extended chunks of classroom discourse recorded at regular intervals throughout the year. The second is a pencil and paper test administered at the end of the year. The third, the focus of this paper, is a face to face interview. It aims to evaluate the communicative competence of the learners.

Definition of Communicative Competence

Communicative competence is understood to include three main competencies : 1 grammatical competence which is the knowledge, implicit or explicit of lexical items, of morphology, syntax and phonology : 2 sociolinguistic competence which includes sociocultural rules of use (what Hymes (1972) has described as the knowledge of whether (and to what degree) something is appropriate in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated) : 3 strategic competence which can be further described as being of five types : paraphrase, borrowing, appeal for assistance, mime and avoidance.(Canale and Swain 1980, Tarone 1980)

Principles of Communicative Testing

The aim of communicative testing is "to carry out a rigorous measurement of language-based performance and yet keep intact the essential features of communicative behaviour" (Carroll 1981) A test of communicative ability must have at least the following characteristics :

- Be criterion-referenced ; that is to say, show whether or not the candidate can perform a set of specified activities.
- Have content, construct, and predictive validity.
- Must establish it's own reliability.

Description of the Assessing Instruments

1. Classroom observation instrument. The Sinclair and Coulthard model was selected to analyse the data because it is a rigorous instrument which would ensure an objective coding of the data and would enable one to make valuable comments on the linguistic dimension of the classroom and on it's social organisation. The main objective here is to analyse the communicative [illegible] of the classroom and to describe the communicative behaviour of the learners and their teachers.

2. The pencil and paper test. It was felt that such a test was necessary to assess the learner's communicative abilities other than spoken, and further that this information strengthens one's confidence in the data gathered in the face-to-face interview.

3. The face-to-face interview. The underlying principle for using the face-to-face interview is that it is closest to a real-life situation, in which, ultimately learners of a L2 would be able to function successfully.

It is a valid test of communicative behaviour as it does not alter the features of language in use as defined by Morrow (1978). These are that it is unpredictable : the processing of unpredictable data in real time is a vital aspect of using Language. Contextualized : a language user must be able to handle appropriacy in terms of the context of situation. It has a purpose : the learner and the interviewer exchange talk to fulfill a purpose. It is authentic : the interviewer won't use simplified foreigner talk. It is behaviour based : the participants will achieve something through language.

A description of the interview was distributed to the learners prior to the assessment day for three reasons : to minimise organisation requirements at the time of testing, to ensure that all learners would be given the same instructions, and to reduce learner anxiety about the interview.

There are two parts to the face-to-face interview, the first wholly authentic and the second role-playing.

In the first part of the interview the interviewer asked the learner a minimum of six questions about him/herself : name, age, family, likes, dislikes etc. The learner was then instructed to do the same with the interviewer. The learner was given a list of items s/he was to find out about the interviewer. For example, find out if she is Belgian, if she has a pet, where she lives etc..

This part of the interview lends itself to the asking of specific questions the answers to which are very predictable, this, in a sense is a "mise en train" for the learner. It also allows the examiner to judge the communicative abilities of the learner stringently. Each individual learner utterance was graded thus

- acceptable answer/question
- acceptable prompted answer/question
- unacceptable answer/question.

The main criterion for acceptability is the learner's ability to communicate rather than perfect accuracy in grammar and pronunciation. I take the view that to communicate means to respond in an appropriate manner in speech to some meaningful utterance and to initiate appropriately. This means that the learner will get a response from the interviewer which will allow the learner to carry on with the exchange. At the end of such an interview it is possible to say whether or not the learner is able to impart and seek out simple personal information.

The coding presented so far is done in real-time, that is during the interview.

Examples :	Data	Coding
I :	Mm. Tu as des frères ↗	
P :	Je n'ai pas de frère .	Accept. answ.
I :	Des soeurs ↗	
P :	Deux soeurs	Accept. answ.
I :	Deux soeurs↗ C'est quand leur anniversaire?	
P :	em, mon anniversaire est le 23 juillet	Unaccept. answ.
I :	Et l'anniversaire de tes soeurs c'est quand ?	
----------	----------	----------
P :	em, comment t'appelez-vous ?	Accept. question
I :	euh, je m'appelle Françoise	
P :	em, em, c'est quand ton anniversaire↗	Accept. question
I :	le cinq Août	
P :	em, où habite-vous ?	Accept. question
I :	euh, à Dun Laoghaire	
P :	em ** em** tu as des frères, et em, vous as des frères and des soeurs↗	accept. question

Data	Coding
I : Oui, j'ai un frère et une soeur.	
P : em, tu as un enfant ?	accept. question
I : Non, pas d'enfant	

I : Interviewer P : Pupil rising intonation

+ a short pause ++ a longer pause

In the second part of the interview, the learner takes part in two role-playing situations selected from a set of six. The constituents of the communication process are specified on the cards selected by the learner : addressee/addressor, setting, topic etc.. For example :

Place : your home
Your are : yourself
The interviewer is : a French girl slightly older than you.
Situation : You are showing photos of your friends to a French girl who is staying with an Irish family in your neighbourhood. Using the photos provided, describe your friends to her.

The method of assessment for this part of the interview is done as follows : can the learner carry out the activities described in terms of functions on the activity cards : yes/no

In addition there is an overall assessment of the learner.

1 - Above minimum competency : the learner is a highly effective communicator : strong underlying communicative competencies. (Grammatical, sociolinguistic and strategic)

2 - Adequate minimum competency : the learner can communicate meanings adequately although there are errors of grammar and rules of use in her speech.

3 - Below minimum competency : communication with the learner is impeded because s/he does not understand the language properly and makes mistakes which lead to misunderstanding.

There are effectively three bands inside each of the three categories : a learner tending towards the top of category 2, for example, would be graded 2+ whereas a learner assessed as being less competent would be rated 2- ; a learner whose competence was considered to be middle of the range would receive a 2.

The interviewer is not the assessor for the following reasons :

1- Having a non-assessing native speaker interact with the learner adds to the authenticity of the communicative situation and is less threatening to the learner. With a person introduced as speaking no English, the pupil would more readily make use of communicative strategies which have been described as being part of a communicative competence.

2- There are aspects of language use which are not perceived by an interviewer who is concentrating on communication. The examiner who does not interact with the learner is responsible for the coding. The interviewer nonetheless assists the examiner at the end of the interaction by providing a participant's view of the verbal interaction.

The question of validity and reliability

The validity and reliability of previous language tests were based on an atomistic view of language.

The validity and reliability of communicative tests, based on a global view of language is necessarily different.

On the question of validity, does the test measure what it is supposed to measure, I am prepared to say, with other researchers (Rea, 1979, Walker, 1983) that criterion-referenced tests are inherently valid as they relate immediately to some predetermined language behaviour. I claim that content, construct and predictive validity are present in a face-to-face interview.

Content validity : the test accurately reflects the syllabus on which it is based : the functions and notions tested are directly taken from the syllabus.

Construct validity : the test reflects accurately the principles of a valid theory of foreign language learning.

As argued by Little (1982) the communicative approach to learning and teaching "coincides with the findings of much recent research into second language acquisition among older children and adults". The research referred to here is mainly the work of Krashen (1981). In Krashen's view two processes are involved in the learning of a second language : acquisition which is a subconscious operation and learning which is conscious. For acquisition to take place, meaningful interaction is necessary. During such interaction the speakers are concerned with the meanings they are conveying and not with the form of their utterances. The face-to-face interview which concentrates on language as a medium of communication is therefore in line with Krashen's view.

In order to achieve meaningful interaction, authenticity is essential. When designing the role-play activities, great care was taken to promote authenticity : the roles assigned to the learner and the interviewer were defined in such a way that they would match reality as closely as possible.
For example, a learner would not be asked to take on the role of an adult in a totally adult situation, say, buying a car.
The method of assessment in terms of efficiency of communication rather than correctness of form also coincides with Krashen's theoretical view.
Predictive validity : the face-to-face interview does not violate the features of language in use. It should therefore be a valid predictive way of assessing the communicative ability of the learners in real life.

The problems with the face-to-face interview would therefore seem to be one of reliability. Until there are precise ways of identifying the skills underlying a communicative competence, assessment of learners will have rely partly on the subjective judgment of trained testers.
Two points can be made concerning this matter. First, a number of studies (FSI Oral Interview, Rea 1979) have established degrees of rater reliability. Second, I would go along with Rea (1979) who writes that :

> "In the real world the extent to which a message has been communicated and understood by the target audience involves to a great extent a subjective judgment. By the same token, I can see no justification in regarding the testing situation as a special case and for viewing subjective judgments as harmful and incompatible with the validity of the measures concerned".

I am now developing a discourse analysis instrument based on Coulthard and Montgomery (1981). This instrument will then be applied to the data recorded during the interview and transcribed. Such treatment of the data on a fine level could then be used randomly to verify that the assessment is consistent and reliable. I hope to report on this research in the near future.

This paper has described face-to-face interview techniques and has argued that such an assessment method is a valid means of testing the communicative competence of learners of a L2. Further research should go towards establishing the degree of its reliability.

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A DIFFERENT KIND OF FAILURE: APPROACHES TO THE TRANSLATION OF POETRY

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This article is based on a paper read to the IRAAL Seminar on Translation in March 1984. Its starting-point is an earlier paper, presented at the IRAAL Symposium, "Language Across Cultures" in July 1983. My title on that occasion was "The Value of Literary Translation in Language Teaching", and the attempt to establish that value was made in several ways. Firstly, I argued that literary language should be seen not as a negation of common speech, but rather as a central feature of any language - as George Steiner (1975,p.233) puts it, a maximal, not a marginal, use of language. I looked at Northrop Frye's analysis of the relations between prose, poetry and speech (Frye, 1963, pp.18-21), suggesting that conventional prose is not as close as poetry is to the rhythms of everyday language. If that is true, then studying "neutral" or "objective" or predictable texts may not always be the best way of coming to grips with a foreign language.

The next step in the enquiry was to consider the general value of translation within a foreign language learning programme, including its usefulness for semantic demonstration, for teaching grammatical rules in the target language, and for the contrastive study of mother tongue and target language.

The third and final stage was to bring together the two concepts of literature and translation, and see how the practice of literary translation might contribute to the student's understanding of a target language. My main conclusion, paradoxically, was that the value of teaching translation is to teach untranslateableness, giving the student a real sense of what can and cannot be transferred across languages, showing what is typical of one language and not of another. The unsatisfactory art of translation, I suggested, is implicit in all attempts to communicate through language; the failures of translation are the failures of language itself, and these are failures which language teachers must set out to teach.

Several questions arose from this argument which could not be dealt with within the confines of my earlier paper: for example, how to define and how to teach the skills of literary translation; whether translation works across cultures as well as across languages; where the limits of translateableness are set; how the constraints of literary form affect the translator's enterprise. To these questions the present article returns, laying heavy emphasis on the twin concepts of limitation and failure.

Of all the characteristics of literary language, it is the criterion of structure, of literary form, which presents the most daunting challenge to the translator. The hardest thing to translate is the most extreme manifestation of literary form, a poem, which is a closed system self-governed by the internal relations of its constituent language. There is a wide critical consensus on this point, summarised by David Lodge (1966, pp.6-7) as follows: "a poem is autotelic, non-paraphrasable, non-translatable, a verbal object in which every part is organically related to every other part and to the whole, something which 'should not mean but be'." In passing, we may note that this definition of poetry incorporates a ban on translation which had already been made famous by Robert Frost's definition of poetry as that which gets lost from verse or prose in translation; Dante (Convivio I, vii) held that whereas the "sentenza" or meaning of a poem may be exposed to foreigners, its beauty, sweetness and harmony will inevitably be broken in transit.

Let us return to the special character of language within a poem. The poem is a self-contained semantic system, cut off by its own boundaries from the everyday meanings of its constituent words. W.H. Auden cites Karl Kraus's expression of this fundamental duality: "My language is the universal whore whom I have to make into a virgin". Auden (1975, p.23) comments:

> It is both the glory and the shame of poetry that its medium is not its private property, that a poet cannot invent his words and that words are products, not of nature, but of a human society which uses them for a thousand different purposes.

Words, then are common property. Once inside the poem, however, the words can no longer be interpreted piecemeal in their everyday meanings, but must be taken all together as a unitary utterance, within the poem's language and culture. And it is the unitary nature of the poem's meaning which presents the translator with the stiffest challenge. The literal meaning of each word must be caught in the network of their interconnected meanings, within the literary convention that gives the poem its character, and presented in the translation as a seamless web of language. Roman Jakobson (1959, p.238) sees the verbal structuring of poetry as ruling out translation:

> In poetry, verbal equations become a constructive principle of the text. Syntactic and morphological categories, roots and affixes, phonemes and their components (distinctive features) --- in short, any constituents of the verbal code --- are confronted, juxtaposed, brought into contiguous relation according to the principle of similarity and contrast and carry their own autonomous signification. Phonemic similarity is sensed as semantic relationship. The pun, or to use a more erudite, and perhaps more precise term --- paronomasia --- reigns over poetic art, and whether its rule is absolute or limited, poetry by definition is untranslateable.

But perhaps it would be better to say, not completely translateable. Auden (1975, p.23) admits the impossibility of translating "the sound of the words, their rhythmical relations, and all meanings and association of meanings that depend on sound," but points out that the case is different for elements not based on verbal experience, "for example, images, similes and metaphors which are drawn from sensory experience." A very important part of the translator's skill lies in discerning which elements can be fully translated; and which can only be matched by a roughly comparable set of syntactic, semantic and phonological relationships within the translation. Jackson Mathews (1959, p.67) describes this risky but inevitable undertaking:

> In the "approximation of form" (a term which I have borrowed from Valéry) the motive is invention, not imitation. The translator has to invent formal effects in his own language that give a sense of those produced by the original in its own. This is working by analogy.

And the most important formal effect is the fact of the original poem being a poem. Dudley Fitts (1959, p.37) insists that even the most competent prose paraphrase is not a translation of a poem at all. "Something is missing; and what is missing, of course, is the complex of detail that establishes a poem and distinguishes it from any other kind of utterance." Wentworth Dillon, fourth Earl of Roscommon, expressed the same judgment in his Essay on Translated Verse (Dillon, lines 41-46):

> Serene and clear harmonious Horace flows,
> With sweetness not to be express'd in prose;
> Degrading prose explains his meaning ill,
> And shews the stuff, but not the workman's skill:
> I, who have served him more than twenty years,
> Scarce know my master as he there appears.

The translation of a poem, then, must be another poem, complete in itself and corresponding in its entirety to the original poem. Exact correspondence of parts is not possible when poems are written in two different languages with widely divergent grammars and two cultures differing in their expectations of poetry. Eugene Nida (1976, p.52) points out that even when perfect imitation is achieved in one element, the effort may be largely wasted because the receptor culture does not understand the medium; a complete seventeen-syllable haiku will not carry the same significance for literate English speaker as for a literate Japanese. The question must always be asked, says Harry C. Triandis, (1976, p.229) whether the element to be translated is culture-specific (emic) or universal (etic). "By definition, it is impossible to translate perfectly an emic concept." Yet another definition of impossibility; but it is well to remember that translation does not aim at total communication, because the reader always has to translate the words for himself in the end, even from a text in his own language. As Auden (1975, p.3) put it, "to read is to translate". In his chapter on "Understanding as translation", in After Babel, Steiner argues that "any thorough reading of a text out of the past of one's own language is a manifold act of interpretation", and that "we possess culture because we have learned to translate out of time" (Steiner, 1975, pp. 17,31).

Translating across cultures is a more dubious enterprise; Steiner quotes a remark by I.A. Richards regarding the possible translation of Chinese philosophy into English: "We have here indeed what may very probably be the most complex type of event yet produced in the evolution of the cosmos" (Steiner, 1975, p.48). The same Richards quotation is reproduced no fewer than three times (pp. 1,79,247) in the composite volume entitled Translation: Applications and Research, edited by Richard W. Brislin, which also includes some intriguing worked examples of literary translation in an article on "Multi-Dimension Translation: Poetry", by Lila Ray, a professional translator from Calcutta (Brislin, 1976, pp. 261-278).

Brislin's book includes substantial theoretical contributions on the problems of translation, by scholars, such as Eugene Nida and Wolfram Wilss. Lila Ray, too, cites an impressive list of the techniques of surface and depth analysis which she uses when approaching a translation. Phonetic, grammatical, sociolinguistic and stylistic analysis are examples of her surface analysis procedures, while the depth analysis includes semantic analysis and the investigation of meaning, sense and "experience" (but "experience", as we shall see, is a very dangerous concept). Her main example of how these methods work is a translation from French into Bengali; first, however, she clarifies her approach by contrast with the practice of another translator (Brislin, 1976, pp.269-270):

> Before going on to consider the examples of my methods of analysis which follow, I wish to show briefly what happens to a translation when the person who makes it does not take the trouble to analyze the experience behind it. This three-line poem by Quasimodo was translated into English by Allen Mandelbaum. The original is as follows:
>
> Edé subito sera
>
> Ogmeno sta sole sur cuor della terra
> traffito da un raggio di sola
> edé subito sera
>
> Mandelbaum's English runs as follows:
>
> Each alone on the heart of the earth
> impaled upon a ray of sun
> and suddenly it's evening
>
> It [sic] roughly means (this rough step might be taken at a very preliminary stage):
>
> Alone we stand upon an earth pierced by the
> rays of the sun, each alone on its breast.
>
> I humbly submit that Allen Mandelbaum did not realize what it was the poet was saying. The experience he was recording was the comfort of companionship, of being together in the heart of the earth and at the same time accorded individual recognition. The event is a sunset that the poet and his friend or friends watch.

Darkness follows the moment of illumination swiftly. The poem makes sense when this is visualized. The translation should run something like this:

> As we stood together in the earth's lap
> the rays of the setting sun touched us,
> piercing our breasts separately with light.
> The evening was sudden.

It may be appropriate to begin our assessment of Lila Ray's technique by looking up the Mondadori edition of Salvatore Quasimodo: Tutte le Poesie, which begins with a poem entitled "Ed è subito sera":

> Ognuno sta solo sul cuor della terra
> trafitto da un raggio di sole:
> ed è subito sera.

This reading of the poem has the advantage of being in Italian.

Quasimodo's poem is an enigmatic little structure suggesting large horizons of thought and emotion. On the surface, the words mean more or less exactly what Mandelbaum's translation says they mean. Mandelbaum has rightly elided the verb "sta" from the first line, as its usage in Italian is not "stands" but merely "is", and it tends to be glossed over in speech as the rhythm seeks out the meaningful element in the proposition, which tends to be the next word after "sta". Mandelbaum has reduced the relationship indicated by the copula "sta" to simple apposition, each element propped against the other. And it works.

The surface meaning has therefore been accurately rendered by Mandelbaum, unlike Auden's characterisation of the bad translator, who"interprets literally when he ought to paraphrase and paraphrases when he ought to interpret literally".

There are other reasons too why Mandelbaum's translation is a good one. The poem's effect depends on the interrelation of a number of factors, and his translation makes a solid effort to deal with them. Quasimodo's first line contains twelve syllables and four stresses, setting up a metrical expectation which is diminished by the nine syllables and three stresses of the second line, and left completely unsatisfied by the seven-syllabled, two-stressed third line which is left hanging in the air and in the reader's mind. Mandelbaum gives us nine syllables and four stresses in the first line, shrinking to eight syllables and three stresses in the second, and to seven syllables with two stresses in the third.

Another important effect in the phonology of the poem is the uniqueness of the high frontal /i/ phoneme of *trafitto* among the darker sounds of the other vowels. That contrast in Mandelbaum is rendered not by phonemic contrast but by the choice of an unusual English word, "impaled", which denotes a violent act whose sharpness ~~matches the~~ Italian /i/ sound, and whose explicit connotations of violent death compensate for its lesser phonemic violence than the Italian in comparison to the other sounds in the poem.

We are now shading into matters of interpretation rather than word-for-word translation. Lila Ray is right in suggesting that our judgment of the correctness of a translation will depend largely on our sense of an underlying spirit being conveyed -- though her narrative idea of an "experience" seems impossibly narrow. I think Mandelbaum's "impaled" is right because I think I know what the poet is saying. Unlike the recorded experience proposed by Lila Ray, the spirit created by the poem in me as reader is an illuminating sense of death as man's inevitable destiny. Rather than gathering friends for a sunset, the poem seems to isolate everyman on the edge of his own extinction. Sudden evening is a metaphor for death--- a simple, commonly found metaphor from the passage of time.

The meanings of Quasimodo's poem dawn on the reader through the ambiguities and dissatisfactions of the text. Discords or emptinesses in the visible text call for a deep underlying harmony that will resolve their differences. Even a short text like Quasimodo's can make demands of unity and coherence on the reader as well as the translator. Commenting on a two-line fragment Jonathan Culler (1975,p.126) writes that:

> reading poetry is a rule-governed process of producing meanings; the poem offers a structure which must be filled up ... the most obvious feature of literary competence is the intent at totality of the interpretive process: poems are supposed to cohere, and one must therefore discover a semantic level at which the two lines can be related to one another.

In the case of the Quasimodo poem, a sense of death as isolation, as crisis, as possible illumination and as darkness would appear to satisfy this requirement. The ambiguities of the syntax would also appear to point that way. Is it the "ognuno" or the "cuor" of line one that is "trafitto" in line two? If the indeterminacy of this relationship were seen as a device for associating the "everyman" with the earth's "heart", then the man shares in the piercing of the earth by the sun, and the paronomastic *rapprochement* of *solo* and *sole*, which so dazzled Lila Ray's typesetter, adds a further verbal quasi-equation to the interrelated themes of the earth's wound, the man's wound, and his isolation at the moment of realising his position. The association of "cuor" with "ognuno" also helps to remedy the facile, ingratiating lilt of "cuor della terra", which on first reading seems such a soft option: the earth's hard crust would have been a better locus of alienation, but the soft heart as target for the sun's shaft is a far more vulnerable, and telling, image.

Mandelbaum, writing in English, cannot reproduce the phonemic similarities of a minimal pair like *solo/sole* in Quasimodo's Italian; these are resources hidden in the language, and hard to duplicate. Likewise, the conclusive rightness of *sera* as a phonemic amalgam of *solo/sole* and *terra* cannot be mimicked in English. The nasal oboe-music of *ognuno* will not match its English meaning, "each", but its echo in *subito* might perhaps have been better caught if one translated "Everyone" or "Everyman" for the first word, which would also lengthen the first line by two syllables, and create a more flowing beginning, being finally echoed by another dactyl, "suddenly".

But this is a quibble. Mandelbaum has done well within the constraints of his medium. He has stuck faithfully to the literal meaning, preserving its life-giving ambiguities in his syntax, and letting the poem's spirit emerge, so far as possible, from its letter. The beautiful cadence of his last line creates a pattern of movement and fading which makes an effect in English quite as strong as Quasimodo's in Italian.

Passing to Lila Ray's alternative translation, we may note firstly how her method of translating the underlying experience has led her to expand the length of Quasimodo's poem from three to four lines; a very dangerous procedure, as the Earl of Roscommon could have told her:

> The genuine sense, intelligibly told,
> Shews a Translator both discreet and bold.
> Excursions are inexpiably bad,
> And 'tis much safer to leave out than add. (214-217)

Next we may note her high-handed remoulding of the poet's present tense into a narrative past, disastrously undermining the philosophical cast of his poem as an eternally true proposition about the human condition.

We will note her elimination of everyman, with its connotations of oneness in the sense of isolation but also the sacramental oneness of the human race, and her substitution of the close social grouping implied by the narrative formula "we plus past tense". The expansion of *trafitto* into "touched us, piercing" is misleadingly redundant, replacing a lethal skewer with a touching injection. "Our breasts separately" is an unfortunate ambiguity suggesting some wild Renaissance martyrdom; while "with light" is too soothing, as it detracts from the lethal layers of meaning in *trafitto* (though a stronger, more violent rendering of *trafitto* would make the "light" proportionately less reassuring, as we have seen). Why "cuor" should have sunk to "lap" is completely unclear; the lap is maternal or sexual, while the heart is the seat of life and love, and although Bible translators tell us that the heart must become the liver in certain African countries, there is no justification for a transplant between Italian and English (though the organ is better connected in the rhyme-scheme of Italian pop music to *amore*, *fiore* and *dolore,* while English lyricists are forced to lump heart with we're apart, and love with stars above).

Enough has been said to suggest that Lila Ray's interpretation is misleading and her choice of words unfortunate. Like the fox in Aesop's fable who knew a thousand tricks but was still savaged by the dogs, all her arsenal of linguistic techniques of analysis cannot compensate for a failure to respond to the possibilities of Quasimodo's little poem. But the dangers of mistranslation could have been minimised if she had kept scrupulously to the words and syntax of the literal text. Translation is an inherently treacherous enterprise, as the Earl of Roscommon warned:

'Tis very dang'rous tamp'ring with a Muse;
The profit's small, and you have much to lose.

But by limiting the tampering to the necessary minimum, by respecting the modest limits of the original's language, one may hope to avoid the worst pitfalls.

Admittedly, scrupulous fidelity is not the highest value in translating verse; some distortion of the original is inevitable and enjoyable. An issue of *20th Century Studies* on "Translation and transformation" (September 1974) included a stirring manifesto by Professor Guido Almansi, "In defence of mistranslating" (Almansi, 1974, pp. 64-67:

> From time immemorial the nine Muses have been held to be pure and virginal ... Such a tenacious and aggressive habit of virginity can only rouse our repressed rapist instinct... the best candidate for the role of raped virgin must be [Erato],the Muse of lyric poetry, who unwisely boasts an untouched and untouchable maidenliness ... Among the various ways of taking revenge on a poem we are too fond of, of unleashing a combined lust and vendetta on to it, is the noble and time-honoured perversion of translation. The genuine translator is driven both by his vocation and personal inclination to be unfaithful: he rejects the facile temptation to pay respectful devotion to the text in its literary meaning, and locks himself into a fight to death with the language of the love-hated poem. If the pristine language wins, the translation fails: if the language of the original is defeated, humiliated, routed by the onslaught of the aggressive translator, then some new phoenix-like creature may rise from the ruins.

The example chosen by Almansi to illustrate this method is Robert Lowell's *Imitations*, offering "violent (or should one say 'violating'?) expansions of what the original text merely suggested ... The so-called *Imitation* is therefore neither version nor creation, but an authentic bastard production ...". Violence and madness, Almansi specifies, are necessary in conducting this operation, and Lowell's declaration of his method amounts to a "poetics of anti-translation". Obviously, this approach involves "tamp'ring with a Muse" with a vengeance, and the standards applicable when judging such an effort will have to lay heavy emphasis on the skills of the violating anti-translator and the excellence of the resulting poem, giving secondary importance to the correspondence of the "imitation" with the original.

In a literary translation (or anti-translation), all deviance from the original will be evaluated according as it derives organically from the stimulations of the original text. In a non-literary setting, a far wider textual freedom is claimed as a matter of necessity in another article in the Brislin collection, "Interpretation, a Psychological Approach to Translating", where Danica Seleskovitch describes the kind of grasping at meanings which must be undertaken by the professional conference interpreter, and states that even in simultaneous interpretation, "the better the interpreter understands the meaning of what the speaker is saying, the less linguistic similarity there is between his discourse and that of the speaker" (Seleskovitch, 1976, p.112). But in the multi-layered realm of poetry, this is exactly the sort of liberty that can lead a presumptuous translator into disaster. Whatever the difficulties of comprehension, poetry is written on the principle that the meaning inheres in the form of the words, and it is only through them that we can approach it. At the very least, scrupulous attention to words will tend to facilitate the composition of a good verbal structure in the translation, whether or not it corresponds to the meanings of the original.

The moral of the present essay is that translators should cleave to the words of the original, respecting the limitations and impersonality of poetic language, rather than rashly casting aside the text and venturing in search of the "underlying" experience. Where words fail the poet, they should also fail the translator. And if this sounds too easily defeatist, it should be remembered that the logic of failure was implicit also in the poet's own original attempt to translate experience and meaning into language. In Four Quartets, T.S. Eliot warns that "the past has another pattern" and that attempts to recover and express the meaning of past experience lead inevitably to distortion ("The Dry Salvages", 86, 93-5):

> We had the experience but missed the meaning,
> And approach to the meaning restores the experience
> In a different form ...

In this pessimistic view, the past is irrecoverable, its language unintelligible. As Eliot's ghostly interlocutor tells him in his superb "imitation" of Dante's meeting with Brunetto Latini ("Little Gidding", 78-149), "last year's words belong to last year's language/And next year's words await another voice". One might recall again Steiner's remark that "we possess culture because we have learned to translate out of time", and apply it to the deliberate non-translation (and deliberately subversive translation) of the fragments from a lost culture which Eliot had "shored against his ruins" in The Waste Land, twenty years earlier. But if the past is untranslateable in terms of the present, it is equally true that the present is inexpressible except in terms of the past and its dead language ("East Coker", 172-8):

> So here I am, in the middle way, having had twenty years--
> Twenty years largely wasted, the years of l'entre deux guerres
> Trying to learn to use words, and every attempt
> Is a wholly new start, and a different kind of failure
> Because one has only learnt to get the better of words
> For the thing one no longer has to say, or the way in which
> One is no longer disposed to say it.

Poetry is an attempt to transcend this language barrier, "a raid on the inarticulate/With shabby equipment always deteriorating/In the general mess of imprecision of feeling" ("East Coker", 179-81). Eliot's view of the problems of writing poetry is not merely personal, I suggest, but has a general application, although other poets might express differently the relation between feeling and expression. And if the poet fails to transmit a personal experience, but instead makes a successful poem out of the failure of language to tally exactly with feeling, then it seems to me that the translator must refrain from officiously resolving the ambiguities of the text and presuming to complete the original meaning which the poem deliberately leaves unfulfilled.

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INTONATION ERRORS MADE BY ULSTER STUDENTS OF FRENCH

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THE IMPORTANCE OF INTONATION

Nowadays in the domain of language teaching, we can discern a shift of emphasis away from grammar and towards communicative competence. This focuses attention upon discourse and promotes a consciousness that language needs to be situationally appropriate as well as structurally correct.

In keeping with the change of emphasis is a new interest in intonation. In the field of discourse analysis, we know that intonation is semantically extremely potent. It is not the content of a statement, it is the manner in which it is uttered that makes the strongest impression upon one's interlocutor. We could regard intonation as the linguistic equivalent of non-verbal cues, which have been analysed *inter alia* by Michael Argyle (1967;1969). Argyle has shown that non-verbal style has about five times more effect than the verbal contents of an utterance and that when the verbal and non-verbal messages are in conflict, the verbal contents are virtually disregarded. Similarly in conversation, we tend to attach much more weight to the intonational colouring of an utterance than to its semantic content, when the two are in conflict. Perhaps this is because the suprasegmentals are developmentally prior to the segments. Crystal (1975, p.153) points out that at an early age, children respond to prosodic parameters at the expense of structural information and that non-segmental patterns are understood and produced prior to anything conventionally syntactic. James (1976) has carried out experiments to determine which is more important to successful communication in a foreign language - articulation or prosody. His results indicate that even when articulation is poor, an utterance with correct intonation is very acceptable.

If native speakers are so sensitive to intonational contours, then it is obvious that there is a strong possibility of an anglophone foreigner with incomplete mastery of, say, French prosody, being misunderstood. It is probable that wrong intonation patterns will greatly impair the learner's ability to use the language in an intelligible and acceptable way. The objective of the present paper is

A Model for the Programmed Development of Oral Competence

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The majority of people in the world use oral language as their primary means of communication. In our daily routine of work and leisure, speaking is taken for granted as another one of our many spontaneous behavioural processes. We speak to one individual normally with little reservation; we speak in most small intimate group settings with little or no consciousness of how we are speaking, or indeed of the fact that we are speaking. However, when you move out of the intimate face-to-face situation, or the intimate small group setting into a formal structure where some type of active oral communication is demanded, then many problems may be encountered by the speaker (Croghan, 1983).

Speaking in the non-intimate or public forum has been a subject of discussion and academic writing in America for many years. 'Speech', has been part of the American academic curriculum particularly in third level and second level colleges since the last century, but not usually in the contemporary European educational system, except as an extra-curricular activity in debating societies.

The first assumption made in this paper is that reading about public speaking will not give the reader any practical skills in speaking in the public forum; and that the confidence which enables one to speak efficiently in public will not be gained without organized practical training. The second assumption is that only a small percentage of people can speak effectively and confidently in public without some practical training or extended practice. Traditionally in our educational systems we have not always made clear enough distinctions between imparting information and skill training. Learning to speak in public is learning a skill.

Most of the literature dealing with the broad subject-area of speech deals either with a linguistic or discourse analysis of the type of language used in public (Golub, 1969; Hanson, 1981); or with elements of communication theory (Allen and Anderson, 1968); or with an elocutionary or how-to-speak-in-public approach (Horner, 1976; Mears, 1974). But it is difficult to find a framework or model which can be used for practical training in a graded programme which allows the student or client to progress in a developmental fashion. The non-linguistic type literature usually discusses the nature of public speaking, and deals with what to do and what to avoid; or deals with particular types or styles of public speaking.

While this paper uses some of the traditional material for developing oral competence in students or clients, the particular emphasis is on the developmental aspects of a model which has a logical or progressive structure. This model is not based on any theoretical linguistic or psychological framework, but is the result of practical experience which necessitated a logical framework to enable people to develop through different graded stages of speaking in formal and non-intimate situations. The framework is called A Model for the Programmed Development of Oral Competence, whereby the client progresses from a short, personal-type talk to the final stage of an impromptu speech.

The emphasis throughout the model is on monitored practice, through the nine graded stages of development, and the use of three different kinds of assessment (instructor, self and peer). An important and integral part of the training using this developmental model, is the active role the client plays as speaker, observer and assessor. The client will also avail of and operate, whatever audio-visual equipment is available.

If audio and video recording is available the students will be introduced to the equipment after the completion of Stage I. The instruction will cover the use of the tape-deck, the microphone, the camera or cameras, vision mixing, sound mixing and so on, depending on the kind of equipment available. An audio recorder would be regarded as minimal equipment. Students will be introduced to the overhead projector (OHP) at this stage also, if a machine is available. Other A-V aids will also be introduced depending on availability for student use (flip charts, flannel boards, magnetic boards, tape-slide machines, projectors etc.).

Students will participate in public speaking with sound and if available, with picture playback; use and monitor the equipment for the production; and provide a formal assessment for each speaker. (See Appendices 1-4). The students will rotate their role participation from speaker to time-keeper, to sound manager, to camera operator, to vision mixer, to membership of the participant audience. All the members will be active participants in the development of the model from Stage III onwards.

Examples of readings are given throughout the different stages. The readings and the model itself can be adapted to suit particular circumstances, as long as the basic logic of progression is retained.

STAGE I: 2-3 minute talk, Introducing Oneself.

In this first stage the student will deliver a 2-3 minute prepared talk introducing himself or herself. The content of this exercise is also useful in allowing a new group of people to learn about each other. There will not be at this stage, a lecture by the instructor on 'what to do'. Instruction generally, will be given only in the context of practice.

Timing will be strictly enforced in the first stage to induce timing discipline from the beginning. It is probably best not to use a tape-recorder at this stage because it may increase the stress load on the speakers; playing back a speech at this early stage may also be too embarrassing and discouraging, particularly for the weaker students.

ASSESSMENT:

1. Give the exact time of the talk.
2. In the first stages the instructor will be as positive as realistically possible and restrict the critique to one or two fundamental points (speaking slower, louder, looking at the audience etc.) for each speaker. Reinforce these same points when necessary, as other speakers give their talk.
3. Response and discussion will be elicited to initiate the 'audience' into the role of participant observers and assessors.
4. When a few people have given their talks, stress the importance of oral rehearsal with a tape-recorder, as well as the preparation of the content of the speech.
5. Students will be inclined to use a variety of delivery devices including reading from a complete text. Students will be encouraged to use notes only: the so-called 'extemporaneous' method where the structure and ideas have been worked out in advance and then set out in headlines and key sentences on note cards.

6. For the last five minutes of the period the two most important points for general improvement will be repeated and shown on the blackboard, whiteboard or Overhead Projector.

7. The topics for Stage II will be discussed when all students have completed the first stage.

STAGE II: 3-4 minute talk, an Incident that had an Impact on my Life.

1. Audio recroder used to record each talk.

ASSESSMENT:

1. Give the exact time of the talk.
2. Play back tape recording.
3. Open the assessment to audience, encouraging them to be positive and to give advice on improvement to the speaker. The instructor will have to restrain any very negative and potentially damaging remarks by leading the discussion and prompting with key questions.
4. Give the speaker the opportunity of self-assessment.
5. The instructor gives each speaker two points to work on.
6. At the end of class, stress the use of three aspects of human non-verbal communication: grooming, posture/stance, and movement.

PREPARATION FOR STAGE III:

1. Allocate students to give a 4-5 minute talk on a topic of their choice.
2. Allocate READINGS:
   a. "Speaking in Public" (Gondin and Mammen, 1979, pp. 36-59).
   b. "Public Speaking" (Campbell, 1975, pp. 110-134).
   c. "Notes and Memory for Lubrication" (Mears, 1974, pp. 33-42).

STAGE III: 4-5 minute talk, topic chosen by student.

1. Allocate recording duties for the period.
2. Distribute copies of Assessment Form I (Appendix 1), which enables the instructor to get the students to concentrate on the aspects important for this stage of development. This does not stifle discussion of other aspects of public speaking which may come up in the assessment discussion.
3. At three minutes a card will be displayed showing one minute remaining for the minimum time requirement; at four minutes a card will show one minute left for maximum time limit. At five minutes the speaker is stopped

even if the talk is not finished.

4. The extemporaneous mode will be encouraged, using note cards.

ASSESSMENT:

1. The speaker is told how long the speech took.
2. The recording is played back.
3. The audience completes Assessment Form I.
4. A brief discussion on assessment, with the instructor stressing the importance of the opening sentences and the endings. Examples can be given and solicited on the use of humour and anecdote.
5. The speaker will give a self-assessment, with the instructor eliciting points about delivery.
6. Completed Assessment Forms given to speaker to study evaluation by audience.

PREPARATION FOR STAGE IV:

1. Allocate students to give an Informative Speech for Stage IV, on a subject of their choice, using the extemporaneous mode. Give and solicit examples. (Physical Fitness, First Aid, Magic, Development of the Jet Engine, The Brendan Voyage, Superstitions, The Civil Defense etc.).
2. Allocated READINGS:
   a. "Presenting Information" (Nadeau, 1969, pp. 140-164).
   b. "Speaking to Impart Knowledge" (Allen and Anderson, 1968, pp. 325-360).
   c. "Speaking to Inform" (Wilson and Arnold, 1976, pp. 133-136).

STAGE IV: 5-7 minute speech, Informative.

1. Allocate recording duties and distribute copies of Assessment Form I.
2. Time is indicated at 4 minutes and at 6 minutes.

ASSESSMENT:

1. The speech is played back.
2. The Assessment Forms are completed.
3. The instructor opens the discussion: "Did the speaker inform us on ---?"
4. The speaker gives a self-assessment.
5. The instructor puts on black/white board or OHP, one or two points the speaker should concentrate on. Start to encourage the use of the OHP, if available.
6. Assessment Forms are given to the speaker.

PREPARATION FOR STAGE V:

1. Allocate speakers for the next stage, a persuasive speech. Topics are chosen by students or allocated by the instructor. Encouragement is given to the students to cooperate with each other, and to use notes only.

2. Allocate READINGS:
   a. "Understanding Uses of Persuasion" (Barrett, 1981, pp. 128-165).
   b. "The Basis of Persuasion" (Hasling, 1976, pp. 77-83).

STAGE V: 6-8 minute speech, Persuasive.

1. Allocate roles for recording and distribute Assessment Form II (Appendix 2), which is designed specifically for persuasive speaking.
2. Time is indicated at 5 and 7 minutes.

ASSESSMENT:

1. Play-back.
2. Complete Assessment Forms and discuss assessment: "Did X persuade you ---?"
3. Self-assessment by speaker. From now on the speaker will prepare a very brief written assessment of his or her own performance to be submitted for the next period.
4. The instructor will elicit or suggest one or two points for improvement and these will be shown on the black/white board or OHP.
5. The instructor will stress the importance of not depending on a fully-written out speech; that writing and speaking are two different media; and that the written form is not usually suitable for oral comprehension or oral interest. Reading a fully written out speech can also cause difficulty with time limits.
6. Give speaker the Assessment Forms filled out by the audience.

PREPARATION FOR STAGE VI:

1. Allocate speakers for the next stage, the instructive speech. Topics can be chosen by students or suggested by the instructor (e.g., a sporting topic, a 'how-to-make-a-' topic, a lesson), but the emphasis should be on personal interest.
2. Students are encouraged to use the OHP, pictures, graphs, diagrams, maps, recordings etc A student must use at least one A-V aid.

3. Allocate READINGS:
   - a. "Aids to Speaking" (MacKay, 1971, pp. 41-53).
   - b. "Developing Ideas with Audiovisual Aids" (Barrett, 1981, pp. 76-92).
   - c. "Preparing your delivery: the demonstration speech" (Hasling, 1976, pp. 106-111).

STAGE VI: 7-10 minute speech, Instructive.

1. Allocate roles for recording and distribute Assessment Form III (Appendix 3), which is designed for instructive speeches.
2. Time is indicated at 6 and 9 minutes.

ASSESSMENT:

1. Play-back.
2. Complete Assessment Forms and discuss the speech: "Did you learn ---?"
3. Discuss the use of the A-V aids.
4. Self-assessment by speaker.
5. The instructor will sum up reaction by reinforcing one or two points for improvement and will stress the importance of preparation.
6. Assessment Forms given to speaker.

PREPARATION FOR STAGE VII:

1. Allocate text-based readings or memorization based on a text.
2. Allocate READINGS:
   - a. "An Approach Through Drama" (Wise, 1967, pp. 122-132).
   - b. "Reading Aloud" (Adams and Pollock, 1964, pp. 254-290).
   - c. "Should a speech be written, memorized and recited?" (De Saint-Laurent, 1951, pp. 71-78).

STAGE VII: a. Reading from another author's text.
b. Reading from one's own written text.
c. Memorizing a text and presenting this material.

The instructor will decide on how many of the three sub-sections of Stage VII will be treated, depending on the needs and the progress of the particular group of students and the time available. It is recommended that at least one item of poetry be included under (a) or (c), as poetry reading can be a help to many people to gain insight into problems of interpretation and delivery.

In undertaking (b), the opportunity arises of comparing the recordings of the presentation by a student of material delivered by reading from a full text and material delivered in the extemporaneous mode using note cards.

ASSESSMENT:

1. Play-back.
2. During the assessment discussion, the instructor uses the opportunity of highlighting the importance of rhythm, intonation, and other nonverbal aspects such as eye contact and gestures.
3. Self-assessment by speaker who is encouraged to compare his or her reactions to using this reading or rote mode of delivery.

PREPARATION FOR STAGE VIII:

1. Allocate speakers for Stage VIII, debating, with two teams of two speakers each, a topic and a chairperson. Each speaker will speak for five minutes.
2. Notes only, to be used in debating.
3. Allocate READINGS:
    a. "Debating Issues in a Free Society" (Nadeau, 1969, pp. 243-253).
    b. "Debating" (Adams and Pollock, 1964, pp. 218-252).

STAGE VIII: 5 minute speeches, Debating.

1. Allocate recording duties.
2. Distribute Assessment Form to the others who will act as adjudicators. (Assessment Form IV, Appendix 4).
3. Time is indicated at four minutes and the speaker must stop at five minutes.

ASSESSMENT:

1. Play-back of full debate.
2. Assessment Form completed on speakers and chairperson.
3. During the assessment discussion, review the importance of team-work in debating and the duties of the Chair.
4. Announce the result of adjudication.
5. Choose the topics and teams and other roles for the completion of Stage VIII.

PREPARATION FOR STAGE IX:

1. Allocate READINGS:
   a. "Special Occasions" (Shearring, 1971, pp. 82-95).
   b. "Exercises in Impromptu Speech" (De Saint-Laurent, 1951, pp. 151-156).
   c. "Preparing for Specific Occasions" (Barrett, 1981, pp. 218-232).

STAGE IX: 3-5 minute speech, Impromptu.

1. Recording duties are allocated.
2. A topic is allocated to a student five minutes before he or she is due to speak. No notes of any kind are allowed.
3. Time indication at two minutes and at four minutes.

ASSESSMENT:

1. Play-back.
2. Assessment discussion, with the stress on the importance of being able to mould mentally a short speech around two to three points.
3. Self-assessment.

FINAL PHASE: Assessment of Course and Self-development during the Course. (Assessment Form V, Appendix 5).

Discussion of the Final Phase: The final Assessment Form (Appendix 5), was administered, for example, recently to a group of first-year third level students who underwent a course in oral communications using this Progressive Model. Sixty-seven percent (67%) of the respondents said that improving their public speaking was an important goal for them, and 76% said that improving their public speaking will be halpful to them in their future career.

The progression aspect of this model was deemed important and helpful by 70% of the respondents.

Some comments on the model in general and the Assessment section in particular, written by the participants, were:

1. "Watching other people speaking helps you to realise your own mistakes. Comments from both teacher and pupils are helpful. The more that is done the more confident I become.

2. Making speeches in front of the class helps build up your confidence and after a while you become less self-conscious.

3. It helps to develop your ability to reproduce the information which you have stored in a logical and interesting manner using a minimum of notes; and, having to look critically at yourself and realise and admit your shortcomings.

4. Listening to advice given to the different people was helpful because the mistakes usually applied to everyone. Your confidence builds up as you continue to make speeches. The last speech doesn't bother you as much as the first speech. Having to limit your time was also very helpful as you have a goal, a set time to aim for. You learn to make out notes which are concise and clear and not simply a passage to be read.

5. I found that the first speech was extremely hard and as it moved onto the next speech it seemed easier. I hate doing the speeches and would prefer to avoid doing them altogether but I realise the importance of public speaking to a career . . . and therefore I am willing to participate in the class in an attempt to improve. I found that the fact that you have to get up in front of the class with the speech helps build up your confidence for the next speech and there is definitely a progression. You improve with the number of speeches you do."

CONCLUSION:

It is believed that the strength of this developmental model lies in its graded and orderly progression; in its system of formal and informal assessment from the three sources, self, peer, and instructor assessment, in the understanding that "effectiveness of communication from speaker to listener is the only real criterion by which a speaker's ability can be guaged" (Horner, 1976, p. 9). It is also expected that self-assessment also matures the patient development of the critical faculty in other areas of life where we can learn by realistically and positively monitoring our behaviour and from progressive and constant repetition in developing not only a varied oral competence but other social skills as well.

While role play can never fully duplicate the real life situation, the model because it is developmental, constantly introduced the student to a new phase of progression. The relative formality of the delivery and the assessment procedure are helpful in not allowing the peer-audience context to generate complacency.

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is no direct transfer of Ulster intonation.

/T'as d'l'aspirine?/

The question is broken up into two tone groups. The first syllable of aspirine is stressed and the penultimate vowel is centralised in a way which is acceptable in English but not in French.

/Assieds-toi là./ /Ne t'énerve pas./

The stress is incorrectly placed on the first syllable of assieds. Là is elongated and drawn out, just as Delattre (1938) describes. The sentence Ne t'énerve pas is broken up into two tone groups with a fall-rise on pas.

/ Reste tranquille! / / Je t'en apporte. /

The French e is sounded at the end of reste and the student fails to do this in her rendering. She also omits to put the yod into tranquille. She gives foot boundaries to the statement Je t'en apporte.

/J'ai mauvaise mine?/

The student has failed to contextualise and so utters this as a declarative rather than as an interrogative sentence. She lengthens the last syllable of mauvaise, which may be the signal for a new tone group boundary. Mine is almost given a separate contour.

/T'en fais donc pas./

The French pas is much longer. The "Ulster French" falls whereas the French rises, at least until pas.

/T'es magnifique!/ /Je m'sens d'jà mieux./

In this sentence, she makes two rhythmic groups out of what is one in French.

This student seems to break her utterance up into tone groups by decoding as much as she can handle at a time. It is very obvious that she has a tendency to impose English feet on the French language.

Text: Dialogue 3 Reader: Mr. H.

A Je vous trouve un peu bizarre!
B Vous trouvez? C'est pourtant faux.
Je suis moi et j'vais bien.
A Mais vos yeux,
vous n'pouvez pas les ouvrir correctement!
B Toujours faux. J'peux les ouvrir, voyez-vous.
Mais à quoi bon!

Analysis

/ Je vous trouve / un peu bizarre /

The student repeats the word trouve twice in tones which are reminiscent of Jarman and Cruttenden's tones 1 or 2; however the native tone is somewhat modified. There is a pitch jump after un to give prominence to peu which the speaker obviously interprets as the tonic.

/Vous trouvez?/

This is similar to the French.

/C'est pourtant faux./

The French pretonic is level but the Ulster onset is high. The Ulsterman rises on pourtant and slides down on faux. The French pourtant by contrast falls and faux rises.

/Je suis moi,/et j'vais bien./

The word moi instead of being uttered with DPC rises and falls in a way which recalls Ulster tone 2 (high rise). The Ulster vowel is 'stretched out' compared with the compact French vowel. The clause et j'vais bien is much flatter in native French than in Ulster French.

/ Mais vos yeux, / vous ne pouvez pas / les ouvrir / correctement! /

There is much more pitch movement on yeux in the student's speech than in the model tape. This is evidence of a tendency to realise stress by means of pitch rather than by means of duration. There are strong stresses upon the first syllables of pouvez and ouvrir so that the sentence is, to all intents and purposes, realised in feet:

// Vous ne / pouvez pas les / ouvrir cor / rectement //

Correctement is uttered with something like Ulster tone 3 (rise-fall).

/Toujours faux./ /J'peux les ouvrir, voyez-vous./

There is a fall (SSE Tone 1) on peux and English information structure is used; one tone group is marked in tonicity. The phrase Toujours faux is contextually and informationally recoverable and so is de-stressed. The phrase voyez-vous is stressed in a way which is a carry-over from English; the tonic is on voyez.

/Mais à quoi bon?/

The word mais shows the tendency to a high onset, followed by a step-down which, as we have seen is typical of Ulster English. The tone on bon recalls Ulster 3.

Mr. H. is probably the most interesting of our three Ulster readers from the point of view of his tones. He has a clear tendency to transfer the Ulster speech melody to French and to pronounce French words with Ulster tones.

CONCLUSION

To recapitulate, we might summarise the major errors made by Ulster speakers of French as follows: failure to achieve delayed pitch change; use of pitch jump and increased intensity in inappropriate contexts; realisation of stress by means of pitch rather than duration; incorrect placement of stress (often on the first syllable) both in polysyllabic words and in sense groups; division of utterances into tone groups or feet rather than sense groups; use of schwa when a vowel should be given full value in French; transfer of Ulster tones, particularly tones 1, 2 and 3, to French; failure to achieve a tense articulation; diphthongisation and glissando applied to French vowels.

This litany of errors may sound depressing but it is hoped that it will provide guidance for teachers interested in helping their pupils to achieve a more authentic intonation in French. Often the teacher has difficulty in pinpointing precisely what are the causes of students failing to achieve a 'correct' intonation in French. These causes can really only be fully understood in a linguistic framework. However, the analysis presented in the present paper does not depend on instrumentation of any kind (apart from the use of a tape-recorder) and this must make it less intimidating and more accessible to teachers than if phonetic research techniques had been used. The present work deals with Ulster English but it would be a simple matter to work out similar contrastive analyses based upon various dialects of Southern Irish English.

NOTES

1. An analysis of a different Ulster dialect is as follows: "Intonation in Derry English: A Prelinary Study" by D.D. McElholm. The New University of Ulster: M.A. Dissertation, 1982. To be published in 1984 as an occasional paper of N.U.U.
2. A tape of the French and Ulster renderings of these dialogues may be borrowed from the author of this paper.

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MULTILINGUALISM AS A RELAXED AFFAIR : THE CASE OF THE WESTERN CANADIAN HALFBREEDS

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1. Historical Outlook

In the present climate of linguistic militancy and arguments about the merits and drawbacks of multilingualism it may be refreshing to consider groups which make little fuss about language or languages. Such groups can be found among the Canadian Halfbreeds or Metis of the Prairie provinces. The Metis are culturally and -- in Alberta at least -- legally distinct from the Indians and the Euro-Canadians. They used to be a frontier people, born from the interaction between predominantly French Europeans and predominantly Algonquian Indians in the Great Lakes region during the 17th and 18th centuries (Douaud, 1985, pp. 31ff).

Acknowledged as cultural brokers by Whites and Indians alike, they moved west with the frontier, providing the pemmican necessary for the fur trade and guiding the first White explorers into the Canadian Northwest. When the frontier eventually vanished in the second half of the 19th century, they were forced to settle down and eke out a living on a land to which they had no right of ownership. Today they have joined the Indians in those endless land claims which aim at amending older treaties or establishing new ones.

The Metis are thus genetic and cultural halfbreeds straddling two antagonistic worlds : the materialistic world of the White man and the contemplative world of the Indian. Their cultural flexibility is nowhere more obvious than in their multilingualism, usually expressed through the triad Cree/French/English. Three mental sets are therefore involved : Algonquian, Romance, and Germanic.

The resulting composite worldview can be summed up in a few words -- resourcefulness, self-reliance, and an unbounded love for the *bush* (Cree *sakāw*, French *les bois*). Settled as they may be, they still manage to lead a semi-nomadic life, surviving mostly on trapping, fishing, hunting, and seasonal employment ; and they communicate actively with all neighbouring ethnic groups.

2. Areal Multilingualism

The Metis are multilingual because they have to be -- for both historical and geographical reasons. They generally live in close contact with a Cree-speaking Indian reservation and a French Canadian settlement, and are of course exposed to the Anglo world whose influence has spread far and wide since World War I.

For them language is not a "problem". Nor is it a cultural item to which one gives conscious thought : it is rather an essential component of the bushman's panoply, and like everything else in this panoply it has to be tough, reliable, and *unobtrusive*. Typically, the Metis attitude towards language is, "If you speak Cree I speak Cree,; French, I speak French ; same for English". This statement is not as circular as it may sound : rather, it emphasizes the fact that the crucial determinant of language choice is not ideology, but simply the trigger-utterance in a particular situation.

This explains why the Canadian Metis is rather confused as regards the status of any one of his languages. When asked which of them he prefers, he often answers : "Cree, because it was my mother's language" ; then he will contradict this expression of loyalty by adding, "But I like French just as well". Only English is somewhat left in the shade in terms of emotional commitment, as it entered the Metis' linguistic economy only a few generations ago. However, its prestige is unanimously acknowledged : it is the language of the media, of the "American States" south of the border ; and more importantly perhaps, it is the tongue the younger generations need to know in order to find jobs. Not surprisingly, the Metis have no stylistic repertoire as such. Labov (1963) found the same situation on Martha's Vineyard, and related this fact to the absence of extremes of wealth and poverty on the island. The Canadian Metis can also be said to be classless, but one can argue as well that they wield languages instead of styles because the presence of a stylistic repertoire in three languages would constitute a non-adaptive cerebral overload ; a similar situation seems to obtain among the Guaraní of Paraguay (Trudgill, 1974, p. 125).

It is clear that we have here a case of areal multilingualism, contrasting with the political multilingualism characteristic of Canada as a nation and of countries such as Ireland. Political multilingualism is often aberrant from a geographical point of view : speakers of language X may live in the east, speakers of language Y in the west, and there often is very little overlap between the two linguistic areas. A stiff dose of diglossia normally accompanies such enforced multilingualism, as one variety is always more prestigious or more versatile than the other(s) ; but the lower variety, artificially boosted by generous handouts, can be given temporary prestige by certain segments of society that wish to use it as a social foil (this is the case with the upper-middle class in Canada and Ireland with French and Gaelic respectively).

Political multilingualism arises from conflicts and creates more conflicts. Like diglossia it provides only social, not individual, competence ; but unlike diglossia it is socially dysfunctional for many speakers, because the lower variety is associated with particular groups instead of applying throughout the speech community. Areal multilingualism, on the other hand, originates in a natural situation of contact, and is of necessity socially functional.

3. The Role of Interference

Cultural overlap does not go without a certain amount of linguistic overlap. When a number of languages are in everyday use, a delicate balance must be struck between linguistic ease (convergence) and linguistic effort (compartmentalization). In the absence of sociolinguistic stigmatization among the Metis, stylistic levelling operates in all three languages : although the speakers are exposed to various styles of Cree, French, and English, they produce only the vernacular register in each of these languages ; they do not for example have any active competence in High Cree (the ceremonial register), in educated French (the lingua franca of Catholic missionaries), or in the educated English they hear on radio and TV.

The cement of this style-free triad is a pervasive interference of two kinds -- grammatical and situational. A few examples of each will be given below.

(i) Grammatical interference. There is a clear pattern of interference from Cree at all grammatical levels. This pattern is so striking that many aspects of it are used as stereotypes of Metis speech by White neighbours trying to typify them. Most conspicuous of all is an intonation contour characteristic of Cree which distorts the prosodies of French and English, making them fit into its own pattern of stress, pitch, and length. Put very simply, in Cree stress (which is phonemic) is accompanied by high pitch, while the contiguous vowels are somewhat lengthened :

[ntāja^{1}n wīja^{2}s] "I have some meat"

This suprasegmental pattern is added to the intonation contour of both French and English, putting a distinctly Metis mark on them (see Douaud, 1983, for further analysis). For example :

French [ɔ̃ kōne^{2} kōmɑ̃^{3} lɪ tʃɪrɪ^{1}] "On connait comment les tirer"

English [āj dra^{2}jv māj trʌ^{1}k] "I drive my truck"

There are several examples of segmental phonetic interference as well, involving mainly palatalization and vowel raising, and diagnostic of an attraction of French and English into a general Native linguistic area characterized by allophonic raising (Douaud, 1985, pp. 110ff).

At the next level of analysis we find an obvious morphosyntactic influence from Cree. Cree has no genders, but a distinction [$\pm$ animate] : e.g., wījas "meat" is [- animate] (it is dead flesh), while *mȏswa* "moose" is $[+\ \text{animate}]$. Thus pronominal distinctions in terms of $[\pm\ \text{masc}]$ forms are simply not relevant to a speaker of Cree. The Metis extend this feature to *il*/*elle* in French, and *he*/*she*/*it* in English, and exhibit a total disregard for gender : "Ma femme *il* parlait Cree", "My grandfather *she* died when she was a hundred and five", etc. This confusion of pronouns is common among speakers of gender-marked languages who have a genderless language (e.g., Hungarian or Persian) as their native tongue ; but here no effort is made to fight this interference, and the confusion is so consistent as to deserve being called *systematic*. This may well be one of the few examples of genuine free variation -- a concept otherwise abhorrent to socially oriented linguists...

The last example of grammatical interference presented here will concern word order and the expression of possession. In Cree, possession is expressed as follows : if the possessor is represented by a morpheme with the function of possessive adjective, we have the same word order as in English or in French, viz., $[\text{adj} + \text{object}]$, as in *o-masinahikan* "his book". However, if the possessor is represented by a noun (preceded or not by an adjective), the pattern becomes $[(\text{adj})_i + \text{noun}_j] + [\text{adj}_j + \text{object}]$, as in *ki-kosis o-masinahikan* "your son's book" (lit.: "your son his book"). Again, this model has been superimposed by Metis speakers on the French and English regular word orders, and we can hear sentences thus construed : "My sister, his boy he's in Fort McMurray". Although such a construction can be heard occasionally in familiar English or French, older Metis speakers use it so consistently that it may be said to represent the regular possessive construction in their speech.

(ii) *Situational interference*. This type of interference involves automatic code-switching and code-mixing. Code-switching characterizes whole sentences, whereas code-mixing characterizes morphemes and lexemes (Labov, 1971, p. 457 ; Gumperz, 1971, p. 317). Both are tied to the situation (who you are speaking to, and where) and to the content of discourse : while talking to me in Cree and French about job opportunities in his region, an older Metis gradually lapsed into English -- simply because it is the language of employment. Also, when part of the discourse cannot be readily expressed because of a lexical gap in one language, one switches to another language without any pause or hesitation (a seemingly common phenomenon among illiterate or little-educated multilinguals).

If the two conditions are present -- a lexical gap and a particular language connotation -- and if moreover the interlocutor is known or felt to be multilingual, one often observes copious code-switching and spectacular code-mixing involving both morphemes and lexemes, of the type :

"On stakait des claims, lã, la nuit",

or "Il voulait climber un tree".

In these examples [stejk] and [k^hlajm] lose their characteristically un-Cree diphthong [ej] and consonantal aspiration, and become [st[illegible]k][klajm] while receiving French suffixes and becoming oxytones. There are of course many opportunities for Cree to get involved more directly in code-switching and mixing.

These phenomena seem to be directly proportional to the degree of emotional involvement in the discourse. Together with grammatical interference, they point to a cohesive linguistic system where separate languages are treated as related varieties of the same language. Perhaps it is this fundamental unity of speech and culture which is expressed in the Metis' most often heard statement about their linguistic economy : "It's all the same to me -- all mixed".

4. Modern Trends

Unfortunately, the linguistic versatility described so far applies almost exclusively to the older (50^+) generation : Metis culture is now paying for its relaxed attitude towards language. Like the Louisiana Cajuns (Gold, 1979), Metis elders have acted as passive repositories of traditional lore and have failed to foster defensive militancy among the younger generations. As a result, there has been in the last twenty years a steady linguistic and cultural attrition of the following type :

age	50^+	30^-
subsistence activities	trapping, fishing, hunting, seasonal employment	steady employment
group activities	Metis music and dances, Church	Rock and Country music, no Church
linguistic economy	active competence : Cree/French/English	active competence : English

As part of their liberal attitude towards modernity the Metis show a great deal of respect for education -- an instrument both of acculturation and of preservation. Even though books are not seen among the normal household items -- a feature shared with most Indian communities (see e.g., Phlips, 1975, p. 373) -- children are dutifully sent to school. But the old missionary schools where French and Cree were spoken or at least tolerated have closed down ; they have been replaced by a centralized school system that gathers children from all ethnic backgrounds and educates them through the sole medium of English. The future is bleak, then, especially since the fluidity that characterizes historical and contemporary Metis structures has caused them to be overlooked in the school curriculum : whereas there are many Indian reservation schools that teach Native languages and traditional lifeways, there is no such thing for the Metis, except in some areas of Manitoba.

If it is difficult to preserve the Metis linguistic economy, at least a great deal can be accomplished for the ethnic identity and self-image of Metis children by putting greater emphasis on literacy. That literacy has played only a minor role in the traditional Catholic schooling of the Canadian Metis is obvious from the fact that they have produced very few priests, brothers, or nuns in some 150 years of close association with the missions. This holds true for the Indians as well (Flanagan, 1979, p. 6) ; apparently the goal of the Church in North America was simply to save savage souls from damnation : the spiritual steadfastness of the aboriginal population was generally not deemed fit to be trusted with the proselytizing of other people.

It is now time for literacy to be conveyed seriously to Metis children in order to replace those traditional activities which the elders do not teach any more. Literacy should be presented as a collective, rather than solitary, activity, and should concern itself with local materials such as customs, family names, genealogies, and traditional narratives. Although a recent study (Cronin, 1980) has shown that the Indian and Metis pupils of a centralized school system are acculturated enough to recall stories with conventional European structure better than stories with traditional Cree structure, it should be possible to use the Cree structure in English so as to familiarize Indian and Metis children with the culture they are in danger of losing (see Cronin, 1982, for further elaboration). In this way cultural continuity could be preserved within the dominant society; this, after all, is the goal of what has been called the "Fourth World" of minorities.

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TITLE: TESTING A GROUP OF BILINGUAL CHILDREN WITH THE BILINGUAL SYNTAX MEASURE.

INTRODUCTION:

This paper proposes to discuss the problems involved in assessing the language proficiency of young bilinguals. The definitions of several notions associated with descriptions of bilingualism will be reviewed such as: assessment, discrete point test, integrative and pragmatic tests, proficiency, dominance and balanced bilingualism.

In a second part, the paper will report on the use of the Bilingual Syntax Measure (I and II) as elicitation procedure and measure of proficiency, with eleven children (of two different age groups) being brought up bilingually in English and French in Ireland.

The translation of the Spanish version of the BSM (I and II) into French was used after having been tested on 3 French children in France. The language productions of the bilingual subjects are compared to the language productions of 2 control groups of monolingual children of the same sex, age and socio-economic background, one living in Ireland and the other living in France.

The BSM (I and II) scoring system was calculated for all subjects tested (monolingual and bilinguals) and the reliability and validity of scores are discussed in the light of background information about the bilingual children such as the nationality of parents, language(s) spoken at home and in school and attitudes towards French and English.

While scores obtained by the use of an instrument such as the BSM must be interpreted as being to some extent a reflection of the instrument as well as of the linguistic reality under investigation, the scores obtained by the subjects in this study indicate that a considerable amount of French is or has been acquired by the bilingual children and this at no expense to their English.

It should be stressed though that the BSM only measures structural proficiency and does not describe the real language behaviour of the bilingual children. To have any real validity language productions elicited with the BSM should be compared to free speech samples. Yet the BSM was found easy to use with children from 4 to 8 years old who were not very familiar with the interviewer and it was quite productive as an elicitation procedure.

DEGREE AND FUNCTION IN BILINGUALISM:

When describing bilingualism one must distinguish as W. Mackey (1968) points out between degree and function. While function refers to when, where and why and with whom a person uses the two languages, degree refers to the competency an individual can demonstrate in two languages, to the skills and abilities of the bilingual person in using each language, to proficiency and performance.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (1981 , p. 194-217) also points to the same distinction she writes

> *"There are 2 different measures of bilingualism: reported linguistic behaviour and observed linguistic behaviour."*

Reported linguistic behaviour is usually provided by interviews and questionnaires and the first part of my research project was an analysis of two language background questionnaires (LBQ) which provided a lot of information concerning the functional bilingualism of 54 children ranging from 1 to 16 and being brought up bilingually in French and English in Ireland.

The second part of the research project concerns degree of bilingualism or observed linguistic behaviour. It concerns language assessment and how language proficiency can be measured.

LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT:

There are many approaches to language assessment and more research needs to be done, particularly on the nature of language proficiency (see Ch. Rivera 1983 and J. Cummins 1984, p.142-144). What should the main aims of language assessment be?

Language Assessment should determine certain facts about language use and enable the rating of bilingual proficiency; it should give valid information about what language or languages the child speaks and understands and how well, and language assessment should also show to what purposes the child can use both languages. The most common way of getting a measurement of bilingualism by objective observation is by means of tests.

TESTS:

Different kinds of tests have been used to measure bilingual language proficiency, tests which were developed by linguistis, psychologists, sociologists, educationalists and which measure different aspects such as interference, speed and automatic functions, in what situations the bilinguals use their two languages and the size of the repertoire in both languages.

Most tests for bilinguals use methods of measurement which test each of the bilinguals' two languages separately with monolingual proficiency as the norm. Such tests are based on the dual code theory which assumes that bilinguals have two separate linguistic rule systems. The dual code theory is challenged in particular by Jim Cummins (1984) who proposes the one-code theory and a very interesting model of bilingual proficiency (Cummins, 1984, p.138).

DOMINANCE:

The dual code theory has also led to the notion of dominance in bilingualism. In many tests the balance between two languages has been used as a measurement of bilingualism. The assumption is that the more equal the balance between the languages the more bilingual the speaker is and the language receiving the highest score is said to be the dominant one. Since 1968 Fishman has been criticising the use of balance between languages as a measure of bilingualism on the grounds that this defines balanced bilingualism as the ideal. Balanced bilinguals are very rare: Fishman (1968) writes:

> *"Bilingual societies do not produce bilinguals whose languages are in balance. Bilingual societies produce those kinds of bilinguals whose one language is dominant in one area and whose other language is dominant in another. A method of measurement with balance as the ideal is unrealistic."*

Fishman goes on to say that bilingual dominance varies from domain to domain and this must be taken into account when deciding on the selection of content used in a test to measure bilingual proficiency.

Another aspect to the notion of dominance is discussed by Burt Dulay and Hernandez (1976) who write:

> *"The parameters that comprise language dominance are as follows: lexicon, structural proficiency, phonological control, fluency, communicative skills. Dominance in one parameter does not imply dominance in the others."*

Shuy (1977) criticizes Dulay Burt and Hernandez's definition of dominance because dominance tests only address themselves to a spoken competence in specific areas of language but say nothing of one's ability to communicate effectively. The problem of measuring a bilingual's ability to communicate raises other theoretical considerations concerning the elaboration of tests.

DISCRETE POINT TESTS AND INTEGRATIVE TESTS:

When looking at language tests one must distinguish between discrete point testing and integrative or pragmatic testing.

Discrete point tests generally means that each point of language is tested separately, whereas integrative tests look at language as a whole and focus on the total communicative effect of an utterance. The main advocate of pragmatic testing is J.W. Oller. He writes in "Focus on the Learner" (1973) (edited by Oller and Richards):

> *"Tests which aim at specific points of grammar are less effective than tests that require the integration of skills. Integrative tests more closely parallel, the communicative use of language."*

The debate between the two approaches goes on and both kinds of approaches are interdependant and necessary (see E. Ingram, 1978)

There are many theoretical issues which have important implications for the techniques of language testing and which are being discussed today. (see Shuy, in "Focus on the Learner", 1973), but all this research interest has produced very little up to now:

> *"Despite all this research interest , disappointingly little has happened. Finding a test or elaborating a test is a very serious problem."*
>
> (T. Skutnab-Kangas, 1981, p.210)

Apart from books and articles reporting on the use of tests for bilinguals three volumes of published tests were consulted: Synes (1975) describes and analyses nine tests for the bilingual child. The Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory in Los Angeles published one volume in 1976 where 24 different tests are described. The tests purports to assess oral language skills but none of the 24 tests are rated above fair in a 3 point scale of good to poor in terms of validity or technical excellence. The second volume published in 1978 is a descriptive catalogue of 342 oral and written tests.

THE BILINGUAL SYNTAX MEASURE (BSM):

For various reasons such as the age of the subjects, the attractiveness of its drawings and ease of administration, the Bilingual Syntax Measure (1975) was chosen for this project.

There are two BSMs, the BSM I to be used with children from age 4 to 7 or eight and the BSM II to be used with children age 7, 8 and older. The

BSM consists of two colourful booklets of cartoon style pictures without any text. The aim of the authors were to design an instrument to measure children's oral proficiency in English or Spanish grammatical structures, by using natural speech as a basis for making judgments.

> *"The BSM encourages children to express their thoughts and opinions freely. The syntactic structures that the children use to express their thoughts are the important factors of structural proficiency. If both English and Spanish are used it can be used as an indicator of language dominance with respect to basic syntactic structures."*
>
> Burt Dulay Hernandez (1975)

The BSM is based on discrete point theory and on the notion of dominance. It's administration is very simple: an examiner asks specific questions written out in a student booklet and writes down exactly in the booklet the answers given by the child. The answers are scored later. The questions are formulated to elicit obligatory uses of the grammatical forms wanted and the test in one language lasts from 10 to 15 minutes per child. The BSM I and the BSM II each contain twenty five questions which are designed to test syntax, not vocabulary, pronunciation or functional use of language.

The BSM has been used and assessed by many researchers since its publication, such as Boyd (1975), Cohen (1976), Gil (1976), Harrison (1976), Helmer (1977) etc. The strongest and most interesting criticism of the BSM are to be read in Oller (1979), Skutnab Kangas (1981) and in a very good review of the BSM by Ellen Rosanski (1979). Rosanski (1979, p.116-139) seriously questions the reliability and validity of the BSM.

HOW THE BSM WAS USED IN THIS PROJECT:

The Spanish version of BSM I and II were translated into French and tested on three French monolingual children of age 5, 8 and 10 living in France. A list of the French structures elicited was drawn up and analysed.

See Table 1.

TABLE 1

Structures elicitées par la BSM II Français

1. Futur immédiat
   SN pluriel

3. Passé Composé & place
   pronom direct pluriel

4. Ct de nom-
   du - de la

5. Question directe

6. Cond^{el} passé avoir
   SN sing. être

7. parce que + SN + SV

8. Subjonctif ou
   donner un ordre
   demander de faire q.chose

9. C^{el} présent SN pluriel
   sing

10. présent ind
    SN sing

11. question directe ou
    indirecte

14. article + nom masc/fem
    ind.

15. subj. présent (id)
    & Ind présent
    (vb regulier ou irrégulier)

16. Futur immédiat

17. avoir faim
    SN sing

18. Cond^{el} présent
    SN sing

19. Cond^{el} passé

20. question directe
    ou indirecte

22. passé composé
    avoir SN pluriel

23. passé composé
    avoir ou être
    SN pluriel

24. passé composé
    avoir ou être
    SN sing

25. Cond^{el} passé
    reg ou irrégulier

While the BSM was developed as a test as culturally fair as possible the author of the translation being of French nationality but having lived in Ireland for 10 years, didn't notice any element that might be unknown to children living in France. Yet the younger subjects didn't recognize the picture of sandwiches which do not have the shape or colour of French sandwiches and which in France, would only be eaten in a picnic situation. Another example of cultural differences between the French subjects and the bilingual and Irish subjects was expressed in answers to the following question: "Why were the rabbit and frog so scared?" Only the French children answered that the animals were afraid to be cooked and eaten!

SUBJECTS:

18 subjects were tested with the BSM I and 15 with the BSM II. The first group of subjects consisted of 6 bilingual children (5 boys and 1 girl) ranging in age from 4.6 to 5.8 and 2 control groups consisting of 6 monolingual French subjects living in France (age from 4.7 to 5.7) and 6 monolingual English speaking children living in Ireland (age from 4.11 to 6.)

The second group of subjects consisted of 5 bilingual children (3 girls and 2 boys) ranging in age from 7.8 to 8.9 and 2 control groups consisting of 5 monolingual French children living in France (age from 7.10 to 8.10) and 5 monolingual English speaking children living in Ireland (age from 7.11 to 8.10)

The bilingual subjects were selected among 54 bilingual children whose mother and father completed extensive language background questionnaires. The control groups were chosen to match the sex, age and socio-economic status(SES) of the bilingual children. Profession and level of education of both parents were asked as an indicator of S.E.S.

Testing:

Three examiners were involved: two in Ireland who are bilinguals themselves and raising their children bilingually (though the subjects were not their own children) and one examiner in France who is a monolingual French speaker and works as a child librarian.

Usual problems with testing young children were encountered such as shyness, tiredness, colds and cough as testing took place in Winter. Testing the older group was much easier, though some children were shy and some parents were reticent. However, when the BSM was shown to parents and when they realised how little time it would take, parents were reassured and happy to cooperate.

While monolingual children were given either the English version of the BSM or the translation into French, bilingual children were given the BSM first in French, then in English. One child only (in the younger age group) couldn't answer the examiner in English after having answered her first in French. He continued answering in French despite her asking the questions in English. The test was discontinued and redone a few days later with the child's father who is of Irish nationality. All questions were answered in English.

The whole test was tape recorded for all subjects and transcribed, since the aim of the research is to obtain samples of French and English rather than just scores indicating dominance.

Scoring:

Scoring according to the guidelines laid down in the technical handbooks by the authors was also calculated and found to be easily and quickly done in most cases. The scoring recommended for the BSM I will place the child at a level of proficiency going from level 1 to level 5 and from level 1 to level 6 for the BSM II.

TABLE 2

BSM I — BSM level of proficiency

level 1 : Children are at the beginning of the process of learning a language.

level 2 : describes receptive language only.

level 3 : survival level ability.

level 4 : intermediate level for children aged 7,8. proficient and comparable to NS for children aged 4,5,6.

level 5 : proficient - NS.

BSM II

level 1,2,3 : same as BSM I

level 4 : intermediate level - errors often made.

level 5 : high degree of proficiency approaching native speakers for younger children (7,8)

level 6 : fully proficient - NS.

Some of the answers though were difficult to score since the children didn't always produce the expected grammatical forms. In several cases the children simplified.

Example:

Question	:	Comment la famille a retrouvé la nourriture?
Expected answer	:	les oiseaux l'ont rapportée
answer given by 2 children	:	grâce aux oiseaux.

The authors of the BSM recommend that 1 point should be scored for each answer which is grammatically correct and appropriate. The simplified answer given by the two children should then be scored as correct but it certainly does not show that they are able to produce a "passé composé" with a plural subject and a direct pronoun properly placed.

Analysis of scores obtained by the SS in this project:

It should be stressed at this point that results obtained by the use of an instrument such as the BSM must be interpreted as being to some extent a reflection of the instrument as well as of the linguistic reality under investigation.

The scores in Table 3 and 4 are only an indication of the children's structural proficiency in English and/or French in relation to speech they produced, answering the questions of the BSM.

TABLE 3: BSM I

RESULTS

Ss	Sex	B	B	B	B	B	G
6 Mono English	Age	6	5.9	5.2	5.1	4.11	5
	Score E	5	5	5	5	5	4
6 Bilingual French/ English	Age	5.8^{A}	5.1^{B}	4.11^{C}	4.10^{D}	4.6^{E}	4.6^{F}
	Score E	5	4	4	3	4	4
	Score F	4	2	1	2	4	4
6 Mono French	Age	5.7	5.0	4.10	4.10	4.5	4.7
	Score F	5	5	3	3	4	5

E: English. F: French.

Ss	Nationality		Lang at School	Language(s) at home	Scores	
	Mother	Father			French	English
A	F	I	F	Mother speaks French. Father speaks English.	4	5
B	F	I	E	Mother speaks French all the time Child refuses French.	2	4
C	F	I	E	Mother no longer speaks French	1	4
D	I	I	E	Mother speaks French all the time. Child refuses French.	2	3
E	F	I	F	Mother speaks French. Father speaks English.	4	4
F	F	I	E	Mother speaks French. Father speaks English.	4	4

TABLE 4: BSM II

RESULTS

Ss	Sex	G	G	B	G	B
5 Mono English	Age	8.10	8.7	8.4	7.11	7.11
	Score E	6	6	6	6	6
5 Bilingual French/ English	Age	8.9 [A]	8.4 [B]	7.9 [C]	8.0 [D]	7.8 [E]
	Score E	6	6	6	5	6
	Score F	5	6	2	5	6
5 Mono French	Age	8.10	8.7	8.2	8.2	7.10
	Score F	6	6	6	6	6

Bil Ss	Nationality		Lang at School	Language(s) at home	Scores	
	Mother	Father			French	English
A	E	E	F	English and French	5	6
B	F	I	E	Mother speaks French all the time.	6	6
C	F	I	E	English mostly.	2	6
D	E	F	F	English mostly	5	5
E	F	I	E	Mother speaks French all the time.	6	6

The scores go from 1 to 5 for the BSM I and from 1 to 6 for the BSM II and correspond respectively to 5 and 6 levels of proficiency. (see Table 2)

BSM I: SUBJECTS AND RESULTS

The six bilingual subjects were chosen according to the information given in the LBQ and to enable comparisons; 5 children have mothers of French nationality and fathers of Irish nationality whose first language is English or Irish.

SUBJECTS D AND B:

One child (subject D) has two Irish parents but his mother speaks French to him all the time. (She was a teacher of French before she had children). He achieved a score of 2 on the BSM I in French and the language he produced was compared to the productions in French of subject B, who also scored 2. Subject D produced more French than subject B and indeed produced whole sentences (short) whereas subject B only produced words and one short sentence.

Examples:

Subject D : il a enlevé les chaussures
il est un roi
il a mangé
il mange
il mange tout

Subject B : manger
a mangé
donner tout ça

While the two boys agreed to look at the BSM booklet and answer the examiner in French (up to a certain point) both are reported by their mother to refuse to speak French. Both have been on holidays in France which could have given them negative feelings towards France. Subject D was lonely in France and while he used to speak French to his mother before the holidays, refused to do so on his return to Ireland.

Subject B (according to his mother) has always refused to produce any sentences in French, he only produces words. His holidays in France were also disturbed by a lot of family confrontations but his parents hope that his next holiday in France will have a positive effect since the child will be, with cousins of his own age.

The scores in English for subjects B and D differ substantially. Subject B has a high score in English (4) whereas subject D has a low score (2). It is interesting to note that the BSM E gave this low score for it seems to confirm what the child's parents were told by the primary school teacher when the child entered school, i.e. that his level of English was lower than other children (monolingual English-speaking) of the same age and living in the same area.

SUBJECT C:

Subject C is a boy aged 4.11 at the time of testing, whose mother is French and whose father is Irish. His mother spoke French to him all the time when he was a baby but stopped when she heard from another French mother that her child could be refused entry into an Irish primary school if the child didn't speak English. She now speaks French only occasionally having lost the habit of addressing him in French all the time.

This example shows the problems facing parents wanting to speak a language other than the majority language to their children, and how lack of proper information can lead to abandonning such an endeavour. It should also be pointed out that children in Ireland start primary school at age 4 which is a crucial period for language development.

SUBJECTS A E F :

Subjects A and E are boys and subject F is a girl. As well as sharing high scores in English and French they also share other characteristics. The three children have French mothers and Irish fathers and in the three families the strategy of person is used with the mother addressing the children in French all the time. The difference between these children is that subject A and E have been attending the French School in Dublin for several months but subject F attends an English-speaking school. While the scores for the three children are the same in French, subject A has a higher score in English which is probably due to his age. He is a year and two months older than subject E and F.

A more detailed linguistic analysis of the children's production in French will be carried out later on.

RESULTS OF THE BSM II:

The scores obtained by the children after answering the questions of the BSM II in French and in English are more uniform than scores of the BSM I.

SUBJECTS B & E and A & C:

The interesting differences are between subjects B and E and A and C. Subjects B and E (a girl aged 8.7 and a boy aged 7.8 at the time of testing) both go to an English-speaking school and speak French at home with their mother all the time. Subjects A and D (two girls aged 8.9 and 8.0) have both been attending the French School since age 4. In the case of subject A, both parents are of English nationality but fluent speakers of French and they speak French and English with their children. Subject D has a French father and an English mother and very little French is spoken at home.

The scores achieved by the two children speaking French at home with their mothers are higher than the scores of the two children attending the French School. It would seem to indicate that children (of 7½ and 8½ years old) tested with the BSM II achieve a higher level of structural proficiency than children of the same age being educated in French. It would be interesting to repeat such a study on children one or two years older or, on the same subjects in a year or two and check whether children speaking French at home only, still achieved higher scores than children in French schools, on tests of oral structural proficiency.

Obviously as mentioned before the BSM only tests structural proficiency and reading and writing should also be tested to give a more integrated view of the language achievements of the children under study.

Subject C:

Subject C is a boy aged 7.9 at the time of testing, the third child in a family of three children and his mother (of French nationality) speaks mostly English at home (the father is Irish and knows little French). The boy certainly understood the questions in French but had great difficulty answering in French. He is reported by his mother to manage quite well when he goes to France on holidays.

Some differences in the language productions in French of the bilingual children and the monolingual French children:

On the lexical level, French children used words such as "picorer" (present in textbooks used in France) and familiar words like "la bonne femme" and "piquer" instead of "voler".

On the morphosyntactic level, the bilingual children do not always produce the obligatory liaison as in for example:

"il les a enlevées."

On the syntactic level, the place of direct and indirect pronouns is also a difficulty for bilingual children and on the cultural level it was amusing to note that French children thought the bad family was going to catch the rabbit or the frog in order to eat them!

There were also some similarities in the errors (developmental) of bilingual and monolingual French children, for example:

"ils croirent" instead of "ils croient"

was produced by two French children and two bilingual children.

Comparisons of scores in English and French (BSM II):

If one looks at the scores obtained by subjects B, D and E, they are equivalent in English and French. Yet more detailed analysis of the language productions shows that the three bilingual children (subjects B, D, E) produced a greater number of correct sentences in English than in French. In one case the speed of answering was much quicker in English than in

French but this could be due to the fact that the questions were the same (as far as content) in English and in French.

If the BSM gives an indication of achievement in French on the structural level it is not a refined enough instrument if one only takes into account the scores. While the scores in English confirm that the children's English is the same as monolingual native speakers of English, the scores in French do not account for differences between monolingual native speakers of French in France and the French produced by the bilingual children growing up in Ireland.

CONCLUSION:

The scores obtained by the children in this study are very encouraging for parents speaking French to their children at home. The samples of French elicited with the BSM II (by the subjects in the older age group) show that some French, indeed quite a lot of French, is being acquired by the children who communicate only in French with their mother (and also by the children who attend the French School). But again, what the BSM gives is an indication of structural proficiency in French and English but it does not describe the real language behaviour of the children. One example of this is that the language elicited by subjects in the second age group shows no language mixing and very little interference. This does not reflect the real language behaviour of the children but the design of the test (the children were asked to answer questions in French first and then in English). Subject B for example, did not mix English and French in her answers but often does so in conversation with the interviewer.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect to the results obtained with the BSM in this project is that children who spend most of the day in an English-speaking environment but speak French to their mother at home (all the time), achieve equal or higher scores than children going to a French-speaking school (and speaking some French at home).

Further linguistic analysis of the French samples elicited with the BSM II in French by monolingual French speakers living in France and by the bilingual children in this study will be carried out.

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TWO YEARS ON : A SAMPLE OF MOTHER CHILD INTERACTION IN A SECOND LANGUAGE

0 INTRODUCTION

The tape (and transcript) on which this paper is based is a sample of Irish produced by myself and my daughter Eithne during a conversation we had in November 1984. She was then 5 years and 5 mths. old. It is my intention to use it as an example of what can be achieved informally in terms of second language acquisition, comment on some of the constraints imposed on interaction between mother and child by use of a second language and indicate some features which reveal the processes by which one small child is learning to communicate in a second language.

1 BACKGROUND

Until Eithne was 3, no-one had ever spoken systematically to her in Irish. She may have recognised some sounds; we speak some Irish at home, mainly in connection with school (her older brother and sister and since last September Eithne herself attend an all-Irish school); we have Irish-speaking friends, go to Irish functions and spend some of our holidays in the Gaeltacht. Aged 3 years and 3 months she began attending a Naíonra, where as one of a group of 10 children the stiúrthóir spoke only Irish to her and this was reinforced to some extent at home. I began to take a specific interest in her language development just over a year ago, developing a policy of using Irish with the children in anything connected with school and spending on average, one hour per week with Eithne, reading to her in Irish and encouraging her to speak in Irish.

The recording was made two years into her exposure to Irish. It is worth commenting on the fact that after one year in the Naíonra, while she showed evidence of comprehension, her production was limited to a series of context-bound utterances, most of which had been selectively encouraged and practised there.

eg Dia dhuit, a bhean!
is liomsa é.
Ba mhaith liom briosca/bainne/péint dearg/leabhar.

It was only in the second year that she began to show signs of refining and developing systems for herself in ways that did not reflect directly the input of the Naíonra.

2 ATTITUDES

Since her mother turned into a would-be linguist, Eithne finds herself encouraged, cadjoled and sometimes threatened into maintaining use of Irish in the contexts of school, church and Irish-speaking friends and beyond. Of the three methods, neither threats nor surprisingly encouragement are really effective. Threats, because being of independent mind, she simply refuses to cooperate, resorts to tears or stops talking.

Parental encouragement is often cited as a prime motivating factor in the learning of Irish in school. But Eithne frequently declines to follow me in speaking Irish, protests that she doesn't want to, produces a few words and asks "Can we not talk English now." At this stage she is reasonably fluent and is skilled at borrowing, so lack of ability is not the problem. She visits a lot with an Irish-speaking friend and takes for granted the fact that she must speak Irish to the adults there. In fact, before she goes, she practises phrases she might need, like how to say what time she has to come home at. Last Christmas, in the company of her non-Irish-speaking Granny and an Irish-speaking stranger, she embarked on a complicated explanation, in Irish, of a card game they were playing, with no hint that she felt inadequate for the task. It is not that she is unaware of the limitations of her competence in Irish; initially she was very reluctant to attempt to say anything she felt unsure of, but her confidence has increased with her competence throughout the last year, given an interlocutor she accepts.

A clue to her attitude is revealed in a comment she passed to a friend recently. Mary-Anne, who is also English-speaking but encouraged to use the Irish she has picked up at school, was visiting and thanked me for something saying "Go raibh maith agat!" Eithne immediately rounded on her with "You don't have to speak Irish here; this isn't an

Irish house"!

It seems then that Eithne though now a fairly competent speaker, has her own-found objections to casual language switching. She is not willing to substitute one language for another without good reason. Her criterion may be that the interlocutor consistently use one language with her although all the Irish-speakers she meets do sometimes resort to English if she has difficulty understanding or there are English-only-speakers present. Equally it might be that she imitates me and speaks Irish with people with whom she observes me speaking Irish; exceptions to this would be other children with whom she almost always speaks English. Even in the contexts of church and school where my use of Irish is fairly consistent, she tends to limit herself to short transactions and quickly resorts to English. On occasions she negotiates a limited period during which she is prepared to humour me on condition that we shift back to English afterwards. This tendency was less marked while she attended the Naíonra and may even only be a passing phase. It does however indicate the existence of constraints, tied up with the whole mother-child relationship and the movement away from familiar circumstances into a new world where so much is different that the child is inclined to cling to what she is used to.

It is because I have undertaken a longitudinal study of Eithne's language development that many of these factors have become apparent. I have had to find ways of recording material and getting her to respond to my prompting. This is where the cadjoling method comes in, by which I mean going out of my way to coax her to respond, inventing contexts in which she can safely cooperate, being prepared to shift from reality into a dimension of play and fantasy. After a year of my "linguistics", she knows all about the tape-recorder and is thoroughly bored with it. Initially she was persuaded by the novelty of hearing herself on tape; now that novelty has worn off, it has become increasingly difficult to get her to perform at my convenience. Of the half-hour sessions some stand out as being particularly productive in terms of her participation in the interaction and in the range of expression she uses. A good example is the one here reproduced in transcript form, dated 23/11/1984.

3 TRANSCRIPT

To outline briefly what is happening - Eithne came in to where I was reading the paper in the kitchen and agreed to speak on the tape. She elected to tell a story and found an annual "Twinkle" and proceeded to outline several of the stories there.(not reproduced) I tried to persuade her to talk about what had happened that day, ending up with her in tears when asked about an incident in school. She much preferred the impersonal exercise of story-telling. (T57-83)

I then sent her upstairs to get Miffy, a favourite toy rabbit, which she did switching immediately into a much more cooperative mood, singing and laughing. We played a Red-riding-hood and the wolf game where I asked about Miffy's big eyes, ears, mouth and legs, to which she responded innovatively (T162), illustrating her answers (T170). She then directed the conversation to another toy, Mrs. Tittlemouse and went off to find her. (T188) She invented a story about her, reintroduced the carrot (T238) and set about providing food for both toys, with commentary.

My attempts to bring the conversation back to reality were given scant attention (T276), she was much more interested in her own game. Her attention was attracted to some extent when she invented an Irish version of Shepherds' Pie - Aoirí Tarta - and began thinking of outlandish replies to my queries about what she has for dinner (ridiculous queries anyway because I'm the one who provides the dinners and must know what's in them.) This quickly led to her growing bored with the whole affair and demanding an end to it.

The tape shows clearly then, evidence of the constraints I have spoken of - willingness to cooperate for a limited period, for the reward of hearing herself speak on the tape and also to please me. She rejects personal communication with her mother about an incident at school. There is a complete switch in the nature of the interaction when it develops into a game and return to lack of interest as the game peters out. Her interest is sustained as long as her terms are adhered to. While there are some grammatical inaccuracies, she always communicates. She has to resort to English for lexical items but there is only one complete code-switch during the game (T250) and that in fact constitutes a demand outside the game which she quickly corrects.

The language she uses though, in the game section, is spontaneous and in her role as Miffy or Mrs. Tittlemouse she is conducting everyday transactions. The running commentary she gives on her actions is unusual for her; this sort of natural monologue I had only ever heard from her in English before. She enters fully into the context of the game, carrying over appropriate language behaviour and showing a remarkable flow of Irish with only minor hesitation.

4 ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE USED

There are many aspects of the content of this transcript worth examining - her noun morphology, use of prepositions, code switching, complex sentences. I intend to concentrate on one - her developing verb morphology and in particular her responses to questions.

Over the last year, I have observed her progress from a point where she loaded a single word, usually a noun, with enough intonation to convey the meaning of a complete sentence or assembled unanalysed chunks into an approximation of her meaning, from that to the point of this transcript and beyond. Evidence of this progress is clearly visible in the transcript. One example is her alternation between Future and Present Continuous forms of the verb "bheith" in an effort to find the required Pres. Cont., a form non-existent in English. I cannot say with any certainty whether her use of the Future form is based on a formal or a semantic similarity; I have noticed that she generally acquired Future forms before Present and used them, apparently indiscriminately for both tenses. She shows here (T72, 138, 168, 229, 300) that she is aware of a distinction, can reply appropriately and in one or two instances find the correct form for herself. A further example of her developing competence is to be found at T252. Lacking an alternative, she uses the most salient form she knows of the verb without adding an appropriate ending but with enough markers to make it an unmistakeable interrogative -"An oscail tú mé?" There is only a limited range of verbs used in this text but the extent to which she has refined her use of the past tense can be seen in her ability to prefix the required d' to "ith", a new element in her production. (T296)

Given the conditions under which she is operating, I find it difficult to understand the compulsion which forces these efforts, her continued search for the exact form to suit the occasion. It is in part the compulsion to achieve accurate communication but it seems also to have a momentum of its own.

Of particular relevance in this context is her whole approach to the answering of questions. When I reviewed the first recordings I made with her, I was worried by the inordinate number of questions that formed my share of the discourse, while her contribution was limited to answering, often in only one word. Many of the studies of child language pay special attention to the child's development of question forms but gave me no material with which to compare the answers Eithne was producing. I was afraid, not only that the type of language I had taped was unnatural, but also that her development of Irish would be affected by this one-sided interaction.

In fact, studies of mother-child discourse show this predominance of questioning by the mother to be quite normal in first language development. (Olsen-Fulero and Contorti, 1983) The questions serve a wide range of functions and according to the authors

> "play a critical role in child development".

As well as enabling her to participate in an interaction while possessing only a minimum of vocabulary and syntax, this question-answer structure can be seen to have played an important role in Eithne's development of the verbal system of Irish. I have no information as to whether this also applies to Irish acquired as a first language.

Irish is a language without positive or negative answering particles -- there is no yes or no. Questions are answered by echoing the verb of the question. Mícheal O Siadhail has examined the system in Eriú 24 (O Siadhail 1973) where he notes that native speakers in various ways have adopted yes/no equivalents under the influence of the system of English.

When I first began to take an interest in Eithne's linguistic development a year ago, it seemed that she, and the other children in the Naíonra were using "tá" and "níl" as yes/no substitutes. These are possibly the most salient positive/negative elements in the data presented to children by speakers who resist borrowing yes/no from English or using any of the Gaeltacht substitutes. (Certainly in the present transcript, appropriate forms of the substantive verb "bheith" were by far the most predominant.)

From the data presented to her, one might wonder how Eithne ever discovered the declarative form at all, much more so what motivates her relentless progression towards accuracy. From the tá/níl stage I mentioned above, it has been possible to observe a steady development. The first indication was a growing awareness of tense which is quite clear in her answer to the following question dated 10/2/84

M: Ar tháinig Santa chuig Eithne? E: Tá
M: Tá? E: Bhí

The same conversation goes on to show the beginnings of an answering system

M: Bhí ... cad a thug sé? E: Sindy
M: Thug sé Sindy duit? Ar thug sé Sindy do Róisin? E: Ní thug
M: Níor thug - ar thug sé Sindy do Cormac? E: Ní(r) thug

This led to errors in the case of the irregular verbs, where she tended, and still occasionally does so, to return the dependent form of the question. Her answering of "raibh" to the question "An raibh" is perhaps the most notable example. It is curious that it persists despite the fact that she now controlls the past tense of this verb and uses it frequently.

I was surprised by Eithne's ability to utilise this type of formal strategy in a highly profitable way. It not only revealed her grasp of the concept of an echo-stategy but also the depth of her committment to the VSO word order of Irish. The echo strategy is simple in that she needed only to isolate the salient verb and return it, but complex in that she did in fact distinguish a whole range of sentence initial particles - cad, cá, cé leis, cá háit, conas. She also distinguished copula + adj. forms which are similar in surface structure to questions involving verbs -

eg ar mhaith leat?
an féidir leat

Initially she had some difficulty in distinguishing between "ar" and "an" in these constructions, answering both "ar mhaith leat" and "an maith leat" (would you like and do you like) with "ba mhaith liom" (Iwould like) but as can be seen T146-149, this is no longer a problem. She is attentive to changes in meaning caused by these initial particles. This process seemed to be occurring at the same time as she was sorting out questions involving verbs.

I have no examples of her confusing forms like "an maith" with a verb form and answering *"mhaith", omitting the copula. She kept the two systems separate until the period reflected in this transcript - T307, 365-367, 376 where she begins overgeneralising, taking forms appropriate to copula +adj. constructions over into verbal constructions, on what basis it is difficult to say. "Is thaitin" is perhaps semantically similar to "Is maith" and even formally, both require use of a preposition to express the agent, but "thaitin" is a verb and is used with a subject in the question "Ar thaitin sé leat?" "Is bhfaca" is a verb to which she has often replied in the form "bhfaca". She has not yet correctly sorted out its past tense, confusion arising because its dependent form, used in the question "An bhfaca?" is completely dissimilar from the declarative "chonaic". To that extent it is a candidate for experimentation but the same cannot be said for "Is bhfaigheann". It seems counterproductive here to have chosen to transcend the system but there may be a positive benefit in that it shows increased awareness of the copula. From the beginning she used copula + adj. constructions freely but recently she has begun to extend its usage, being able to ask

"An é sin mo cheannsa?"

Whether she will ever make it beyond the stage of saying*"Tá sé mo chara" remains to be seen.

Along with the echoing strategy, she also acquired the ability to know when it could be used appropriately and when one might reformulate the answer with no or sea, or as in T255

M: Ar éirigh leat? E: Is féidir

Ability to answer yes/no questions may not seem such a huge achievement, but it is something that many learners of Irish never accomplish. It also played a crucial role for Eithne in that it seems as though verbal forms first appear used in answering position and after that in independent usage, very much as in the process she can be seen to be developing here for the Pres. Cont. "bíonn".

There are other aspects of her control of syntax which did not appear overnight but which give evidence of dedicated attention to detail -

eg Ar mhaith leat mé chloisint ar an táp?
Is féidir liom tumbles a dhéanamh
Caithfidh tú iasc a piocadh suas
Tá sé in am dinnéar a fháil

Again one is faced with an imponderable - why when she already controlls one language system, is she prepared to invest so much time and trouble in another which she can only perceive as being of limited use?

I have no ready explanation to account for it, but I feel it is a phenomenon well worth exploiting. The most obvious characteristic of her methods is a functional one - she ignores vast tracts of grammar and syntax, concentrating on what is required immediately for accurate communication of her message. Despite constraints, she is willing and eager to progress towards competence in a second language.

At the time this tape was made, the input had been largely from the Naíonra with some back-up from home. The result is, I think, impressive, not as an example of individual brilliance, but as an example of what can be achieved informally by children of this age.

M Inis dom anois, inis don táp cá raibh tusa anois díreach sula dtáinig tú isteach.	Tell me now, tell the tape where you were just now before you came in.
E Bhí mé ag Macdonalds inniú. (T59)	I was in Ms today.
M An bhfaigheann tú Pizza istigh i Macdonalds?	Do you get Pizza in Ms?
E Níor bhfaigheann tú Pizza.	You don't get Pizza.
M Cad a fhaigheann tú istigh i Macdonalds?	What do you get in Ms?
E Tá sé cogar.	Its a whisper.
M Bhuel cogar. Gaeilge le do thoil.	Well whisper, Irish please.
E I don't want to. Níor mhaith liom a thuilleadh.	I don't want any more.
M Píosa beag eile.	A little bit more.
E Ba mhaith liom scéal a léamh.	I want to read a story.
M Ach inis rudaí a dhein tú inniú. Ba mhaith leis an táp a chlos - cloisint faoi na rudaí go léir a dheineann cailín beag. Cad a dhéanann tú ar scoil gach lá? (T70)	But tell things you did today. The tape wants to hear about the things a little girl does. What do you do in school every day?
E Beidh mi - bí muid ag canadh.	We will - we sing.
M Bíonn sibh ag canadh?	You sing?
E Sea	Yes
M Aon rud eile?	Anything else?
E No - agus ag scríobh	No - and write
M An mbíonn sibh dána?	Are you bold?
E Ní bhíonn	No
M Dúirt Cormac go raibh tusa dána inniú.	Cormac said you were bold today.
(E starts to cry, throws over her chair and runs away.)	
M Tusa an cailín crosta. (T80)	You're the cross girl.
E ...léigh mé an scéal seo. Lá amháin bhí cat agus bhí madra beag. Cat beag agus madra beag. Agus bhí siad - ní raibh - bhí siad ag imirt chin-chin agus bhí an cat ag rith suas an crann agus bhí an muc ag rith suas an crann. Sin an méid.	I'll read this story. One day there was a cat and there was a little dog. A little cat and a little dog. And they were - they - they were playing chin-chin and the cat was running up the tree and the pig was running up the tree. That's all.
M Rith suas staighre agus faigh Miffy go bhfeice mé an bhfuil aon Ghaeilge ag Miffy.	Run upstairs and get M till I see has M any Irish.
(E goes upstairs singing)	
E Dia dhuit! (T90)	Hello
M Dia dhuit Miffy. Cad é sin atá a rá agat? Cheap mé go raibh tusa ag caint as Gaeilge, an raibh?	Hello M. What's that you're saying? I thought you were talking Irish, were you?
E Bhí (laughing)	I was
M An bhfuil Gaeilge agatsa?	Do you speak Irish?
E Tá	Yes
M Cá háit a d'fhoghlaim tú an Ghaeilge?	Where did you learn I.

E Cogar.	A whisper
M Cogar? Cén áit é sin? Abair le Eithne cá háit a d'fhoghlaim tú do chuid Ghaeilge.	Whisper? Where's that? Tell E where you learnt your Irish.
E Tá sé cogar. I Eirinn. (T100)	It's a secret. In Ireland.
M In Eirinn. An bhfuil sé deacair Gaeilge a fhoghlaim?	In Ireland. Is it hard to learn Irish?
E Níl.	No.
M Níl. An bhfuil mórán Gaeilge agat?	No. Have you much Irish?
E Tá.	Yes.
M Cé mhéad?	How much?
E Céad.	A hundred.
M Céad cad é?	A hundred what?
E Gaeilge.	Irish.
M Céad Gaeilge? Agus abair liom rud éigin eile go bhfeice mé - b'fhéidir nach bhfuil agat ach cúpla focal. (T110)	A hundred Irish? Say something else till I see - maybe you only have a few words.
E (ar) mhaith leat - ar mhaith leat mé - eh - chloisint ar an táp?	Would you like to hear me on the tape?
M Ba mhaith liom i gcionn tamaill ach ba mhaith liom cúpla focal eile. Sin deich focal a chuala mé. Níor chuala mé céad focal uait. Seas suas, ní féidir liom tú a chlos. Cad as duit? An as an Fhrainc duitse?	I would in a while but I'd like a few more words. That's 10 words I heard from you. I didn't hear 100 words. Stand up, I can't hear you. Where are you from? Are you from France?
E Níl. Neo.	No.
M Cad as duit? Cár rugadh tú? Agus inis dom, cén dáth atá ort? (T120)	Where are you from? Where were you born? And tell me, what colour are you?
E Bán.	White.
M An bhfuil tú cinnte?	Are you sure?
E Tá.	Yes.
M Cad a tharla duit? Tá tú rud beag liath. Cad a tharla duit?	What happened you? You're a little bit grey. What happened you?
E Níl fhios agam.	I don't know.
M Conas a d'éirigh tú liath?	How did you get grey?
E Bhí mé just - níl fhios agam. (T130)	I was just - I don't know.
M Sin an méid Gaeilge atá agat, an ea?	That's all your Irish,is i
E No.	
M An bhfuil níos mó Gaeilge ag Eithne ná mar atá agatsa?	Has E more Irish than you have?
E Mise.	Me.
M Bhuel, inis dom - inis dom cad a dhéanann tú an lá ar fad, thuas ansin sa seomra leapa?	Well tell me - tell me what you do all day, up there in the bedroom.
E Bí mé ag léamh leab - scéal i gcóir Racoon agus bí mé ag léamh an páipéar. (laughing)	I read boo - stories for R and I read the paper.
M Ar léigh tú aon rud suimiúil ins an pháipéar inniu? (T140)	Did you read anything interesting in the paper today?

E Nyea - nyea.	
M Nó inné?	Or yesterday?
Agus inis dom cad a dhéanann tú ag an deireadh seachtaine.	And tell me what you do at the week-end.
E Beidh mé ag snámh.	I'll be swimming.
M O - an maith leat dul ag snámh?	Do you like going swimming?
E Is maith.	Yes.
M An féidir leat snámh go maith?	Can you swim well?
E Is féidir.	Yes.
M (Inis dom cén fáth a bhfuil cluasa chomh) fada sin ort.	Tell me why you have such big ears.
E Cloisin daoine (T150)	To hear people
M Cloiseann tusa na daoine nó cloiseann na daoine tusa?	You hear people or people hear you?
E Cloiseann mise na daoine.	I hear people.
M Tuigim, agus tá súile ana-mhór ort freisin. Cén fáth é sin?	I see, and you have very big eyes too. Why's that?
E Tá fhios agam. Feiceann daoine.	I know. To see people.
M Tuigim, agus tá béal cuíosach mór ort freisin. Cén fáth é sin? (T160)	I see, and you have a fairly big mouth too. Why's that.
E I gcóir ithe cairéidí móra.	For eating big carrots.
M An é sin an rud is fearr leat, cairéidí?	Is that what you like best, carrots?
E Sea. sea, ba mhaith liom cairéid.	Yes, yes. I'd like a carrot.
M Gheobhaidh tú ceann nuair a bheidh tú críochnaithe.	You'll get one when you're finished.
Inis dom - tá cosa móra ort -	Tell me - you've big feet -
E Tá fhios agam	I know
M Cad a dhéanann tú leis na cosa móra sin?	What do you do with those big feet?
E Beidh mé ag léim	I'll be jumping.
M Tuigim, agus cad eile?	I see, and what else?
E Beidh mé ag rith. Agus féidir liom - eh - eh - tumbles a dhéanamh. (with actions) (T170)	I'll be jumping. And I can do tumbles.
M O - tá tú ana-mhaith.	Oh - you're very good.
E Tá fhios agam.	I know.
M Ach an eireaball atá ort - tá sé sin ana-bheag, nach bhfuil?	But your tail, that's very small, isn't it?
E Tá fhios agam	I know
M Cén fáth nach bhfuil eireaball níos mó ort?	Why haven't you got a bigger tail?
E Níl fhios agam	I don't know
M An bhfuil súile móra ar Eithne?	Has E got big eyes?
E Tá	Yes
M Cén fáth é sin? (T180)	Why's that?
E Níl fhios agam	I don't know
M An cuimhin leat an scéal faoi Peter Rabbit, Peter Coinín?	Do you remember the story about Peter R.?
E Sea	Yes

M Inis don táp faoin scéal sin. Níor mhaith leat - ní maith leat an scéal sin?	Tell the tape about that story. You don't want to - you don't like that story?
E O _ is maith. Lá amháin bhí Mrs Tiddlemouse - tá Mrs Tiddlemouse mo chara - tá scéal agam ó	Oh - I do. One day, Mrs T - Mrs T is my friend. I have a story about -
Gheobhaidh mé an leabhar faoi (í) - faoi Mrs Tiddlemouse (T190)	I'll get the book about (her) about Mrs T
(Goes to get the book and comes back with a toy mouse and a book, not the one she went to find)	
E Dia dhuit!	Hello!
M Dia dhuit Mrs Tittlemouse! Ní raibh fhios agam gur sin an t-ainm atá ortsa. Cá mbíonn tusa i do chónaí?	Hello Mrs T! I didn't know that was your name. Where do you live?
E Isteach sa - leaba Roisín	In the - Roisin's bed.
M Tuigim, agus tá scéal agat, an bhfuil?	I see, and you have a story, have you?
E Tá	Yes
M Bhuel, inis dom faoin scéal atá agat. (T200)	Well, tell me about your story.
E Cad é - tá sé an leabhar seo - níl an page sin - no - bhí mé ag dul amach agus lá amháin bhí tusa - let's see	What - it's this book - not this page - I was going out and one day you were
M Gabh mo leithscéal. Sin leabhar aisteach. Cad a dhéanann tú leis an leabhar sin?	Excuse me. That's a funny book. What do you do with that book?
E O bhuel - tá sé - tá fuinneog istigh anseo.	Oh well - it's - there's a window in here.
M Agus cad tá taobh thiar den fhuinneog? O - éan mór!	And what's behind the window? Oh - a big bird.
E Agus lá amháin bhí giant agus bhí mé - bhí sé ag seasamh orm.	And one day there was a giant and I was - he was standing on me.
M An raibh? Nach eisean a bhí dána. (T210)	Was he? Wasn't he bold.
E Agus bhí éan agus bhí sé ag fháil mé i gcóir a dhinnéar agus bhí mé sa jungle agus bhí sssss snakes	And there was a bird and he was getting me for his dinner and I was in the jungle and there were sssss
M Nathair nimhe?	Snakes?
E Agus bhí mé sa jungle agus bhí piggy-back agam	And I was in the jungle and I had a piggy-back.
M Conas a ndeachaigh tú isteach sa jungle?	How did you get to the jungle?
E Caithfidh tú dul go dtí America - bhí mé i Meiricea	You have to go to A. I was in A.
M An ndeachaigh tú ar an mbád?	Did you go on the boat?
E Sea agus	Yes and -
M Chuaigh mise go Meiricea ar an eitleán (T220)	I went to A by plane.
E Agus chuaigh mé go dtí New York ar an mbád. Sin an méid.	And I went to NY on the boat. That's all.

M Sin an méid. Bhuel Mrs Tig - Tittlemouse tá míle buíochas ag gabháil duit. Go raibh míle maith agat.	That's all. Well Mrs T we're very grateful to you. Thank you very much.
E Fáilte romhat.	You're welcome.
M An maith leatsa Miffy ansin?	Do you like Miffy there?
E Is maith. Tá sé mo chara.	Yes. He's my friend.
M An ea? An mbíonn sibh ag súgradh le chéile?	Is he? Do you play together?
E Bíonn	Yes.
M Cén saghas cluichí a imríonn sibh? (230)	What sort of games do you play?
E Mamaís agus Dadaís - em - cats in the corner - sin cluiche le - em - iascannaí - caithfidh tú iasc a piocadh suas le - em - hook, fishing rod	that's a game with fish - you have to pick up a fish with a hook,
M An maith le Miffy iasc a ithe?	Does M like eating fish?
E Is maith.	Yes
M Cinnte? Níor chuala mise faoi coinín ag ithe éisc riamh?	Sure? I never heard of a rabbit eating fish.
E Nach maith leat? Is maith. Ba mhaith liom cairéad.	Don't you? Yes. I'd like a carrot.
M Bhuel cuir ceist ar Eithne agus b'fhéidir go bhfaighfidh sise cairéad duit. (240)	Well ask E and maybe she'll get a carrot for you.
E Agus píosa cáis duitse.	And a piece of cheese for you.
M Níor chuala mé. Ar iarr Miffy ort go deas béasach cairéad a fháil dó? Cad a dúirt sé?	I didn't hear. Did M ask you nice and politely to get him a carrot? What did he say?
E Sea. Ba mhaith liom cairéad.	Yes. I'd like a carrot.
M Abair é sin ós árd.	Say that out loud.
E Ba mhaith le Mrs Tittlemouse píosa cáis.	Mrs T would like a piece of cheese.
M OK Faigh tusa dóibh é.	You get it for them.
E Cá bhfuil na cairéidí? Istigh ansin. Sea. Istigh ansin. Mammy will you open this knot?	Where are the carrots? In there. Yes. In there.
M Níor chuala mé thú. (250)	I didn't hear you.
E An oscail tú mé an knot seo?	Will you open me this knot?
M Níor chuala mé sin.	I didn't hear that.
E O - tá sé all right.	Oh it's all right.
M Ar éirigh leat é a oscailt?	Were you able to open it?
E Is féidir. An ceann seo, no, an ceann seo. ( ) féidir leatsa ...?	I can. This one, no, this one. Can you ...?
M An bhfuil sé glán?	Is it clean?
E Níl.	No
M Ar chóir duit é a ní?	Should you wash it?
E Sea. Sin í! (washing the carrot) (260)	Yes. That's it.
M Ceapaim gur maith le Miffy cairéidí. Tá sí ag tnúth leis. Brostaigh ort Eithne, brostaigh ort Eithne.	I think M likes carrots. She can't wait for it. Hurry up E, hurry up E.
E Now ith an ... agus beidh an píosa cáis agat i gceann nóiméid. (Ba mhaith liom) scian.	Now eat the ... and you'll have the piece of cheese

(goes to get a knife)	in a minute. I want a knife.
M Bí cúramach leis an scian sin!	Be careful with that knife!
E O - beidh mé cúramach. Blarney - is maith le Mrs Tittlemouse Blarney. (280)	Oh - I will be careful. Blarney - Mrs T likes B.
M An maith?	Does she?
E Is maith - tá sé a cáis favouritesa.	Yes - it's her favourite cheese.
M Abair é sin arís.	Say that again.
E Tá sé a cáis favourite leat. Favourite cheese.	It's her cheese ...
M Is fearr liomsa Brie ná an cáis sin Blarney. Cén cáis is fearr leatsa Eithne?	I prefer Brie to that Blarney cheese. Which cheese do you prefer E?
E Blarney agus Cheshire.	
M An dóigh leat ... cén cáis is fearr le Roisín?	Do you think ... which cheese does Roisín like best?
E Brie. Dhá píosa i gcóir ... (280)	Two pieces for ...
M Is fearr le Roisín Brie? Agus cad faoi Cormac?	Roisín likes Brie best? And what about Cormac?
E Is maith le é Blarney.	He likes Blarney.
M Níl aon rud ar an radio agus níl aon telefís againn. Cad a dhéanfaimid anocht.	There's nothing on the radio and we've no TV What will we do tonight?
E Níl fhios agam.	I don't know.
M Beidh orainn leabhar a léamh.	We'll have to read a book.
E Seo, seo dhuit! Now - nyum, nyum! Féach Mamaí!	Here, here you are! Look Mammy!
M Tá mé ag féachaint. Ní dóigh liom gur féidir léi an méid sin cáis a ithe. Tá an iomarca agat ansin, nach bhfuil? Beidh Mrs Tittlemouse, beidh sí tinn má itheann sí an méid sin cáis. (290)	I'm looking. I don't think she can eat that much cheese. You've too much there, haven't you? Mrs T, she'll be sick if she eats that much cheese.
E Níl mé tinn, níl mé.	I'm not sick, I'm not.
M Bhuel beidh tú.	Well you will be.
E Cabbage away (preparing a leaf of cabbage for Miffy)	
M Agus ar ith seisean an cairéad mór sin?	And did he eat that big carrot?
E Ith - d'ith.	Yes.
M Agus an bhfuil sibh sásta anois, an beirt agaibh?	And are you satisfied now, the two of you?
E Tá.	Yes
M Tá. Cad a bhíonn agaibh de gnáth don dinnéar?	Yes. What do you usually have for dinner?
E Beidh cairéad ag Mrs Tittlemouse agus beidh - bíonn cáis ag Miffy. (300)	Mrs T will have a carrot and M will - has cheese.
(laughing)	
M Coinín ag ithe cáise?	A rabbit eating cheese?
E laughs	
M Cad a bhíonn ag Eithne de gnáth don dinnéar?	What does E usually have for dinner?

E	Níl fhios agam	I don't know
M	Nach bhfaigheann tusa aon dinnéar?	Don't you get any dinner?
E	Is bhfaigheann	Yes, I do
M	Cad a fhaigheann tú?	What do you get?
E	Eh - Mrs Tittlemouses - níl fhios agam.	Eh - Mrs Ts - I don't know
M	Cad a fhaigheann tusa don dinnéar? (310)	What do you get for dinner?
E	Shepherds' Pie	
M	Faigheann tú Shepherds' Pie. An bhfaigheann tú aon rud eile?	You get Shepherds'Pie. Do you get anything else?
E	Aoirí Tarta, Aoirí Tarta.	Shepherds' Pie.
M	Cén saghas tarta é sin?	What sort of pie is that?
	Shepherds' Pie, Aoirí Tarta.	
M	An ceart agat, Tarta Aoirí. Agus nach bhfaigheann tú aon rud eile seachas Tarta Aoirí?	You're right, Shepherds' Pie. And do you not get anything besides SP
E	Deoch.	A drink.
M	An bhfaigheann - nach bhfaigheann tú tarta úll don dinnéar? (320)	Do you - do you not get apple tart for dinner?
E	Sea, sea.	Yes, yes.
M	Agus nach bhfaigheann tú stéic agus sceallóga?	And do you not get steak and chips?
E	Sea, sea.	Yes, yes.
M	Bhuel cad faoi, nach bhfuil aon rud eile go bhfaigheann tú?	Well what about, is there nothing else you get?
E	Sicín, sceallóga, tae, mince meat.	Chicken, chips, tea, mincemeat.
M	Cén dinnéar is fearr leat?	What dinner do you like best?
E	Marbles.	
M	Eh - don dinnéar? Tá tú ag magadh fúm. (330)	For yourdinner? You're making fun of me.
E	No - eh - ispíní agus sceallóga.	No - sausages and chips.
	Mammy I don't want to speak any more. Ba mhaith liom éist le mo ghlór.	I'd like to listen to my voice.
M	Cén fáth? Inis dom cén fáth gur mhaith leat éisteacht leat féin?	Why? Tell me why you want to listen to yourself.
E	Níor mhaith liom thuilleadh. Tá mé ...	I don't want (any) more I'm ...
M	Cén fáth? Tá tú tuirseach?	Why? You're tired
E	Sea	Yes
M	Ar mhaith leat dul a chodladh?	Would you like to go to bed?
E	Níor mhaith (tries to switch off tape) (340)	No
M	Gabh mo leithscéal. Just fág é cúpla nóiméad eile. Inis cad tá tú ag dul a dhéanamh amárach.	Excuse me. Just leave it for a few more minutes. Tell what you're going to do tomorrow.
E	Dul ar scoil	Go to school.
M	Tá tú ag dul ar scoil amárach?	You're going to school tomorrow?
E	Níl, tá mé ag dul go dtí Aifreann. ( ) amárach Domhnach?	No, I'm going to Mass. ( ) tomorrow Sunday?

M	Ní hea. Amárach an Sathairn.	No. Tomorrow is Saturday.
E	Beidh mé ag dul go dtí an Top Shop.	I'll be going to the TS
M	Cad a bhfaighfidh tú ins an Top Shop?	What will you get in the Top Shop?
E	Milseáin.	Sweets.
M	Cé thabharfaidh na milseáin duit?	Who'll give you the sweets?
E	An siopadóir.	The shopkeeper.
M	Cad a dhéarfaidh tú leis an siopadóir?	What will you say to the shopkeeper?
E	Ba mhaith liom milseáin.	I want some sweets.
M	Cén sórt milseáin?	What sort of sweets?
E	Níl fhios agam cén cinn a bhfuil sin.	I don't know what sort there are.
M	Inis dom - cuir ceist ar Miffy, ar mhaith leis dul suas go dtí an leaba? Os árd.	Tell me - ask M does he want to go to bed. Out loud.
E	Miffy, ar mhaith leat dul go dtí n leaba?	M, do you want to go to bed?
M	Abair leis an bhfuil tuirse air.	Ask him is he tired.
E	Níl.	No, he's not.
M	Cuir ceist air ar thaitin an cairéad leis.	Ask him did he like the carrot.
E	Is thaitin.	He did.
M	Agus abair leis an bhfaca sé Mrs Tittlemouse aon áit.	And say to him did he see Mrs T anywhere.
E		
M	Níor - ach níl cead agat bheith ag caint as Bearla. Abair é as Gaeilge.	You're not allowed to be speaking in English. Say it in Irish.
E	Mrs Tittlemouse ...	
M	Miffy, An bhfaca tú Mrs Tittlemouse aon áit? An bhfaca?	M, did you see Mrs T anywhere? Did you?
E	Is bhfaca. Taobh thiar.	I did. Behind.
M	Tá sí ansin. Ceapaim go bhfuil sí tuirseach Tá sé in am dí siúd dul a luí.	She's there. I think she's tired. It's time for her to go to bed.
E	Níl sé.	It's not.
M	Tá.	It is.
E	Tá sé in am dinnéar a fháil.	It's time to get dinner.
M	Tar éis an méid sin cáis a ithe. Beidh tú tinn. Tá tú tinn cheana féin. Feicim. Féach an bolg ort. O Mrs Tittlemouse, mo náire thú!	After eating all that cheese. You'll be sick. You're sick already. I see. Look at your tummy. Oh Mrs T, shame on you.
E	Féach ar seo Miffy.	Look at this, Miffy.
M	OK An bhfuil tusa ag dul a luí?	Are you going to bed.
E	Tá na daoine seo ag dul a luí.	These people are going to bed.
M	An múchfaidh mé an táp?	Will I turn off the tape?
E	Sea. Ba mhaith liom é a chloisint.	Yes. I want to listen to it.

References

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Note

In so far as Eithne's utterances were intelligible, I have transcribed them into standard Irish, with occasional English where there was obvious code-switching. ( ) indicate an element, which was not clearly audible, may or may not have been present. Major hesitation is marked - em -

The translation is intended as a guide only; it reflects Eithne's production as understood by me. Some of her utterances could well be interpreted in other ways.

SCHOOLING THROUGH L_2 - ITS EFFECT ON COGNITIVE AND ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENT

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Introduction

The phenomenon of bilingualism as it occurs in modern industrialized societies has been the subject of a great deal of scrutiny by investigators for a number of decades now. Language contact in pre-literate societies more typically produced varieties of pidgins and creoles which tend to be regarded as unacceptable in societies which place a high emphasis on literacy. Increasingly there is a tacit acceptance that a bilingual refers to a person who has competence to generate, in unplanned situations, novel utterances in either of two languages. The utterances in either language are expected to be intelligible to monolingual speakers of that language, and should be widely acceptable as being well-formed. Schools have frequently been given responsibility for producing such bilinguals and second/foreign language immersion programmes have emerged as a significant modus operandi - sometimes out of necessity but frequently out of choice. The present paper addresses itself to one such programme, Irish language medium primary schooling in the Dublin area, and asks if it can be as successful as English language medium schooling in fostering the cognitive and academic development of its pupils.

Background

The effectiveness of schooling through the learner's weaker language has for decades been a contentious issue among psychologists, educationalists and administrators. Darcy (1953), in a review of the literature on the effects of bilingualism on intelligence, found a considerable body of evidence to support each of the three possible outcomes - positive effects, negative effects and no effects. No clear distinction is made in his review between studies which involved bilingualism as a naturally occurring societal phenomenon and those which involved various forms of bilingual schooling. A decade later (Darcy 1963) the major trends in the research questions of the intervening years and the findings from empirical research had not changed substantially. It was generally accepted that bilingualism and bilingual schooling had no influence on a child's level of non-verbal reasoning ability but a majority suggested that it hindered the development of verbal reasoning. A more egalitarian approach to the provision of educational opportunity emerged during the sixties and with it a profusion of bilingual education programmes. One also detects a greater acceptance of diversity in cultural identity at this time and this also led to the emergence of bilingual schooling or schooling through a weaker language, as a means of providing societies with greater numbers of balanced bilinguals. Bilingual education has by now two separate connotations based on two diametrically opposed assumptions, one associated with what has been termed 'folk bilingualism' and the other 'elitist bilingualism' (Gaarder 1972). The former is based on the belief that the most effective means of educating a child is through the medium of his mother tongue even though he belongs to a minority language group which, it is hoped, will eventually become annexed to the dominant culture (United States Commission on Civil Rights 1975). Elitist bilingual schools are so called because their pupils are generally members of the dominant linguistic grouping who have accepted the legitimacy of other linguistic groups and have chosen to become integrated with them as a means of expanding their own cultures rather than having them subsumed.

Many of the more recent reports of research on the cognitive and academic development of children in bilingual programmes give inadequate descriptions of the language patterns of the groups being investigated. As in previous decades the results of these investigations likewise do not create a clear pattern. On the negative side Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) report what has been termed 'semi-lingualism' (Hansegard 1968) among Finnish migrant children attending Swedish comprehensive schools. While the concept of semilingualism is difficult to pin down precisely, it refers generally to a less than normal competence in each of two languages with resultant communicative, intellectual and emotional problems. Myres and Goldstein (1979) report lower than normal levels of verbal reasoning ability among lower class English-Spanish Puerto-Rican school children. Japanese-English bilingual children in grades 4 and 5 were reported to be inferior to a monolingual control group in terms of verbal and academic skills (Tsushima, Hogan 1975). Similar inferiority among bilinguals has been reported in the case of divergent thinking (Torrance, Gowan, Wu and Aliotti 1970), vocabulary scores (Ben Zeev 1977), general academic performance (Macnamara 1966), arithmetic problem solving ability (Macnamara 1969). On the positive side the following features are reported: increased cognitive flexibility, creativity and divergent thought (Lambert and Macnamara 1969; Ianco-Worrall 1972); greater metalinguistic awareness (Cummins 1978; Cummins and Mulcahy 1978); higher levels of arithmetic and computational skills (Tucker, Lambert and d'Anglejan 1973) and increased performance levels in tests of L_1 skills (Swain 1975; Geneese 1976)

The explanations for these apparently contradictory findings fall into four main categories based on the following criteria:

1. Linguistic factors. Included here are
   (a) The 'balance effect' hypothesis which claims that the acquisition of proficiency in L_2 is associated with retardation in the development of L_1 skills (Macnamara 1966).
   (b) The 'mismatch' hypothesis which claims that academic retardation results from home/school language switch (Cardenas and Cardenas 1972; Downing 1974).
2. Socio-cultural factors (Brent-Palmer 1978).
3. School related factors (Bowen 1977).
4. Interactions between factors 1, 2 and 3 (Cummins 1979).

The present study is based on an interactional paradigm. This suggests that in certain socio-cultural situations the language medium of the school may have positive effects on the cognitive and academic development of pupils while in others the effects may be negative. One explanation for this position is based on Cummins' twin hypotheses - 'the threshold hypothesis' and 'the developmental interdependence hypothesis'. These claim that a high level of proficiency in a second language is more likely to be achieved if the learner has already a high level of what is termed 'cognitive and academic language proficiency' (CALP) before being introduced to L_2. CALP refers to those aspects of language proficiency which are associated with verbal reasoning ability and other aspects of academic achievement. It is claimed that unless one has a certain minimum threshold level of CALP in L_1 before being introduced to L_2 then the bilingual experience is likely to hinder the development of both languages. A high level of CALP in L_1 will transfer to L_2 allowing bilingualism to become an enriching experience. Socio-economic status (SES) and non-verbal reasoning ability are important determinants of CALP. One may therefore expect, on the basis of the hypotheses, that for working class children who have a low level of non-verbal reasoning ability, a second language immersion programme may lead to retardation in academic development, while the achievement of middle class children with high non-verbal reasoning ability will be enhanced. Non-verbal reasoning ability is considered to be an independent variable since no previous study has found that either bilingualism or immersion programmes influence it (Macnamara 1970).

The Sample

The sample was composed of an 'experimental' group (N=73) drawn from three Dublin Irish language medium primary schools and a control group (N=68) drawn from English medium schools situated in the immediate locality of the Irish medium schools. All subjects were in 5th standard. The experimental group was divided into 'working class' (N=30) and 'middle class' (N=43) on the basis of their father's occupations using the 'Hall-Jones occupational scale for males'. Each socio-economic grouping was further sub-divided into three units corresponding to high (H), medium (M) and low (L) levels of non-verbal reasoning ability for purposes of statistical analysis. This gave a total of six cells each of which was matched to similar cells drawn from English medium schools (EMSc). A language background questionnaire completed by children from Irish medium schools (IMSc) revealed that English was the dominant language used in 90% of their homes.

The Tests

1. Raven's Progressive Matrices
2. Drumcondra Verbal Reasoning Test
3. Drumcondra Attainment Tests, Level III, Form A
    (a) English Comprehension
    (b) English Vocabulary
    (c) Mathematics - Computation
    (d) Mathematics - Problem Solving
    (e) Irish Comprehension

((d) was translated into Irish and the translation standardized using a group of children from Irish medium schools (N=33) who were not participating in the main study. IMSc children took the Irish form of this test).

Results and Discussion

It was found that the language background of IMSc children did not significantly influence scores derived from each of the tests administered when SES and non-verbal reasoning ability were controlled. The two-way analysis of variance technique used, revealed that the most dramatic difference found between school types is in the scores obtained from the Irish comprehension test. The full extent of the influence of school type is most likely underestimated in the present analysis since very many members of the IMSc sample reached the test ceiling. A similarly unambiguous result was found in the case of scores derived from the verbal reasoning test.

Table 1

Cell Means and F-ratio Coefficients

MC Results

	Cell Means						F-ratio		
	IMSc			EMSc					
	H	M	L	H	M	L	Between Schools	Between NVR Levels	Inter-action
Non-verbal Reasoning	129.06	116.82	98	128	117.1	97.63			
Verbal Reasoning	127.3	121.23	114.18	127.86	121.76	111	.045	23.39*	.49
English Comprehension	121.6	114.6	111.64	110.83	112.78	109.36	3.33	1.48	1.23
English Vocabulary	120.91	113.5	110	115.84	113.85	106.82	1.6	7.72*	.72
Mechanical Arithmetic	117.57	105.86	108.36	106.11	104.93	99.91	5.14*	4.55*	2.15
Problem Arithmetic	115.45	104.5	103.27	106.09	101.64	97.63	5.53*	5.80*	.68
Irish Comprehension	130.69	129.68	125.55	98.3	99.6	95.75	215.25*	1.56	.71
				WC Results					
Non-verbal Reasoning	125	114.8	89.2	121.36	113.3	90.1			
Verbal Reasoning	122.5	113.3	98.9	118.09	116	103.9	.01	20.91*	.82
English Comprehension	112.7	115.2	101.1	112.8	104	93.1	4.55*	10.26*	1.27
English Vocabulary	109.3	113.6	103.5	109.6	98.45	99.2	4.10*	2.17	2.09
Mechanical Arithmetic	111.3	106.1	98.9	106.27	102.9	94.7	1.64	4.7*	.1
Problem Arithmetic	105.6	100.8	96.3	111.2	99.91	91	0	10.16*	1.39
Irish Comprehension	126.1	125.4	116.8	93.2	89.91	85	127*	3.19*	.13

*Significant at .01 level

The language medium of the school was not a significant determinant of scores for either the WC or the MC sample.

A great deal of caution needs to be exercised when interpreting the remaining results if some of the apparent inconsistencies are to be explained. The MC sample in IMSc appears superior in mathematical ability but this superiority does not hold for the WC sample. A likely explanation for this result is that the MC sample from the EMSc had lower scores than might be predictable for such a group. Because the scores for the WC sample from EMSc are closer to what might be expected for this group the between school differences disappear. One may reasonably conclude, therefore, that the language medium of the school did not exert an independent influence on the mathematics scores.

Table 2 shows the significance of the independent influence of SES on scores as calculated by an analysis of covariance technique. The values obtained in the case of EMSc 'English Comprehension' and 'Problem Arithmetic' were got from a test of the homogeneity of the regression lines of the WC and MC samples. These values show that the independent influence of SES was significant only for those with lower levels of non-verbal reasoning ability.

Table 2

The Independent Influence of SES
Summary of Tests of Significance

	F-Ratio	
	IMSc	EMSc
Verbal Reasoning	6.91*	10.71*
English Comprehension	2.26	6.83* (interaction)
English Vocabulary	2.8	7.79*
Mechanical Arithmetic	1.55	0
Problem Arithmetic	4.01*	10.93* (interaction)
Irish Comprehension	2.6	4.75*

*Significant at .01 level

SES exercised a strong independent influence on all but one set of scores derived from the EMSc sample. A similar influence was not found in the case of the academic achievement scores of the IMSc sample, suggesting that the WC section of this sample is not subject to the depressing influence of SES that exists in the case of their counterparts in EMSc. It is clear, for example, that the superiority of the IMSc WC sample in English vocabulary and comprehension is due to the failure of SES to depress their scores. One cannot give a definitive explanation for this occurrence but it seems especially unlikely that the language medium of the school could be responsible. The trend does not hold in the case of verbal reasoning ability scores which could be expected to be more independent of teaching techniques and the conscious control of parents than would be the case for scores from tests of academic achievement. This leads one to tentatively suggest that it is these latter factors, rather than the language medium of the school, that are responsible for the trend.

Conclusion

Irish language medium primary schools sampled in this study were particularly successful in giving their pupils a high proficiency in Irish language comprehension. A similar level was not reached by English language medium schools which spent at least one hour per day teaching Irish as a separate subject. Evidence from the study suggests that pupils in IMSc did not have to suffer a lowering of their potential academic standards in order to achieve high L_2 proficiency, i.e. results did not support the 'balance effect' hypothesis. While pupils from IMSc were superior to their counterparts from EMSc in a number of areas the evidence does not suggest that this superiority could be attributed specifically to the language medium of the school.

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THE POTENTIAL FOR IRISH-ENGLISH DUAL-MEDIUM INSTRUCTION IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOL

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1.0 The enthusiastic establishment of so-called 'all-Irish' primary schools outside the Gaeltacht during the past fifteen years has come to contrast markedly with what has often been perceived to be the general decline of the Irish language as a school subject over the same period (e.g. Andrews, 1978). The study by Harris (1984) provides evidence of the considerable difference in achievement by pupils of both types of school (cf. pp. 7-8): 12 of the 16 speaking and listening objectives of the NuachÚrsaí Conversation courses measured by Béaltriail Ghaeilge I.T.É. - IV were mastered by less than 50% of pupils, but the rate for those attending 'All-Irish' schools was 97%. The recent growth in 'all-Irish' schooling has not been paralleled by any such resurgence in bilingual schooling, despite the fact that the survey of Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin (1984) reports five times as much support for bilingual as for 'All-Irish' instruction, 21% as opposed to 4%. Harris (1984, p. 144) was moved to suggest that there would be considerable support for bilingual programmes bridging the poles of the 'all-Irish' approach, in which the language of instruction and the school in general is Irish, and the restricting of Irish to subject lesson periods, and he suggested that specific programmes might be more successful than 'encouraging limited Irish-medium instruction in a more generalised way as happens....now'. A similar concern has prompted this paper, which sketches very briefly the history of dual-medium education in Ireland, examines its present extent and state and makes some suggestions as to the type of institutional framework which would be necessary if bilingual schools are to offer a vibrant alternative to both their English and Irish single-medium counter-parts.

2.0 Constraints of time and space clearly preclude a detailed survey of the fortunes of the Irish language within the National School system established in 1831. However, a brief outline of the major stages in the integration of the Irish language into the system may help not only to trace the changes in its relative position but also the perception interested parties had of the importance being accorded to it.

The National School system as set up in Ireland in 1831 had no place for the Irish language, either as an object of study or as a medium of instruction. This was the case despite the fact that the proportion of children born in the 32 counties in the decade 1831-1841 which Fitzgerald (1984, p. 127 and map 7) has estimated as Irish-speaking was 28%.

This all-English educational system established by the London-centred State reflected on the one hand the language change from Irish to English which had already taken place in much of the country and was in fact even then gathering momentum in the Irish-speaking areas of the South and West, and on the other hand of course it facilitated the language changeover by giving it added impetus. However, it needs to be borne in mind that the uniformity of usage of English as a medium of instruction throughout the National School system to some extent masked two quite different linguistic settings: (i) In those areas where the language switch to English had already taken place the pupils were being taught through the medium of their native or home language; (ii) In those areas where Irish was still the vernacular a massive programme of total immersion in the second language was being undertaken. In the vast majority of cases this second approach had the active support of parents, who often reinforced the school stance with what may seem to us today to have been a brutal disciplinarianism. (cf. Ó Murchú, n.d., pp. 20-21).

If there were Irish people who doubted the wisdom of the language practice of the National School system, few braved to pierce the Great Silence, as Seán de Fréine (1978) has so aptly described the public atmosphere in which the language change took place. Thomas Davis did so in The Nation in 1843, as did the redoubtable Archbishop of Tuam, John Mac Hale - the 'lion of the West'. Sir Patrick Keenan, Inspector of Schools and later a Commissioner of Education, tellingly showed up the deficienceis of this system in Co. Donegal in his General Reports of 1855 and 1856. But it was not until 1879 that Irish was admitted to the Primary Curriculum as an optional extra subject. This advance was due to the vigorous lobbying of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, founded in 1876. The Commissioners of Education adopted a resolution in 1878 stating that they were 'prepared to grant Results' fees for proficiency in the Irish Language, on the same conditions as are applicable to Greek, Latin and French.' From 1883 Irish could be used as a medium of instruction in Irish-speaking areas 'as an aid to the elucidation of English' (Coolahan, 1981, p. 21). Whereas the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language had been concerned 'To promote that the Irish Language shall be taught in the Schools of Ireland, especially in the Irish-speaking districts' The Gaelic League, founded in 1893, sought that 'the national language shall be the medium of instruction in the National Schools in those districts where it is the home language of the people, and that greater facilities than at present be afforded for its teaching in the National and Intermediate Schools in all parts of the country.' (Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann, 1981).

After overcoming some temporary difficulties the Gaelic League secured the position of Irish as an optional subject within the ordinary National School programme from 1901 and further succeeded in obtaining The Bilingual Programme of 1904. In accordance with this Programme the whole school work in Irish-speaking and bilingual districts could be conducted on bilingual lines. Patrick Pearse, influenced by his experiences of Wales and Belgium was writing a month later (24.9.1904):

> Though it seems paradoxical, it is a profound truth that it is easier to teach two languages than to teach one. If we had the direction of education in this country we should make all education bilingual, and should require the teaching of at least two languages to every child in every school in the country..... It would be as easy to work the Commissioners' Bilingual Programme in a Dublin or Belfast school as it is to work the present unilingual programme (Ó Buachalla, 1980, p.53).

As was his custom Pearse backed up his theoretical contention with the practical example of a school, namely St. Enda's School for Boys, which he established in 1908 and was described by him as being 'bilingual in method'. A Prospectus of the following year tells us:

> In the general curriculum the first place is accorded to the Irish Language, which is taught as a spoken and literary tongue to every pupil.....Irish is established as the official language of the School, and is, as far as possible, the ordinary medium of communication between teachers and pupils.
>
> ....
>
> All teaching other than language teaching is bilingual - that is to say each subject is taught both in Irish and English. (ibid., p.317).

We are also informed:

> As regards procedure, occasionally a lesson is given in Irish only or in English only; but the rule is, whether the subject be Christian Doctrine or Algebra, Nature-Study or Latin, to teach the lesson first in Irish and then repeat it in English, or vice versa. In such subjects as Dancing and Physical Drill English can practically be dispensed with. As a general medium of communication between masters and pupils in the schoolroom Irish is the more commonly used of the two vernaculars. (ibid., p. 325)

Public Notice No. 4 issued by the Ministry of Education of the Irish Provisional Government on 1st February 1922 decreed: 'Concerning the Teaching of Irish Language in the National Schools' that from 17th March 1922:

> (1) The Irish Language shall be taught or used as a medium of instruction, for not less than one full hour each day in all national schools where there is a teacher competent to teach it. (Hannigan, 1984, p. 72)

This decision followed on the adoption of a report at a conference convened by the I.N.T.O. in 1921. It included the statement that 'the work of the infant school is to be entirely in Irish'. A later conference in 1926 allowed English to be used before 10.30 a.m. and after 2.00 p.m. Various changes increasing and decreasing the amount of time spent teaching through Irish occurred between the twenties and the sixties. The statistics for all-Irish Primary Schools over the same years offer a good indication of the way the wind first blew strongly, then slackened, before virtually dying away in the sixties. In 1931 there were 228 all-Irish Primary schools, in 1939 there were 704 and 1951 the number was 523 (cf. Coolahan 1981, pp. 40-43).

3.0 The distinction mentioned already between 'all-Irish' schools and those teaching Irish as a subject only is not as clear-cut as it may seem. Firstly, in theory at least, the latter would appear not to exist at all. The latest edition of Rules for National Schools (An Roinn Oideachais, 1965) allows individual teachers of infant classes to transfer the emphasis from teaching through Irish to the teaching of Irish Conversation but teaching through Irish is regarded as the norm. Furthermore, 'A teacher who is able to teach Irish, but is unable to use Irish as the sole medium of instruction, is required to teach Irish as a subject and to use it as much as possible as the medium of instruction and as the school language.' (p. 39) Similarly the Teacher's Handbook (An Roinn Oideachais, 1970, Part I, pp. 55-6) states (in translation): 'The teacher and the pupils should not be bound by the amount of Irish in the lessons, nor by the amount of time which is spent on the formal teaching of Irish. Irish should be generally used inside the school and outside it - when the children are working and when they are at play: it is in Irish that the normal directions of the school will be given, that the normal conversation of the class, words of praise and correction and the normal greetings will be.' 'As the curriculum is a unit in which the various activities are integrated, Irish will be in use to a greater or lesser extent during all activities. Its use will be extended as the knowledge and ability of the pupils in Irish develops. The extent of its use will depend on the age and the maturity of the pupils. The simple normal prayers and the normal greetings could be said in Irish. The conversation lessons will be joined to the other curriculum activities ' The Handbook then proceeds to outline briefly how Irish could be linked to Physical Education, Music, Environmental Studies and Projects on various aspects of the curriculum. And then secondly, while the actual practice falls very far short of these official guidelines, some instructional use is made of Irish outside the formal language classes in a minority of schools, in approximately 36% of them according to the Department of Education's Statistical Report for 1981-82, which incidentally is the latest published and only became available in December of 1984 (An Roinn Oideachais). The medium of instruction in the Republic's primary schools is there set out as follows (Table 20, p. 31, in translation):

(i) Schools in which all classes are taught completely through Irish	
In the Gaeltacht	131
Outside the Gaeltacht	31
(ii) Schools in which some classes are taught completely through Irish	15
(iii) Schools in which at least one class group are taught some of the subjects (activities) through Irish - at least one subject apart from Irish	1,161
(iv) Other Schools	1,942

The organisation Gaelscoileanna informs me that the number of schools in the all-Irish (i) category is currently 42, including one in Belfast. An Irish language stream such as falls into category (ii) exists in Derry. A request to the Department for the location of the 15 schools of category (ii) yielded a list of 23 such schools for 1982-83, distributed as follows:

Dublin city	3
Rest of Leinster	6
Munster	10
(Cork 3, Kerry 4, of which 3 are in Tralee, which also has an all-Irish school)	
Connacht	2
Ulster (3 counties)	2

However, for the purpose of this paper we may turn our attention to category (iii), that is those schools reported as using Irish as a second medium of instruction as proposed in the Teacher's Handbook.

My first source of information on the use of Irish in the various subject areas is Ó Domhnalláin and Ó Gliasáin (1976) whose respondents were teaching standards V or/and VI. One should bear in mind that 6.1% of the schools in question had Gaeltacht, Breac-Gaeltacht or all-Irish backgrounds. Only in the case of Music can it be said that the official recommendations have found a generally positive response, although substantial minorities report some use of Irish in the teaching of Physical Education and Art/Crafts (ibid., Table 16).

Table 16

Language used in the teaching of various subjects to standards V or/and VI

Subject	Percentage of schools teaching that subject					Total respondents
	Entirely through Irish	More Irish than English	Both languages equally	Less Irish than English	Entirely through English	
Religion	2.0%	0.2%	0.2%	2.0%	95.5%	443
Mathematics	2.9%	0.5%	1.4%	3.6%	91.7%	444
Art/Crafts	3.1%	0.9%	6.4%	14.1%	75.5%	425
Environmental studies	2.8%	0.7%	4.0%	11.4%	81.2%	437
History	2.7%	0.7%	1.8%	6.1%	88.7%	442
Civics	2.6%	0.5%	3.6%	5.4%	87.9%	389
Geography	2.9%	0.9%	2.5%	12.9%	80.8%	442
Music	4.6%	4.4%	26.5%	32.0%	32.5%	434
Physical Ed.	3.9%	0.3%	8.9%	24.7%	62.2%	384

Table 17

Time per week devoted to teaching subjects other than Irish through Irish

Time given per week to teaching subjects other than Irish through Irish	Number	Percentage
No subject (except Irish) is taught through Irish	159	36.3%
Less than 2 hours per week	225	51.4%
Between 2 and 4 hours per week	30	6.9%
Between 4 and 6 hours per week	3	0.7%
Between 6 and 8 hours per week	5	1.1%
Between 8 and 10 hours per week	0	0.0%
Between 10 and 12 hours per week	3	0.7%
Every subject (except English) is taught through Irish	13	3.0%
Total respondents ⟶	438	100%

Table 17 of the same Report dispels any illusion remaining about the realisation of the commitment to Irish as a second medium of instruction in the standards in the study. Only in 6.9% of general schools does the time given to Irish-medium instruction exceed 2 hours per week, and in these it does not exceed 4 hours - out of approximately a 25 hour week. The other corner-stone of the Department's envisaged back-up for the audio-visual Conversation Course, namely the use of Irish as a medium of communication outside the formal teaching situations is 'Seldom/never' adhered to in 45.3% of cases, with 39.3% reporting 'half and half' adherence and a not insignificant minority of 15.4% reporting its rate of compliance as 'Always/frequently' (ibid., Table 21).

Table 21

Use of Irish as a medium of communication between teachers and pupils outside formal teaching situations **by** *childhood home language of informants*

Childhood home language → / Frequency of use for communication	English only	More English than Irish	Both languages equally	More Irish than English	Irish only	All informants
Always/frequently	11.9%	18.4%	14.3%	30.8%	26.5%	15.4%
"Half and half"	37.4%	44.7%	57.1%	34.6%	35.3%	39.3%
Seldom/never	50.7%	36.8%	28.6%	34.6%	38.2%	45.3%
Total respondents →	286	+ 76	+ 21	+ 26	+ 34	= 443

The second source of information on the extent of the use of Irish as a medium of instruction has just recently become available, Ó Dubhghaill (1984). It relates to Fourth standard in the Limerick region. Its results are parallel to those of Ó Domhnalláin and Ó Gliasáin (1976) but show lower percentages of teacher use of Irish as a teaching medium for most subject areas.

3.1. James F. Lindsey (1975) undertook a survey of teacher perceptions of Irish language teaching in structured interviews with a sample of 125 primary teachers. He reported majority attitudinal support for optional Irish-medium streams in large English-speaking schools and a substantial minority approving the teaching of subjects through Irish, although the ranking of subjects considered appropriate for this contrasts somewhat oddly with the actual position outlined already. We may quote Lindsey (1975, p. 102).

> A suggested alternative to all-Irish schools has been the provision of Irish-medium streams in large English-speaking schools. A plurality of 49% supported while 46% opposed the proposal. Opposition to streaming on principle was voiced by some teachers, while others felt it was organizationally impractical. Many of those favouring the Irish-medium stream concept emphasized that their approval was based on the provision of a genuine option.
>
> Another proposal often heard is that one or more subjects be taught through Irish. Sixty-five percent rejected this idea while 34% approved it. Those in favour were asked which subject(s) they would recommend. Most frequently mentioned were Irish, History and Geography (62%), music and art (24%) and physical education (14%).

With regard to the somewhat vexed question of the competence in Irish of College of Education graduates, it may be noted that in most instances the B.Ed. degree has a component deeming successful students to have acquired the same standard of Irish as obtained on the two-year diploma course which was replaced after 1974. This latter standard was deemed to test one's competence in teaching through Irish. It can scarcely be doubted that a large minority of today's graduates would not feel at home in such a situation, for unlike their diploma predecessors they themselves receive virtually no instruction outside Irish itself (language and methodology) through Irish. At best they are preached to by the Irish departments on the value of integrating the language with other subjects and activities but receive little encouragement and almost no direction elsewhere.

3.2. Table 15 of Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin (1984, p. 25) records how much Irish respondents considered suitable in the educational programmes of most children today:

TABLE 15 : SCHOOL PROGRAMME PREFERRED FOR MOST CHILDREN

Amount of Irish in Programme	Primary %	Post-Primary %
1. All English (with no Irish taught)	3	4
2. Irish taught as a subject only	72	72
3. All-Irish (with English as a subject only)	4	4
4. Bilingual with (i) more subjects through English than through Irish	4	4
(ii) about 50/50	16	15
(iii) more subjects through Irish than through English	1	1
	100	100

As the authors note, the 25% minority who would like some use of Irish as a medium of instruction is substantially larger than the proportion of children currently receiving such education (ibid., p. 26), for they also state (ibid., p. 21): 'Such information as we have to hand suggests that the under-30 group have received very little bilingual education (i.e. 6% in primary school; 4% in post-primary school).' The attitude to Irish-medium education expressed in response to a question on all-Irish schooling was even more favourable: 24% said they would send (or would have sent) their children to an all-Irish school if one were available in their locality (ibid., p. 26). This of course contrasts with the 5% of their Table 15 above who expressed such a preference.

3.3. It might be useful at this point to try to bring the different strands together before proceeding to have a quick glace at bilingual education abroad and making some suggestions that might aid its extension here in Ireland. The Department of Education officially exhorts schools to employ Irish in general conversation as the language of the school and to extend its use as a medium of instruction as the pupils' mastery of it improves. But the Department would appear to set more store by the informal incidental general use of Irish than by its more formal use in instruction - perhaps a consequence of doubts raised by Macnamara (1966) and not yet dispelled in officialdom by later studies such as Cummins (1977). Although a majority of teachers report substantial use of Irish as a general means of communication in school, instructional use of Irish is confined to a significant minority, who however use it for the most part for less than 2 hours per week. This rather low level of functional use of Irish in the primary school system obtains despite the existence of substantial minorities of both parents and teachers who state that they would be in favour of bilingual programmes. The weakness of the present position of Irish as a medium of instruction outside the 'all- Irish' schools may well stem from the random distribution of these minorities of parents and teachers throughout the country and the lack of appropriately cohesive central planning and administration. There is a tendency for native scholars to exaggerate the 'uniqueness' of the Irish linguistic condition (see for example Harris, 1982, pp. 19-20), but while it is undoubtedly a truism that no two national language situations are precisely similar, one suspects that any 'unique' quality in the Irish language situation is to be sought rather in the half-hearted nature of policy resolution than in the general features of the situation itself. Consideration of the bilingual education experience of other countries need not therefore be irrelevant. On the other had, any attempt to transplant programmes which have proved successful elsewhere without due regard to the position of Irish here would be unwise. Fishman (1976, pp. 52, 73) demonstrates that Ireland's promotion of a second medium of instruction is paralleled throughout the world. He estimates that there may have been as many as 2,500 bilingual secondary schools programmes in operation in 110 countries in 1972-73, and possibly 20 times as many such programmes in operation at primary level - perhaps 50,000 programmes - we are not alone. And there is no difficulty in identifying our allegedly 'unique' situation with the first of his two categories of programme types (ibid., p. 76):

> For some educational systems ..... bilingual education is an alternative option equivalent to vernacularization or self-recognition, an educational trend which began with the modern period of history and which has not yet run its course.
>
> For other educational systems, bilingual education is an alternative option equivalent to internationalization or other-recognition, an educational trend which began in the earliest forms of elitist education.

The simple theoretical distinction drawn between 'marked' and 'unmarked languages' in the same work (pp. 99-100) also helps us to understand the role of Irish:

> That language is marked in a bilingual education setting which would most likely not be used instructionally were it not for bilingual education, i.e. to say, it is precisely bilingual education that the brought it into the classroom. Conversely, that language is unmarked in a bilingual education setting which would most likely (continue to) be used instructionally, even in the absence of bilingual education.

Cohen (1975) reviews the international literature on the outcome of bilingual education programmes and shows (p. 22) that the results are mixed: programmes in Canada and South Africa have been deemed successful while others in Ireland (Macnamara, 1966), Mexico and the Philippines have been deemed unsuccessful. We may follow Cohen (ibid., p. 2) in quoting from an earlier study"

> Fishman and Lovas (1970) state that most existing bilingual programs have not utilized recent insights into societal bilingualism in their program designs. Staff personnel offer educational, psychological, or linguistic reasons for project characteristics, but ignore the language situation existing in the community involved.

Therefore the success or otherwise of bilingual education programmes cannot be divorced from the interaction of the two languages in the society in question, nor from that society's attitude toward them. Even the small number of practical models outlined by Cohen (ibid., p. 18) brings into sharp relief the contrasting haziness of the model officially expounded in Ireland: (i) a lesson in one language in the morning followed by the same lesson in the second language in the afternoon, (ii) a different medium of instruction on alternate days, (iii) use of simultaneous translation, (iv) functional specialization - certain subjects being taught in each language, and (v) one language predominating at first, with shift to the other language.

Cohen (ibid., p. 19) summarises Mackey (1972) on the approaches adopted by teachers in the J.F.K. School (secondary) in Berlin, which drew 50% of its pupils from German families, 40% from American families and the other 10% from 'the international community'. Continual alternating is prevalent at the Berlin school, with teachers alternating considerably between languages within the same lesson. Teachers there adopted at least five approaches: (i) they gave part of a lesson in one language, another part in the other language, (ii) they presented all material in one language with repetition of the same material in the other language, (iii) they presented all material in one language and gave a summary in the other language, (iv) they employed continual alternation of one language and the other, (v) they spoke to some persons in one language, to others in the other language. Fishman (1976, pp. 94-107) and Mackey (1972, pp. 149-171) offer complex typologies of bilingual educational models but I suspect that the example of this single German school should be enough to prompt us to analyse and describe our own bilingual programmes.

It would seem too that foreign experience can offer reassurance as well. Given that the principal sociocultural conditions that define Immersion can be summarized as: '(1) Immersion programs are intended for children who speak the majority-group language, which in the case of North America is English.... (2)

Educational, teaching, and administrative personnel working in Immersion programs value and support, directly or indirectly, the children's home language and culture. (3) The participating children and their parents similarly value their home language and culture and do not wish to forsake either. (4) Acquisition of the second language is regarded by the children and their parents as a positive addition to the children's repertoire of skills' (Genesse, 1983, p. 4), Genessee (ibid., p. 40) concludes that the benefit of such Immersion programmes is not confined to advantaged pupils:

> Majority-language students with characteristics that customarily limit their achievement in conventional school programs with English instruction have been shown to attain the same levels of achievement in basic academic subjects in Immersion programs as do comparable students in regular native-language school programs. At the same time, these types of "disadvantaged" students achieve much higher levels of second-language proficiency than they would were they receiving core second-language instruction.

Another conclusion of Genessee is relevant to the Irish context, namely the question of the importance of the geographical setting of the school:

> .....since their inception Immersion programs have been instituted outside Quebec and are now available in communities where there is no large local population of target-language speakers, such as French Immersion in Vancouver or Toronto.....the existing research findings indicate that students in communities or settings that do not have large numbers of target-language speakers and/or that do not officially recognize the target language can benefit from participation in an Immersion program, perhaps even to the same extent as Immersion students living in bilingual communities. (ibid., pp. 32-3).

5.0 An awareness of bilingual education programmes in other countries and of the state of international research on such programmes would widen the range of experience available to project planners and practitioners here in Ireland. But they should complement studies of our own experience - not act as substitutes for our own investigation and reflection. Any ill-considered attempt to graft what appears to have been successful elsewhere onto an inadequately researched home situation would be folly. We must note what we have, gauge its strengths and weaknesses, and on the basis of this study devise and implement coherent projects which are reviewed regularly.

Thus, for example, any reconsideration of the role of Irish as a second medium of instruction in the primary school should begin with those schools which are already making some effort in this direction. It would seek to harness the active co-operation of those substantial minorities of parents and teachers who favour dual-medium instruction. In fact it is interesting to see that the practice in one of the very few schools which explicitly organizes itself bilingually is clearly an intensification of the bilingual approach operating weakly in over a thousand other schools. In Scoil Náisiúnta Réalt na Mara, Skerries, for instance, the staff speak Irish among themselves, use Irish as far as possible as the language for ordering school affairs and this use of Irish in informal situations finds a logical extension into Physical Education and Art, which also provide a setting for the reinforcement of subject matter introduced via the Conversation Courses in the language. The school is the smallest unit likely to be in a position to pursue a coherent bilingual programme over a number of years. To operate such a programme successfully the school would need the active participation and co-operation of suitably qualified and motivated teachers and principal and at least the passive co-operation and support of parents. It is hard to envisage long-term success for the more usual position obtaining in schools today, where the decision as to the choice and proportion of instructional medium rests with the individual teacher, a consequence of circular 11/60 (cf. An Roinn Oideachais, 1965, p. 119). For such an individualised and fragmented approach to bear fruit one imagines that there would need to be some general guidance given to teachers wishing to use Irish as a second medium of instruction. They could be advised to teach certain subjects/activities through Irish - Music, Physical Education and Art, for instance, or they could be advised to use English in the morning and to use Irish both as a teaching medium and for general purposes after lunch, or to use Irish between 11.00 a.m. and 12.00 noon, or whatever. But some such guidelines should be provided to end the isolation of the teacher using Irish as a medium, to facilitate continuity within the school and to promote cohesion in the primary system. The individual teacher could be further assisted by pre-service and in-service courses designed for dual-medium instruction. Schools should get the active encouragement and assistance of Department of Education inspectors and administrators. A new classification of the various types of Irish-medium primary schools, incorporating the features of post-primary school classification might well help to concentrate the minds of all concerned with the well-being and efficiency of Irish-language teaching in the primary school. A supportive framework could also be set up, facilitating contact between the schools employing Irish actively as a medium of communication and providing a type of liaison service with community bodies both within and outside the Gaeltacht which use Irish.

I wish to preface my conclusion with a number of quotations. The first is in fact a quote of a quote; it is taken from Cohen (1975, p. 266) and stresses the need for attitudinal change:

> As Rodríguez (1969) so eloquently put it, "What is not spelled out in any .....recommendations, however, is the imperative need for drastic attitudinal change both within the dominant cultural group and within the

> Mexican American Community. And the attitudinal change must be the primary concern of the public school. Every person in the school dealing with a student must become culturally cognizant of the significance of recognizing the enriching values of cultural heritage. It must permeate their very being that the person with a bilingual, bicultural asset is 'Advantaged' and from that position can be a vital factor in the enrichment of the school, the community, all of society."

Mackey and Anderson (1977, p. 331) offer a general guiding principle:

> In any social system where there is a various widespread desire or need for a bilingual or multilingual citizenry, then priority for early schooling should be given to the language or languages least likely to be otherwise developed or most likely to be neglected.

Fishman (1976, p. 43) stresses the interdependence of bilingual schooling and the overall sociolinguistic setting:

> Bilingual education in which the languages taught are related to real, live communities, on the one hand, and are utilized as media of instruction and real, live communication, on the other hand, is understandably a truly natural way to teach and learn languages effectively.

Of course in the case of Irish one has the added dimension of aligning the school experience to outside efforts to extend the role and use of the language. It was because this alignment was seen not to have been achieved that the sixties witnessed a retreat from extended programmes for Irish in the schools to core programmes. It was evidently hoped that the audio-visual methodology subsequently introduced would allow the same standard of Irish to be attained in approximately half the time. Harris (1984) indicates clearly enough that this does not seem to have happened (direct comparisons are of course not possible). The choice facing us now is therefore either to reduce our expectations of what core teaching of Irish can achieve or to revert to extended programmes of Irish. It has been the contention of this paper that the establishment of a range of bilingual programmes on an optional basis is feasible in the context of our present language situation, and can count on the support of substantial minorities of parents and teachers. The challenge is therefore twofold - there is need for a policy initiative and there is need for co-ordination of effort. The establishment by the Department of Education of a comprehensive administrative framework which was flexibly operated might well act as a catalyst to promote dual-medium education and thereby take a significant step in reversing the decline of the language in the primary school.

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Discourse analysis and language acquisition

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The study of child language acquisition has moved through several phases during the past few decades. In the 1960s the main interest was in the acquisition of syntactic structures, while in the 1970s semantic and cognitive approaches predominanted. More recently, greater attention has been paid to advances in discourse analysis, conversation analysis and pragmatics (broadly speaking, the study of the use language in context), and this focus has been reflected in child language studies. Two separate strands can be discerned in this more functional and interactive approach:

(i) the explanation of language acquisition with reference to interactional contexts (input studies);
(ii) the acquisition of separate skills involving the use of language.

It is with the second of these themes that the present paper is concerned.

Some aspects of discourse analysis

It might be helpful to briefly review some of the main issues which have been discussed during the past few years in the area of discourse analysis. These include the following:

1. The form v function relationship

Briefly, this involves a distinction between the linguistic form of an utterance and the function it might serve in a particular discourse context. So, for example, a sentence such as "it's cold in here" has declarative form and an obvious literal meaning, yet it could function on a given occasion of utterance as a request to close the door. This non-literal meaning cannot be derived from an inspection of the sentence alone.

2. The rôle of context in utterance interpretation

One of the aims of discourse theory is to specify the contextual features which have a bearing on how an utterance is interpreted. In the example quoted above, reference might be made to knowledge shared by the speaker and the hearer, for example, that the door is open, that open doors cause draughts, that draughts cause rooms to be cold, that cold rooms are undesirable.....Such knowledge would be necessary for the hearer to arrive at a suitable interpretation of the utterance.

3. Appropriacy as opposed to grammaticality

Traditionally linguistics deals with the description of rules for well-formed sequences. However, there are also rules for the appropriate use of language. The clearest cases involve rules of politeness. So, for example, it would be considered inappropriate to use a direct requesting form such as "close the door" to another adult (though probably not to a child).

4. Discourse structure

This involves the structural relationships between utterances. The clearest example would be question-answer sequences, although there are many more complex structures in everyday conversation.

5. Discourse content

In discourse analysis one important topic has been the way in which information is handled within a text. For example, once an object or person has been mentioned, it can be treated as old information and referred to with pronouns or definite expressions. A further aspect of content concerns the notion of relevance, for example, in determining the extent to which a particular utterance is relevant or not to the preceding discourse.

6. Interactional aspects of discourse

It has become clear that, as far as conversation is concerned, an approach which focuses on the analysis of utterances in isolation is unsatisfactory. Basic aspects of conversation, such as turn-taking, are accomplished in a collaborative manner and cannot be treated as the outcome of any one individual's contribution. It has also been argued that other aspects of discourse, such as the negotiation of meaning, are achieved interactively.

7. Features of spoken discourse

Finally, it should be mentioned that most work in discourse analysis has paid attention to the finer aspects of speech production, including in transcriptions items such as false starts, hesitations and other dysfluencies which are nomrally disregarded in the more idealized citation forms discussed in traditional linguistics. This is not just because of an insistence on accuracy; indeed, it has been demonstrated that these features of spoken discourse exemplify many of the complex processes involved in the collaborative production of a conversation

It should be emphasised that this is a necessarily brief account which has disregarded many important theoretical distinctions in the literature. The term "discourse analysis" is being used here generically. It is also used to refer to a particular analytic approach developed at the University of Birmingham to describe teacher-pupil interaction (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). A different approach, which developed out of ethnomethodology, is referred to as "conversation analysis" (see, for example, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974). Other terms include "text linguistics", which refers mainly to a European tradition of text analysis, and more generally, other terms used include interaction analysis, face-to-face interaction, and interpersonal communication. For further details, the interested reader is referred to texts such as Brown and Yule (1983), Levinson (1983) and Stubbs (1983).

Developmental discourse

Most of the above aspects of discourse have also been studied developmentally. In particular, there have been studies of the development in children of turn-taking, requesting, narrating, referring, as well as the use of devices for initiating and sustaining coherent dialogue. Reviews of this work and accounts of further empirical research can be found in Garvey (1984) and McTear (1985). The present paper will examine a further aspect of discourse - the use and development of conversational repair Put simply, repair refers to the devices used to sustain conversation in the face of actual or potential communicative breakdown. This can include simple cases of non-hearings and misunderstandings, checks for confirmation and elaboration as well as self-corrections Repairs can be initiated by either the current speaker whose utterance occasioned the repair, or by the other participant. Similarly, once repairs have been initiated, they can be carried out by either the current speaker or the other participant. By using the term "self" for the speaker of the repairable utterance and "other" for the listener, we can isolate four types of repair in conversation:

1. self-initiated self-repair
2. other-initiated self-repair
3. Self-initiated other-repair
4. other-initiated other-repair

In this paper only the first two types will be examined. For a detailed account of conversational repair, see Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977). The first type, abbreviated for convenience to "self-repair", refers to cases where the speaker self-corrects without any prompting from the other conversational partner. The second type, usually referred to as "clarification request", occurs when the listener requests some clarification which is then proferred by the speaker of the utterance which occasioned the request. These will be discussed first.

Clarification requests

Clarification requests can be classified across two dimensions Firstly, they can be classified in terms of whether or not they address a specific part of the repairable utterance. In this sense, requests can be non-specific. The second dimension refers to the type of response expected - repetition, confirmation or specification.

The following examples (based on work by Garvey, 1977 might help):

1. Non-specific request for repetition

A: Do you like his big brother?
B: What?
A: Do you like his big brother?

2. Specific request for repetition

A: Do you like his big brother?
B: His what?
A: His big brother

3. Specific request for confirmation

A: Do you like his big brother?
B: His big brother?
A: Yes

4. Specific request for specification

A: Do you like his big brother?
B: Which one?
A: The one with the curly hair

Types 1 and 2 differ in that, although they both request repetition, type 2 requests repetition only of a specific part of the utterance. This difference may be carried by intonation alone, with a rising tone on "what" indicating type 1 and a falling tone indicating type 2. While the response to type 1 requires only simple repetition, type 2 requests require their recipient to isolate the appropriate item (in the above example, the object noun phrase). In this way type 4 is also more complex. It occurs in the environment of insufficient information, when for example, the speaker has made false assumptions about what the listener knows. This is often described as communicative egocentrism in the case of young children. In this request type the listener has to specify which aspect of the utterance is unsatisfactory, while the speaker has to supply the appropriate requested specification. The ability to make and respond to specific requests for specification requires a considerable degree of interactional and linguistic competence.

As far as the acquisition of clarification requests is concerned, Garvey (1977), in a study of 48 children aged 2;10 to 5;7 in dyadic peer interaction, found that children were able to respond appropriately to requests for clarification, with the older children making fewer null responses (i.e. failure to respond at all). Non-specific requests were the most frequent, but all types were represented in the data for both younger and older age groups, suggesting that even young preschool children acquire early the ability to request and give clarification in everyday conversation. This conflicts somewhat with results of experimental studies which suggest that young children are unable to take account of listener indications of misunderstanding (for example, Peterson, Danner and Flavell, 1972), although this could be explained partially in terms of the higher cognitive demands placed on children in many experimental communication tasks.

A detailed analysis of children's clarification requests can yield useful information about their linguistic abilities. A comparison of utterance 1 in the sequence (the repairable) and utterance 3 (the clarification) can show the child's ability to segment surface strings and produce semantically, functionally or formally equivalent phrases. Children rarely give an exact repetition following a "what" request. Phonologically there can be a reduction in tempo, more careful articulation, widening of pitch range, and the use of contrastive stress. As far as the grammatical form of the utterance is concerned, often only essential content is repeated or the utterance may be expanded by adding further relevant material. For example, in the following sequence, the connective "sure", which occurs in Ulster English before a justification in the domain of a prior reversed polarity utterance (i.e. "yes" in contrast to "I didn't"), is omitted in the repeated utterance:

(1) Heather: I didn't
Siobhan: Yes
Heather: I didn't
sure I've got it on me there
Siobhan: What?
Heather: I've got it on me there

Other connectives and items such as "I think" were similarly omitted in such cases, indicating that the children were paying specific attention to the selection of the particular elements in the utterance which required repetition and were able to distinguish these from other items which served a discourse function only in respect of the specific position in the sequence in which they occurred. The interaction with linguistic ability is also to be seen in responses to requests for specification, as in this example:

(2) Siobhan: I see shells on that lorry
Heather: What lorry?
Siobhan: That one that's blue

Here Siobhan has to specify which lorry she is referring to. This involves in this case the use of a restrictive relative clause as well as the substitution of the pronoun from "one" for the noun "lorry". It is possible that exposure to such sequences forces the child to become aware of the need to make utterances specific to the requirements of particular listeners. It may also be the case that grammatical structures such as relative clauses emerge as the child becomes aware of their communicative functions. However, much more empirical research is required before this hypothesis can be substantiated.

Leading on from this, it is possible to point to the possible educative function of clarification requests, in that they force children to test their current hypotheses about the form and use of their language, for example, by trying alternative forms instead of repeating. In the following example, the child corrects the grammatical form of her utterance following a clarification request:

(3) C: Oh, she ate me
somebody else wants to be ates
A: What?
C: Eaten

In some cases, the "correction" can result in an ungrammatical utterance:

(4) C: I'm gonna let one dry out
A: Huh?
C: I'm gonna let one....
I'm gonna let one dries out
A: Oh

Children's developing linguistic systems are generally unstable with the result that their production of well-formed utterances is variable. It would be interesting to investigate the potential educative role of such self-corrections of grammatical forms in the domain of clarification requests.

Self-repair

Self-repairs have received little attention in the developmental literature, possibly because they are unconsciously edited out at the transcription stage and simply not noticed. Indeed, it requires repeated listening with particular attention to repair phenomena such as cut-offs and hesitations in order to avoid this editing out. It is also possible that the significance of repair phenomena is not appreciated and that they are dismissed as purely "performance features". Certainly, self-repairs can be occasioned by a variety of factors, including speech planning and production processes, emotional state, memory lapses and other degeneracies of performance. These have been studied particularly by psychologists. However, self-repairs can also reveal aspects of a speaker's linguistic and interactional competence, as will be seen in the following analysis of grammatical self-repairs.

The following are some examples of self-repairs to grammar taken from a study of pre-school children (McTear, 1985):

(5) Siobhan: Do you want more some books now. Some more books

(6) Heather: Well I hurt me
I hurt myself

(7) Siobhan: and there's a the the biggest garden

In (5) Siobhan has problems with the ordering of premodifying items in noun phrases and first produces the ordering of quantifier "more" followed by determiner "some" before correcting to "some more". In (6) Heather corrects the pronoun "me", replacing it with the reflexive "myself" which is required in the syntactic environment of "I hurt X/X- I". Finally, example (7) is a case of syntactic relations, where the choice of a superlative form "biggest" requires the prior use of the definite article. Siobhan begins the noun phrase with the indefinite article "a", which is usually required after "there", but replaces with "the" in anticipation of the superlative form. The repetition of "the" is a further indication of 'trouble' at this precise point.

As well as straightforward self-corrections, children may often produce a different grammatical structure as in the following example:

(8) Siobhan: and this is just the table that you. like that table
over there

In this case there is a change from a projected relative clause "the table that you ." to a comparative construction. This may have been simply because Siobhan changed her mind about what she was about to say. However, a further possibility is that she encountered difficulties with the projected relative clause and changed to a more manageable structure. This is also a common phenomenon in adult speech, where speakers cut off a problematic structure and replace it (Ochs, 1979). In some cases a lexical problem may by resolved by using a different grammatical structure:

(9) Heather: so your na- so your name hasn't got. um
so your
um. so you aren't a girl. you're a boy

Here Heather is having trouble finding a suitable object noun phrase to express the idea that the addressee is male. Instead of supplying this missing lexical item, she restructures the idea with different syntax.

Self-repairs also indicate the child's awareness of constituent structure. Many of the children's repairs involved a cut-off in mid-sentence after the subject-auxiliary or verb, resulting in a recycling or restructuring which involved a full clause structure:

(10) Heather: I was going to r-
I was going to run down to your house

In cases where the trouble occurred in a subordinate clause, then usually only the subordinate clause was recycled:

(11) Siobhan: you can't do it in the care because my house isn't very em
my house isn't very far

Where the trouble occurred towards the end of the sentence in the prepositional phrase, then only this part was recycled:

(12) H: where's the old witch in this, on this book

In sum, it would seem from evidence such as this that young children's self-repairs demonstrate their awareness of constituent structure in grammar

Concluding remarks

This brief illustration of some recent work in developmental discourse has shown the interactional and linguistic skills possessed by young preschool children. Most of the emphasis has been on describing the discourse skills of conversational repair, although the relationship between these skills and the children's linguistic abilities has also been outlined. Future research will need to address further the interesting relationship between linguistic and interactional competence. Functional explanations of language development suggest that grammar emerges because of communicative requirements. A detailed examination of children's linguistic and interactional development could shed light on this important theoretical issue.

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PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATION THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF LESSER USED LANGUAGES

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T.C.D.

This paper reports briefly on a Survey carried out during 1983-4 at the request of the Commission of the European Communities. The Dossiers on which the Final Report/Synthesis is based were established as a specific activity of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages which was subvented by the Commission, on behalf of minority languages and cultures within the Community. (For a fuller account of the Bureau see O Riagáin[1] or Ó Murchú[2]).

METHODOLOGY

The directions given in relation to this specific activity referred to

> "the establishment of dossiers regarding the trends, provisions and problems in the field of pre-primary education including the participation of parents, which could serve as the basis for a future Conference at European level."

In accordance with these directives, Guidelines were prepared and amended in discussion with the Commission. These Guidelines covered 5 areas - history/motivation behind current forms of pre-primary provision, essential statistics, linguistic and educational aspects of provision, future development - which the recipient was asked to treat in discursive form in his reply. These Guidelines (in four languages) were then sent to individuals and organisations in 6 of the 10 member states, inviting them to participate. (Accounts of statutory provision in countries of the Community were fairly readily available). This preliminary list was determined on the basis of the participants being known to be actively involved in promoting pre-primary provision in a lesser used language, either to the compiler of the Synthesis or to constituent members of the European Bureau. It was not an exhaustive list, nor did it contain some groups who, while not currently having any form of pre-primary provision in a minority language, would wish to be involved in a planning exercise towards future provision and therefore to have their views recorded in a Synthesis of this kind. Within the constraints of time and funding it was hoped to present a reasonably representative account of current "trends, provisions and problems" as directed, to include any suitable materials provided from other sources, and to try to ensure that the information gathered would be later disseminated as widely as possible, and in that process refined, updated, and perhaps provide the basis for pointers towards possible policy. The Table below shows by underlining the eventual numbers of participants from a possible total drawn from Stephens.[3]

TABLE 1.

EEC MINORITY LANGUAGES PROJECT

1. IRELAND (1)
   Irish
2. UNITED KINGDOM (4)
   Irish, Welsh, Gàidhlig, Cornish
3. FRANCE (7 + 1)
   N. Basque, N. Catalan, Breton, Occitan (@ 2), Flemish,
   Corsican
   Alsace Lorraine
4. ITALY (5)
   Slovene, Sudtirol, Ladin, Friulan, Val d'Aosta
   Sards, Piedmontese, Occitans, Romagnols, Greeks, Croats,
   Albanians
5. NETHERLANDS (1)
   Frisian
6. LUXEMBOURG (1)
   Letzeburgisch
7. DENMARK (1)
   German (N. Schleswig)
   Greenlanders, Faroese
8. GERMANY
   Danish (S. Schleswig), N. @ E. Frisian, Platt-Deutsch
9. BELGIUM
   Flemish, Walloons, Germans (E. Cantons)
10. GREECE
    Turks, Albanians, Romanians

Of 22 invited to participate initially or at a later stage, there were 15 positive responses (not in all cases through the actual contact made), with the addition of 6 participants who provided information of their own accord as they became aware of the Survey through members of the Bureau. This ensured a total of 21 out of 27, with two reports from one region (voluntary agency and mainstream system) counted here as 1. Given the difficulties associated with voluntary agencies often without a fixed address, whose honorary officers may change annually, the size of the survey area involved and inevitable delays with the necessity for translation, this response was considered satisfactory. Of those responding, there was no pre-primary provision in only one region. Of the 10 member states, contact was either made with or received from 9, Greece being the exception.

In the Guidelines sent to participants, suggestions were made as to how the data sought under the various areas in the Guidelines might be obtained, i.e. essential statistics from existing primary sources, or information based on sample questions in Guidelines by mean of oral interview or mail-questionnaire. Different methods of gathering the relevant information were used by the various contributors. In some instances an expert researcher was retained, in others the dossier was compiled by individuals within the organisations themselves. It can probably be assumed that, in some cases, a degree of sympathy at least, and possible of subjectivity, informed areas of given data. This in no way detracts from the whole exercise, which was basically one of gathering information not only on what various groups are doing in the field of minority language medium pre-primary provision, but on how they perceive themselves and their work and others' perceptions of them. Indeed, one of the more valuable off-shoots of establishing a dossier may well have been the opportunity it afforded groups to examine their own situation and attempt to explain it to others, and in so doing to deepen and broaden their own knowledge of it.

TERMINOLOGY

As is already apparent, there exist problems of terminology

(i) with regard to the areas of educational provision under survey and

(ii) with regard to the participant groups involved.

Point 3.0 of Guidelines uses the term pre-primary and, for purposes of this work, defines it as "pre-compulsory primary schooling". In the same spirit, "provision/services are defined as any efforts, whether statutory or voluntary, at education outside the home setting, through the medium of the lesser used language." For a fuller discussion of the possible connotations attendant on choice of terminology in this area of education, the reader is referred to the Introduction of Publication No.12 in the Education Series of the Commission of the European Communities.[4]

Rather more emotive are possible pejorative nuances of the term "minority" whether in reference to a community or a language. It may also be innacurate as a term, since a numerical minority within a particular state may well be

(i) a numerical majority in a region of that state, (a fact which assumes even greater importance if the region is an autonomous region);

(ii) speak a language which is the majority language of another state, as in some Italian border regions for example, or

(iii) as in the case of the Republic of Ireland and Luxembourg, the language may in fact be the first official language of the state or national language respectively.

Other considerations which had to be taken into account pertained

(i) to the perceived links between ethnic groups, language and cultural identity as well as

(ii) questions of nationality, citizenship and their being co-terminous with different language-speaking groups.

All this then influenced the choice of the qualifier "lesser used" in relation to the linguistic groups involved. It also led to the use of the terms "indigenous" to describe a linguistic group such as the Welsh in Britain and "extra-territorial" to describe a linguistic group such as the Slovenes of present-day Trieste.

The problems of immigrant groups were not considered to come within the current definition of the work of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages.

RESEARCH IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Recognition of the possible advantages of early intervention as a compensatory mechanism in the education of socially or economically deprived groups together with a growing awareness of the crucial importance of the early formative years for all facets of the child's development has led in the past twenty years to research and report programmes all over the world. Many of these have focussed on language and the possible determining effects of language variety on life chances, and have, in some instances, for a time at least, influenced public policy.

Psycholinguistic studies have provided studies of child language acquisition, including specific examples of bilingual children. Studies are also available of bilingual educational systems.

In Europe, bodies such as the Council of Europe, UNESCO, the European Commission and the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation of the OECD have set research in train and published several significant "reports[3] for ex. in the areas of early childhood education for immigrant children. Very little, however, is available on such a scale in the field of pre-primary provision for linguistic groups of the type described above, although allusions to education for linguistic diversity can be found throughout the major reports on early childhood education. Goutard (1979)[4] and Woodhead (1981)[5], however, do tend to treat societal pluralism and bi-cultural education for the young in a context that includes native, as well as immigrant, cultural minorities. The Summary Report[6] (1984), of the Van Leer Foundation Seminar in Granada, Spain, also mentions, in the discussion on bi-lingual and bi-cultural education in the classroom, the particular problems of the EEC's lesser used languages, the levelling effects of mass media, the importance of the minority language having a role in domains other than education, to support the work of the classroom, as well as the disadvantages of "minimal and disjointed provision" (p. 18). (These remarks are confined to reports from European bodies. The work of, for example, the UK Mother Tongue Project[7] is not included).

PROBLEMS OF SYNTHESIS

Provision of a clear Synthesis on comparative lines implies an ordering of material according to selected criteria. There were several choices that could have been made as to what constituted a suitable framework. Initially, when the Guidelines were prepared, with the purpose of making comparative work more manageable across a range of contributions, it was felt that the five main areas would prove useful starting points. The dossiers, however, provided such a wealth of information from differing situations that this approach proved ultimately less feasible. Description and analysis by country would not have done full justice either to the similarities between countries nor to the differences within them. While the whole question of language was central to the work, the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic (and indeed socioeconomic) implications of this approach could only be adequately dealt with within a broader framework. Since all the dossiers were concerned with the issue of pre-school provision as an important mechanism in the maintenance of minority languages and cultures and their transmission to the next generation with the attendant problems such a stance imposes, concerned with statutory support or the lack of it, and voluntary efforts to fill the void, it was eventually decided to order material in the Final Report basically on whether the educational provision in the different regions was (i) voluntary, (ii) statutory or (iii) a combination of both, as Table below indicates.

TABLE II

PRE-PRIMARY PROVISION

1.	STATUTORY ONLY	
	Luxembourg	(1)
	Italy	(5)
2.	VOLUNTARY ONLY	
	Gàidhlig, UK	(1)
	Cornish, UK	(1)
3.	BOTH STATUTORY AND VOLUNTARY (not necessarily all cases)	
	Irish	(1)
	Frisian	(1)
	France	(6)
	Welsh, UK	(1)
	Irish, UK	(1)
4.	PRIVATE	
	German, North Schleswig, Denmark (1)	
5.	NONE	
	Flemish, France (1)	

The German minority in Denmark has private education which is state funded. It is the level of recognition and funding it receives that distinguishes it from the type of private educational provision described here as voluntary.

ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY

A paper of this length precludes the possiblity of providing a comprehensive overview of the 21 situations on which information was provided or of discussing fully the many inter-related variables involved. The following framework, however, drawn from Saint-Blancat's[8] discussion of minority group vitality, which she bases on Giles et al.[9] and Tajfel[10], may provide an introduction to the general conclusions. Saint-Blancat suggests that the ability of a minority to survive derives not only from the objective conditions of the socio-structural context but also from social-psychological processes that have to do with ethnolinguistic identity and the minority's subjective perception of its own vitality. It is the interaction thus produced that determines the type and strength of the strategies used by the minority in its efforts at self-maintenance.

ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY
determined by
SOCIO-STRUCTURAL CONTEXT

1. STATUS variables	economic political linguistic	+ PRESTIGE
2. DEMOGRAPHIC factors	numbers birth rate geographical concentration mixed marriages in-migration out-migration	
3. Institutional SUPPORT factors	mass-media education government industry religion culture	+ RECOGNITION + REPRESENTATION

HIGH VITALITY = HIGH ABILITY TO SURVIVE AS COLLECTIVE, RESIST ASSIMILATION

BUT ALSO SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES -
ETHNOLINGUISTIC IDENTITY

1. SOCIAL CATEGORISATION
2. SOCIAL IDENTITY
3. SOCIAL COMPARISON
4. PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTINCTIVENESS

NEED : POSITIVE DISTINCTIVENESS

ACTUAL LEVEL OF VITALITY + minority's PERCEPTION of that vitality affect

SALIENCE OF ETHNOLINGUISTIC IDENTITY (+, -) and therefore ABILITY FORGE SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

STRATEGIES TOWARDS MORE POSITIVE SELF-CONCEPT

1. INDIVIDUAL MOBILITY (assimilation, dominant group)
2. SOCIAL CREATIVITY (redefine/reverse/re-interpret negatively valued elements)
3. SOCIAL COMPETITION (direct conflict)

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Leaving aside in this paper discussion of the criteria by which a minority may be defined, it is certainly possible to describe as heterogenous those communities that are commonly included in the minorities of Europe. In numbers, for example, they range from under 1,000 with the Germans of Sauris in Northern Italy to the 2½ million Occitans in the southern half of France. Regions in the border areas may date annexation from as far back as 1659 (Northern Catalans and Basques), or 1860 as Val d'Aosta. In the case of the Slovenes of Trieste, it was not until 1975 that the present Italo-Yugoslav border was ratified. They may be citizens of one country but regard themselves as nationals of another, or of part of another (France, for example, is considered to contain a ¼ of the Basque nation). They may have no share in government, or be an autonomous region created by special statute.

In spite of this heterogeneity, however, many of the linguistic groupings discussed above reveal certain common characteristics : they are communities on the margin both of their own states and of Europe. They are peripheral geographically, economically and culturally, currently in a state of transitional societal bilingualism. They have endured out-migration of their own members and in-migration of a kind that led to economic and linguistic imbalance. The traditional values of their cultures are being eroded in the face of a changing social environment with a rapidity that leaves little room for adaptation. The critical mass of community speakers necessary for their survival is decreasing at a rate that could soon reach the point of no return. The birth rate is falling. Intergenerational transmission of the language is not occurring as it should.

They have in common also, however, a realization of their own precarious state and a determination to take preventative stabilizing action. To take any action at all, however, requires power and resources, both either scarce or lacking. There exists a growing demand for the right to self-determination, to take responsibility for their own future.

> "Political autonomy, while not itself a solution, is clearly considered a pre-requisite for the maintenance and development of regional languages and cultures" (Riccardo Petrella, public lecture, Dublin 1981)11

Local needs are best met by locally determined solutions.

The school as an agency which transmits the language and values of the communtiy, which has the possibility of ensuring a viable community of speakers, is probably the most important domain in which to have communtiy control. Language is central to education, so education must be central to the language community's field of power. The very young are central to the future, so the linguistic education of the very young is of paramount importance.

Bilingualism is not the issue, but the type of bilingualism and the route towards it. Stable bilingualism is a real possibility, but it can only occur by positive discrimination that favours the status of the minority language, by its extension, or restoration, into as many domains of use as possible, public and private. Monolingual vernacular education of the very young then has been found one solution by many minorities; others, by reason of existing statutes have settled for bilingual pre-primary education. There are difficulties with defining this monolingual education as mother tongue education:

(i) because of the mixed linguistic characteristics of communities and families;

(ii) because it is also widely taken up, particularly the voluntary variety, by majority speakers, for either ideological or educational reasons.

The monolingual variety appears to have effects wider than solely linguistic, on a population wider than the school population itself. It tends to influence attitudes

(i) in the minority language community itself, leading to a new perception of the importance of the native language and culture and so increased language loyalty. This in turn has meant some impact on linguistic behaviour in the family and a greater acceptance of policies leading to increased public status for the minority language.

(ii) In the wider community, leading in some instances to hostility/resentment, but in general to an awareness of others' linguistic rights, paving the way for possible statutory policy initiatives. Because the linguistic objectives of monolingual minority language education is clear, those involved in it tend to be convinced in their approach. Such education, even by those who cannot provide it (the Ladins for example), is generally considered the best solution to the present dilemma, leading to some degree of equality between the language for the individual, and hope for the future for the community.

Bilingual education, especially at the pre-primary level, suffers several drawbacks. Since the linguistic outcomes expected are difficult to state unequivocally, the advantage tends to lie with the majority language, which tends to dominate, even though - or indeed because - it is dominating anyway. It is difficult for the minority language to win this unequal battle, especially within current sociolinguistic conditions. The effect on staff, for example, may tend to be one of ambivalence. The economic arguments in favour of majority language mastery are naturally highly regarded by both parents and teachers. This may lead to no more than transitional bilingualism for the individual and the community, reinforce existing transitionalism, or be merely assimilationalist.

The numbers of children involved in voluntary pre-primary minority language education are very much smaller than those in the statutory variety, in Europe. Paradoxically, however, the linguistic and attitudinal effects of the former may be of greater importance, both now and in the future.

If community viability depends on increasing the number of speakers and/or on planning and implementing a situation of stable diglossia, the role of the minority language in the domain of education would appear to have to be a dominant one, which may mean monolingual particularly at the pre-primary level. "Not to learn the language, but to learn through the language" was a recurring theme in the Dossiers.

Whatever the choice, monolinguality or bilinguality, the range of problems described tends to similar, having their base in the linguistically mixed classroom that confronts the teacher in both types of provision, although the urgency to find solutions will, of course, depend largely on commitment and aims. For some indigenous minority languages, there still exist areas of corpus planning that need completion, although most now have institutions established for this purpose. There is still, despite an increase in children's publishing a dearth of suitable (culturally, linguistically and pedagogically) learning materials. There is not sufficient research into the processes and products of differing systems to offer objective guidance on language approach (although those that exist are encouraging, c.f. Ireland and Wales). There is, above all, no suitable training for teachers to operate efficiently in such conditions, although by now there exists a large pool of collective wisdom. There remain some attitudinal problems (among staff and parents) that may more easily lend themselves to solution if the lacunae already enumerated were filled. (Doubts about majority language monolingual education, even for non-majority speakers, are rarely expressed). There are also some problems of credibility due to the perceived sweep of demands in relation to the relatively small size of some communities.

These very difficulties are not, however, without their compensations. The freedom of not having easily accessible models has led to experimentation and innovation in education that might not have been otherwise possible.

Linguistico-educational considerations receive high prominence: the cultural identity of children; the benefits of early exposure to more than one language; bilingualism of necessity and bilingualism of choice, effects on minority and majority children: a complex of attitudes, beliefs, values relating to education for bilingual results, differently held by different groups, within both minority and majority communities.

In this situation, parents have new roles and new needs. Most have, and they want to have, a more powerful and decisive role in all aspects of their children's education. In some instances they work closely with school personnel towards the fulfilment of the educational objectives. (In some extra-territorial minority areas, the teachers seek this liaison towards the common goal). Majority language parents may be helpful and encouraged into the minority language community and education. This is particularly the case where, for differing reasons, they have chosen minority language medium education for their children. The fact that, in some areas at any rate, their numbers are still small, and that the percentage of the pre-school age cohort receiving this largely private education is not highly significant, is due more to lack of resources, especially financial, than to any lack of determination. The demand for such provision, whether private or statutory, is so constant across the minorities of Europe that it must be taken very seriously as a phenomenon that will not easily burn itself out. The accompany demands that voluntary minority-language medium education be integrated into the statutory system while leaving a degree of control to parents/ voluntary organisations/ community require imaginative solutions.

The question of language and languages is central to the question of Europe. Document PE 86 480 (04/11/1983), Projet de Rapport sur La diffusion des languages dans la Communauté (Rapporteur: Luc Beyer de Ryke), of the European Parliament and Commission states clearly the political choice made with regard to language(s) by the signatories to the creation of the European Community.

> "refus d'imposer une ou deux langues dominants mais également mise à l'écart du gaélique et de toutes langues régionales ou minoritaires".

It goes on to point out, as did the Arfe Report 1,2 that

> "la diversité culturelle de l'Europe ne peut être considérée comme une richesse que si elle est partagée."

Ironically, it would appear that it is the minorities of Europe that are the real Europeans, for it is they who, not always of their choice perhaps, share most in the cultural diversity of Europe. All they appear to be asking now is to be allowed to continue to do so.

> "The compatibility of regionalism and European integration is possible. It will depend on the will of Europeans". (Petrella, Dublin, 1981)[11]

The implications of current trends in minority language maintenance in Europe (and indeed elsewhere) appear to be socio-political, linguistic and educational, in that order.

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Bilingualism and the Genesis of Hiberno-English Syntax

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Introduction

It is commonly accepted by specialist and non-specialist alike that at least some of the distinctive qualities of the English language in Ireland arise from contact with Irish. The precise mechanism by which the contact between Irish and English has led to apparent restructurings of English grammar has not, however, been discussed in any detail, either with respect to the social environment of language contact or with regard to particular linguistic structures.

The following paper addresses two points in the social and linguistic history of Hiberno-English. The first point concerns the structure of population distribution and possible patterns of communicative activity, particularly in the formative years of the 17th century. I suggest that the towns of the 17th century, consisting of populations with large numbers of both English and Irish speakers, may have assumed a role in the spread of English in the 18th and 19th centuries that was greater than the numbers of people living in the towns would imply. The second point concerns some of the linguistic structures usually associated with Hiberno-English, notably the co-occurrence of do+be. Concentrating on English do, I suggest that 'standard' English periphrastic do may have had a greater effect than is commonly realised, due to the re-interpretation of do into two separate lexical entries.

In the absence of a comprehensive theoretical model in which to study Hiberno-English, the discussion in this paper is more suggestive than conclusive. The issues which it raises, however, are intended to provide a background both for continued development of a theoretical model for Hiberno-English, and for further research into the history of it.

Population and language distribution

The legal, administrative, and anecdotal evidence by which the changing distribution of English and Irish can be established is well documented by Hogan (1927), Ó Cuív (1951), Henry (1957), Bliss (1977a,b; 1979), and others; it will not be repeated here. Several legal documents, though, stand out in suggesting the nature and significance of bilingual contact surrounding the towns in various periods. In the Statutes of Kilkenny (1366), for example, it was forbidden for any 'Irish minstrels, that is to say, tympanours, pipers, story tellers, babblers, rhymers, harpers, or any other Irish minstrels' to 'come amongst the English,' or for any English people to 'recieve them or make gift to them.' (Berry 1907, p. 447.) Note as well the complaint of the Irish Parliament of 1431 that 'Irish enemies of our lord the King raise and hold amongst them different fairs and markets, and sundry merchants, English lieges, go and repair to the said fairs and markets,' sometimes with the help of 'their servants or people called "laxmen".' Since this practice was said to benefit the native Irish population, it was prohibited. (Berry 1910, p. 43.) Finally, consider the Dublin Municipal Council petition of 1657 which noted that

> whereas by the lawes all persons of this land ought to speake and use the English tongue and habitt, contrarie whereunto, and in open contempte whereof, there is Irish commonlie and usually spoken, and the Irish habitt worne not onlie in the streetes, and by such as live in the countrie and come to this cittie on market dayes, but also by and in severall families in this cittie

and called on the aldermen of the town to 'reade and consider of all lawes and ordinances which are most materiall against the thinges complained of in the said peticion' (Gilbert 1894, pp. 118-119).

In all of the above cases, a significant degree of social and individual bilingualism may be inferred: Irish minstrels would hardly have been entertained by the English community had the possibility of mutual comprehension not existed, and the trade proscribed in 1431 must have required a stock of bilingual individuals for it to take place. I interpret the resolution of 1657 to suggest that it was expected that Irish would be brought into Dublin by commerce with the surrounding countryside, and that it was the public use of Irish by city residents which threatened the petitioners. What this resolution omits is the very real possibility that such incursions of Irish were equally incursions of English into the Irish-speaking community: rural traders must have come into contact with English, and it would not be surprising if Irish-speakers in Dublin also had at least some command of English.

Such bilingualism need not have been pervasive, nor would it need to require a large proportion of the population to be proficient in English and Irish, in order for bilingualism to have had an effect on the development of Hiberno-English. Diebold's (1961) study of Huave speakers in Oaxaca, Mexico, for example, found that traditional definitions of bilingualism only in terms of the 'ability of the speaker to "produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language" ' obscured the 'question of minimal proficiency,' for which Diebold reserved the term 'incipient bilingualism.' (Diebold 1961, p. 99. Quoting Einar Haugen.) By administering a lexicostatistical test to his Huave-speaking informants, Diebold (1961) noted that, whereas co-ordinate bilinguals were able to give Spanish equivalents for Huave words in 97% of cases, while subordinate bilinguals offered equivalents 89% of the time, even those classed as monolingual Huave-speakers gave appropriate responses at a mean level of 37%, exhibiting a range from 11 to 68 per cent. (Diebold 1961, pp. 110-111.)

From this evidence, Diebold (1961, p. 111) argued that 'if incipient bilingualism is excluded from the investigation, we further conceal the initial learning stages; yet it is here that many of the interlingual identifications are set up which profoundly affect the shape of subsequent interference.' Following Diebold, then, I suggest that the minimal bilingualism which may have accompanied the English-speaking communities in the towns of 17th century Ireland, and which may have gone unnoticed in contemporary accounts, could have provided exactly the environment for the restructuring of English grammar that resulted in modern Hiberno-English.

To illustrate the distribution of language groups in the middle of the 17th century, consider the results of the Census of Ireland from 1659. This census is surrounded by some doubt as to its authors and origins, but it appears to have been executed by workers under Sir William Petty between 1655 and 1659 (Pender 1939, pp. i-ii). The Census divided the population into 'English,' 'Scots,' and 'Irish,' making a reference as well to the 'Old English' in Bargy, Co. Wexford. Though Pender (1939, p. xiii fn.) points out the possible ambiguity of these classifications, and notes Eoin MacNeill's suspicion of their validity or completeness, he ultimately concludes (p. xviii) that the classifications reflect language use rather than ethnic descent.

With the above limitations in mind, the census can be analysed to yield a rough picture of the linguistic groupings of the period. The pattern which consistently emerges is that of a rural countryside which is overwhelmingly, though not exclusively, 'Irish,' interspersed with towns consisting of an urban 'English' core surrounded by suburbs and liberties which are largely Irish. Some of the data from the Census are summarised in the following table, adapted from Pender (1939 passim.). Regrettably, the relevant information is not available for such major towns as Galway and Drogheda.

TABLE I

Town	Urban Dwellers (%)	Suburban Dwellers (%)	Area Totals (%)
Cork[a]	38 - Irish	72 - Irish	67 - Irish
(N=4826)	62 - English	28 - English	33 - English
Kinsale	57 - Irish	72 - Irish	62 - Irish
(N=2197)	43 - English	28 - English	38 - English
Carlow	52 - Irish	87 - Irish	74 - Irish
(N=1517)	48 - English	13 - English	26 - English
Limerick	47 - Irish	94 - Irish	74 - Irish
(N=3105)	53 - English	06 - English	26 - English
Dublin	26 - Irish	75 - Irish	55 - Irish
(N=21,827)	74 - English	25 - English	45 - English
Kilkenny	61 - Irish	87 - Irish	75 - Irish
(N=1722)	39 - English	13 - English	25 - English
Dundalk	71 - Irish	93 - Irish	87 - Irish
(N=2536)	29 - English	07 - English	13 - English
Wexford	56 - Irish	82 - Irish	62 - Irish
(N=902)	44 - English	18 - English	38 - English
Athlone[b]	60 - Irish	86 - Irish	44 - Irish
(N=948)	40 - English	14 - English	56 - English
Sligo	73 - Irish	91 - Irish	85 - Irish
(N=1398)	27 - English	09 - English	15 - English

[a] Includes 7% soldiers; 7% Irish, 93% English

[b] Includes 38% soldiers; 17% Irish, 83% English

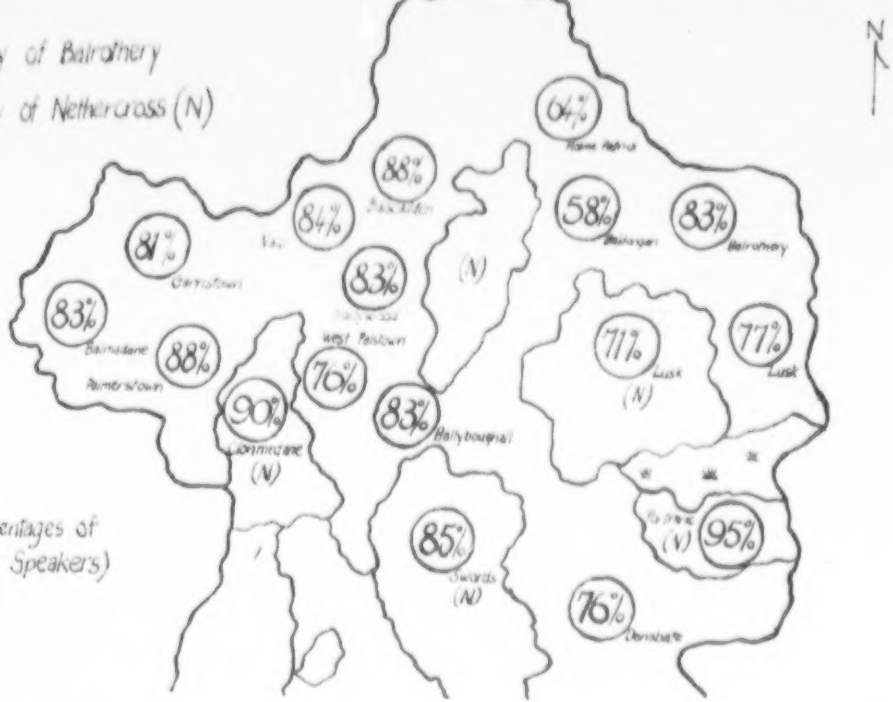
Table II sees the towns of Table I (omitting Athlone, for which the necessary data are lacking) in comparison with the population of the counties in which they are found. (From Pender 1939, passim.) Column I lists the per centage of the total county population found in the town and surrounding area, Column II lists the per centage of the total county population represented by the English population of the area, and Column III shows the per centage of the English population of the county as a whole that is found in the particular area. Table II thus shows the extent to which the urban population is overshadowed by that living in rural areas, and to which the English population is concentrated in towns.

TABLE II

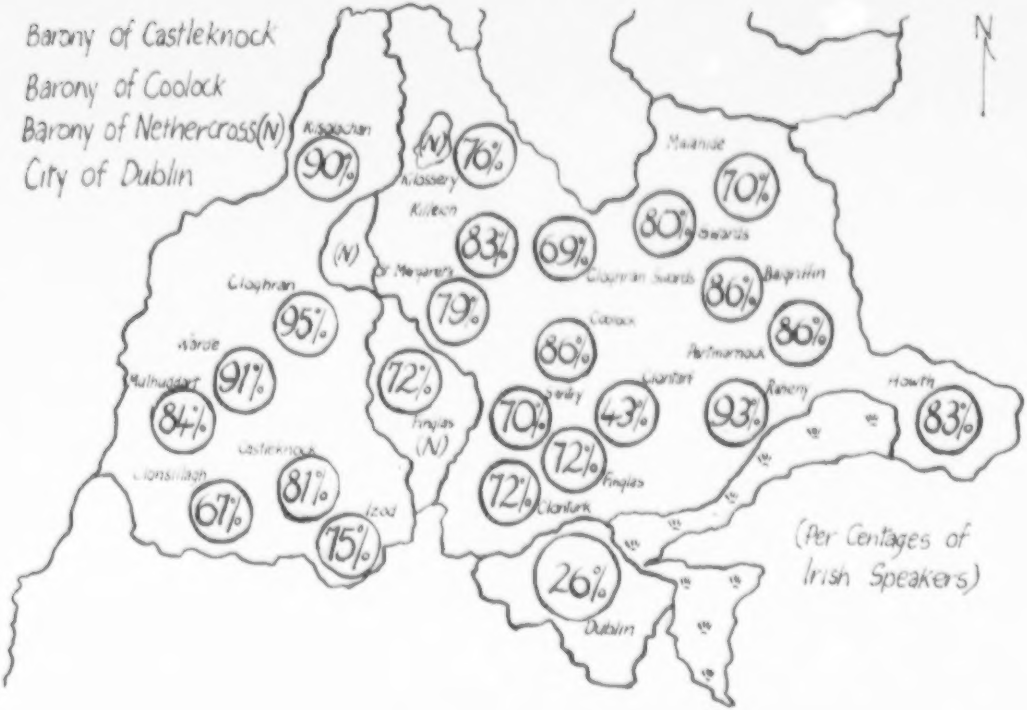
Town	I	II	III
Cork	12	04	25
Kinsale	05	02	13
Carlow	28	07	52
Limerick	12	03	41
Dublin	100	45	100
Kilkenny	09	02	30
Dundalk	26	03	18
Wexford	07	02	21
Sligo	20	03	39

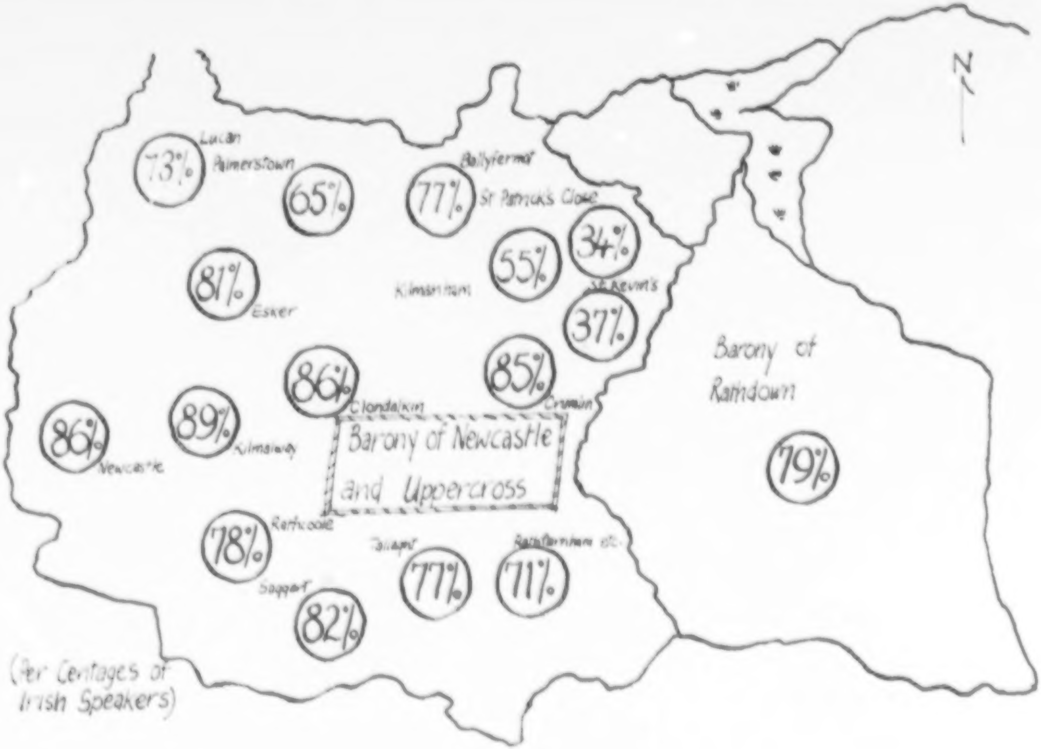
The pattern of settlement suggested by the above Tables, in particular that of the urban inner core of English speakers surrounded by increasingly Irish districts, is seen in the following maps of County Dublin, based on Pender (1939) and the Civil Survey of 1654-1656 (Simington 1945). Though it has proved impossible to represent the different parishes found on these maps in clear proportion to each other, they can be interpreted with the census data in Pender (1939) and the land ownership information of Simington (1945) to suggest the population distribution much more clearly than is possible with the anecdotal evidence generally cited.[1] (Note that it has also been impossible to represent the discontinuous Barony of Uppercross on these maps; see Simington (1945) for details.)

Barony of Balrothery
Barony of Nethercross (N)


N
64%
Holme Patrick
88%
Balscadden
84%
Naul
58%
Balbriggan
83%
Balrothery
81%
Garristown
83%
Hollywood
(N)
83%
Balmadune
88%
Palmerstown
West Palstown
76%
71%
Lusk
(N)
77%
Lusk
90%
Clonmethan
(N)
83%
Ballyboughall
Portrane
(N)
95%
85%
Swords
(N)
76%
Donabate

(Per Centages of
Irish Speakers)


Barony of Castleknock
Barony of Coolock
Barony of Nethercross(N)
City of Dublin
N
Kilsallachan
90%
(N)
76%
Kilossery
Killeek
83%
69%
(N)
Malahide
70%
80%
Swords
Cloghran Swords
86%
Balgriffin
St Margaret's
79%
Cloghran
95%
Coolock
86%
86%
Portmarnock
Warde
91%
Mulhuddart
84%
72%
Finglas
(N)
Santry
70%
Clontarf
43%
93%
Raheny
Howth
83%
Castleknock
81%
Clonsillagh
67%
72%
Finglas
72%
Clonturk
Izod
75%
26%
Dublin
(Per Centages of
Irish Speakers)

N
Lucan
73%
Palmerstown
65%
Ballyfermot
77%
St Patrick's Close
34%
55%
Kilmainham
81%
Esker
St Kevin's
37%
Barony of Rathdown
86%
Clondalkin
85%
Crumlin
86%
Newcastle
89%
Kilmactalway
Barony of Newcastle and Uppercross
79%
Rathcoole
78%
Tallaght
77%
Rathfarnham etc.
71%
Saggart
82%
(Per Centages of Irish Speakers)

Language input and language change

Using the preceding section as a base, it is possible to sketch the development of a fragment of Hiberno-English grammar by considering the linguistic structures which were available to learners of English in the 17th century. These surface structures are not models to be imitated directly, but raw data from which language learners, whether learning a language as a first or a second language, must intuit a grammar. It is in the process of constructing grammars from output data that language change may occur, given that the structural interpretations made by learners may not be isomorphic with the underlying structures in the grammars of native adult speakers. (For a discussion of this issue see Andersen 1973.) In illustrating the type of research that can be done in this area, I concentrate here on the well-known Hiberno-English do+be construction, which I wish to consider not in relation to Irish, as is usually done, but in relation to do forms in early modern English. I suggest that Hiberno-English do+be results from a re-interpretation of the periphrastic do of earlier English, in which periphrastic do was divided into two lexical entries. One of these, regular tense-marking do, became obsolete in Hiberno-English, just as it did in most other dialects; the other do, marking habitual, durative, or generic aspect, was brought into juxtaposition with be and remained as a Hiberno-English aspectual marker.

In examining the English input data for the habitual do, I do not examine the possible Irish-language sources for do+be. I suggest that Irish may have provided the conceptual basis on which bilingual speakers looked for a habitual marker in English; since do+be cannot be seen as a lexical translation of Irish aspectual markings, it can only have arisen through a more complicated process of semantic association between the Irish aspectual category and an English aspectual marker that had taken on similar functions for independent reasons. Such a hypothesis may be supported by comparing the emergence of do+be constructions with Hiberno-English after (I'm after breaking the window). While the latter construction, which is much more clearly related to Irish lexical items with similar function, makes its first appearance in print in 1681 (Bartley 1954, p. 130), do+be has so far not been found before 1815. (Bliss 1972, pp. 80-81. Even the example cited by Bliss can be questioned, as it is given not as an example of actual speech, but as a grammatical gloss in an Irish instruction book.) If it is the case that these two constructions have clearly separate histories, then it should not be surprising that they should have arisen by different historical processes.

With this hypothesis in mind, consider the uses of periphrastic do exemplified below.[2] This structure, about which Visser (1969, p. 1488) says that 'there is hardly a point of syntax on which there is a greater cleavage of views,' is usually exemplified as below.

Periphrastic do$_1$

(1) monkes and prestes deden messe singen.
(ca. 1300. Visser 1969, p. 1499.)

(2) They dyd let fly theyr quarrelles.
(1523-25. Visser 1969, p. 1504.)

(3) a braying ass Did sing most loud and clear.
(1783. Visser 1969, p. 1510.)

(4) how many peckes every brewer dyd brew.
(1527. Gilbert 1889, p. 181.)

(5) We enjoyned him to forbear teaching; and I the Chancellour did take a Recognizance of him.
(1615. O'Flaherty 1846, p. 215.)

(6) notwithstanding all the caution and care he and those employed under him do or can take to prevent persons from diverting the water ... the same is frequently diverted.
(1750. Gilbert 1902, p. 352.)

Periphrastic do as cited above was often used to denote states of affairs which were general or ongoing, rather than tied to a specific moment of the past or present. By the 16th century, a pattern starts to emerge in which do is used in phrases which denote habitual or generic actions. Such phrases often contain adverbs such as 'usually,' 'regularly,' etc. It is this do which I suggest provided the model for do+be. The first three examples below, of which (1) and (2) are British, illustrate general uses of periphrastic do_1, while the remaining examples show what I have termed periphrastic do_2.

Periphrastic do_2

(1) and well she may be named a woman, for as much as as she doth bear children with woe and pain, and also she is subject to man.
(1542. Furnivall 1870, p. 68.)

(2) I flatter my self that I do from Day to Day contribute something to the polishing of Men's Minds.
(1711. Visser 1969, p. 1508.)

(3) By my fait, Dear joy, I do let de Trooparr ly wid my wife in de bed, he does ly at de one side and myself ly at de toder side, and my wife do lye in de middle side.
(1705. Bartley 1954, p. 111. See also Bliss 1979, p. 145.)

(4) citizens of this cittie ... do sondry and often refus and gywe over ther said fredomis.
(1554. Gilbert 1889, p. 439.)

(5) dyvers and sundry persons ... doe in pryvy and secret places usually and ordenarily shewe
(1612-13. Gilbert 1892, p. 31.)

(6) the said merchants did usually pay the said custome.
(1631. Gilbert 1892, p. 558.)

(7) and yet she doth continually extort on poor people
(1634. Gilbert 1892, pp. xxiii-xxiv.)

(8) the geese and ducks repaire into their Master's yard, and the cockes and the hennes doe goe to roost for

that time.

(1682, Hore 1862-63, p. 87.)

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion can only be seen as a suggestion for further research. What is suggested here is that the historical reconstruction of Hiberno-English must make use of (a) historical records of population distribution in as detailed a fashion as possible, (b) theoretical models of societal bilingualism and language change, and (3) a close analysis of the types of primary linguistic data to which speakers may have been exposed in the process of grammar formation in various historical stages.

In regard to the first point, the data which I have presented here are quite amenable to analysis in terms of Trudgill's (1974) discussion of linguistic diffusion, in which he notes, following W. Christaller, that 'diffusion patterns are ... mediated through a system of urban centres (*central places* ...) in any given area "where diffusion is primarily dependent on individuals in one central place communicating with those in another".' (Trudgill 1974, pp. 223-224.) Here it may be suggested that the towns of post-Cromwellian Ireland played the role of 'central places,' providing concentrated communities of English-speakers, who, as administrators and entrepreneurs, shared a common cause. Though the diffusion of English out of the towns throughout the country did not occur with force until the 18th century and was not ultimately successful until the 19th century, these towns may nevertheless have been important in the development of the Hiberno-English which eventually came into being.

As regards the third point, there is a great need to collect further information on the emergence of linguistic variables in Hiberno-English. If, as Bliss (1972) suggests, *do*+*be* did not emerge until the 19th century, then its emergence after the general obsolesence of periphrastic *do* (*do*$_1$) cannot be accounted for by reference to the periphrastic *do* of 17th century British English. Rather, a Hiberno-English *do* would have to be seen as based either on a relic form of periphrastic *do* (such as the innovative *do*$_2$) or on some other source. If, however, the form occurred in the 18th or 17th centuries, then *do*+*be* may be more directly related to periphrastic *do*$_1$. Investigating detailed grammatical questions such as those raised by Hiberno-English *do*+*be*, in conjunction with social-geographical diffusion models, can contribute not only to the study of Hiberno-English, but to the understanding of the effects of language contact on change within a language in general.

---

[1] I am indebted to Margaret Mannion for drawing the maps.

[2] In general, I have preserved the original spelling of these examples, with the exception that I have modernised the use of 'u' and 'v.'

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Réamhrá

Tá TEANGA 6 ar láimh. Is léir ó na hailt inti go raibh scóip agus saothar orainn in IRAAL ó bhí anuraidh ann. Tá súil againn go dtaitneoidh an éagsúlacht lenár léitheoirí.

An tEagarthóir,
Iúil, 1986.

Introduction

TEANGA 6 has arrived. It will be obvious from the scope of the articles that IRAAL has had a fruitful year. We hope that this variety will appeal to our readers.

The Editor,
July, 1986.

An Bord Eagarthóireachta/The Editorial Board

Dónall P. Ó Baoill
Jeffrey L. Kallen
Nóirín Ní Nuadháin

Language and the Media

Nora French

College of Commerce, Rathmines

Introduction

The title of this paper covers a wide area. I am concerned with the contribution of linguistics to the understanding of language in the media. It is a topic which arouses much interest amongst the general public, usually from a prescriptive point of view. It is often a cause of letters being written to the papers, for example, with complaints about how language is being used in the media, whether it is the pronunciation of a particular word, a structure which is considered ungrammatical, the use of a word with the "wrong meaning" or whatever. It is also a topic of relevance to those involved in the media as, taking the media as a whole, it is primarily, if not solely, through language that communication takes place.

What use, then, can linguistics be in this area ? Firstly, it can be used to study the linguistic content of a particular broadcast programme or newspaper article. This will involve the application of linguistics to the area of content analysis in media studies. Secondly, linguistics can be used to study the language found in particular areas of the media, e.g. the language of news programmes, of sports commentary etc. Thirdly, linguistics can be of use in studying the language policy, whether implicit or explicit, of any given media institution. The three areas have to do with language use, the choice of one particular use of language rather than another. Sometimes the choice may appear to be determined by the constraints of the context, the nature of the medium, technological requirements or whatever but very often the choice is determined in reality by socio-cultural factors, norms and expectations. This is particularly so for the language used in a specific programme or article and also for the language or variety of a language chosen to be used by a given media institution. As I will be dealing at greater length with these two questions, I will first talk briefly about the registers or styles of language used.

General Description of Language used in the Media

To give a general description of the situation, one is dealing here with public communication rather than private communication, that is, addressing a large number of people who are not known, addressing them over space and over time, very often. Public communication is especially distinctive in being unidirectional in almost all cases. There is therefore a need for the message to be clear and unambiguous because of the lack of feedback which is immediate in private communication. This is the danger point also because as access to the media is very limited, it is difficult to ensure that the public can have full and accurate information from the media and that it is not controlled by some to the detriment of others.

The nature of the different media very clearly imposes constraints on the form of language used. The print media are confined to the written language, although the layout, the particular print used, photographs and other devices all contribute to the message conveyed. The broadcast media have the extra dimension of prosody with its possibilities for subtle distinctions of meaning, expressivity and emotional content. On television or film compared with radio, the visual element allows paralinguistic features to provide additional information which can considerably alter the meaning decoded by the viewer. For example, in the television debates in this country, before the elections in 1982, between the leaders of the two main parties, it seemed to those listening on the radio that Garret Fitzgerald got the better of Charles Haughey, whereas those watching television judged differently. This raises the question of the relative impact of the visual and oral media in communication, which I do not intend to deal with in this paper.

It is not possible to make a straight-forward distinction between print media and the written language compared with broadcast media and spoken language because many broadcast programmes are scripted. This is particularly true for news programmes which, because of their importance, are the most tightly controlled and so the most completely scripted. To use written language in an oral medium may seem contradictory. Written language compared with speech is more highly polished and edited and has little redundancy because normally it can be re-read and thus can use more complicated sentence structures. Speech, on the other hand, has less complex structures and more redundancy in order to be more easily understood and remembered.

Why is written language used for the news ? Apart from the control which can be exercised since a written script has to be prepared beforehand, there are two other important factors. Firstly, in our culture, greater authority is given to the written word as can be seen in the deference given to the holy books of the different religions, the books of law, and the authority given to anything published in a newspaper or book. Secondly, there is the supposed objectivity and lack of emotional content in written texts, their greater exactness and accuracy compared with speech. On the other hand, it seems that we find conversational style easier to remember, that we retain more from this than from scripted speech, (Darian 1983). The old rhetorical devices of repetition, rhythm, rhyme, alliteration were developed to aid people to retain what they heard in public formal speech. The only one of these used in the news is repetition.

However, nowadays there is much less scripting of programmes, and so, less control, than previously. Troesser (1980) states that in the early days, there was no unscripted speech in broadcasting. This was so in Germany from 1923 to 1927 and in Britain until the 30's. In Ireland, the introduction of unscripted discussions on controversial topics by Erskine Childers in the early 50's created controversy (Gorham 1967). The loosening-up may not be a matter of less control but more a recognition of the media not requiring formality. Radio in particular is now perceived as an intimate medium, even if public.

With regard to the style of language used in different types of programmes or press articles, there are few thorough analyses available. Even though news texts have received much attention generally, there is litte basic research that would provide an accurate description of "journalese". Instead generalisations tend to be made about the use of the passive, nominalisation and clichéd expressions. Advertising, on the other hand, has been given considerable attention, going back to Leech's 1967 study, which has been followed by others. Some other studies of interest, though less complete, may be found in Crystal and Davy (1975), Gumpertz (1982) and Ferguson (1983).

Linguistics Applied to Content Analysis

Content analysis in media studies is concerned with examining the meaning being put across both overtly and covertly through media texts. The media do not act as a mirror of some objective reality but reality is mediated through the language used, the visuals and the story-line. The media are seen to represent the underlying values of society and the purpose of content analysis is to discover the values, the reality that is being put across often in an oblique way. (Fiske & Hartley, 1982).

Language is one of the main elements to be studied in content analysis. The concern is often not with the referential or denotative meaning of a text, but with the connotative meaning. The general point of view taken is that language can never be purely objective or neutral, that it always embodies a set of cultural values, a conventional view of the world. Language thus will always give a biased account, though the bias may be intentional or unintentional. If intentional, it is propaganda by some interest group or other, for example, governments (such as the Nazis) or commercial interests as in advertising. However, the bias can and probably more often is unintentional because of the difficulty of using language objectively. At any one time, the message conveyed is likely to be in agreement with the values of some and not with those of others. In private communication this can also cause problems but the problem is much greater in the media because of the lack of opportunity to reply and because of the official authoritative stamp on any item in the print or broadcast media. The study of language in this context becomes involved with questions of culture and ideology.

The use of linguistics in this area was slow to get off the ground, in spite of the recognition that it was one of the major subjects which should contribute. This can be seen in the work of the Glasgow University Media Group (1976, 1980) and, in Culture, Media and Language from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Bermingham, the authors speak of the marginalisation of language studies. They put it down to the lack of specificity of the early work in this area by people such as Hoggett and Williams, where language was seen as so subjective that it is transparent and so they went behind it without really looking at language itself.

But starting from the point of view of linguistics, there was also plenty of cause for its lack of contribution to this area. During the 60's and first half of the 70's, Chomsky was concerned with linguistic competence, our knowledge of the structure of the language and the implications of this for the structure of the brain. He was not interested in performance which deals with language use, its variety and appropriateness. On the other hand, for analysis of how language is used in the media, this is precisely the area of interest; a given piece of language in a given context and what it means; the different nuances of meaning; the different options available in given circumstances which convey subtly different messages. The difference between "terrorist", "guerilla", "freedom-fighter"; between "The man was shot by the police, the police shot the man, the police were forced to shoot the man!"

In the European tradition of linguistics, however, there has always been concern for meaning and function as well as structure. Saussure's notion of "langue" has a social aspect as the "langue" is shared by a community of speakers - compared with "competence" as an individual's knowledge. Jakobson, like the Prague linguists before him, was concerned with language function and the different sorts of meaning conveyed through language. In Britain, Halliday has developed a linguistic theory which starts with language function. Structure is seen to reflect function.

How has linguistics been used in content analysis ?

Firstly, semiology, based on Saussure's theory of language, is used as a technique for media analysis, providing the general framework for the analysis of all aspects of programmes, not only language but all sound and visuals too. Semiology takes the basic tenets that Saussure used for the study of language, langue, parole, sign, systems of signs, syntagmatic, paradigmatic etc. and uses these notions in the study of everything that has meaning in a society. But perhaps the greatest impact of semiology has been the adoption of the general structuralist approach where all meaning is considered culturally based, where all experience is seen to be mediated through cultural values, where there is no objective static reality out there.

The Glasgow University Media Group, for example, takes this approach. You may have seen their programme on Open Space last Monday, (B.B.C. II, 7.45, Oct. 7, 1985) which dealt with the media coverage of the Falklands War, the Coal Strike and Northern Ireland. This is very much a continuation of their previous work in Bad News and More Bad News, although, for the Falklands War, they dealt more with actual censorship than slanted news, showing all the same, the compliance of the B.B.C. and I.T.N. with the government. The work of this group is much concerned with ideology and their analyses reflect their own ideological point of view which is left-wing.

An example of this type of analysis where considerable attention is given to the language used may be found in Davis and Walton's study of the coverage of the death of Aldo Moro in the British, U.S. and German media, where, through their analysis of the news reports and film, they argue that "the visual and verbal content of the Moro news story tells more about the maintenance of an ideologically safe version of consensus by media demarcationthan it does about the events which constitute the news". (Davis & Walton, 1983, p. 48).

In these studies, the treatment of the verbal element remains, for the most part, an examination of the vocabulary used, the connotative meaning of the words used to label people and events, the categorisation of those involved in political violence together with criminals and deviants of all kinds. There are other analyses which focus on the use of various syntactic structures, where it is argued that different structures imply a different way of looking at an event and by examining the syntax of a text, one can deduce the ideology behind the surface meaning. Fowler et al (1979) and Kress and Hodge (1979) represent this approach and attempt to present a coherent framework for using linguistics for the analyses of cultural forms, ideological bases. They approach the study from a Marxist view-point and in linguistics follow the Whorfian tradition which, with its hypothesis of language not merely expressing but shaping our thoughts, fits in well. Theirs is then also a structuralist approach but from American structuralism this time. They apply Whorf's theory not across languages as Whorf did, i.e. that the world is perceived differently through Hopi than through English, but within the one language, the world is perceived differently depending on the different options chosen to express oneself. Like the Glasgow group, they are concerned that language imposes the values of the powerful on society. They do not restrict themselves to language in the media but are interested in how language is used generally as a means of control. For the most part, their theory is built on Hallidayan linguistics, although Kress and Hodge devote a chapter to transformations such as the passive and nominalisations from Chomsky's standard theory model, to support their arguments about the particular ideological implications of these structures. Obviously from the linguistics point of view, this is unfortunate as transformational theory at the time maintained that transformations were meaning-preserving and nowadays, neither passives nor nominalisations would be derived transformationally. In other words, Kress and Hodge would have been better served to stick to the Hallidayan framework, as indeed, Kress has done more recently (Kress 1983) to provide a more satisfactory and coherent account.

Discourse analysis has also been used in this sort of analysis. Lerman (1983) has studied the Nixon tapes from the Watergate scandal, focussing on the control of the discourse, turn-taking, topic transformation, which are obviously crucial in the analysis of all types of media interviews and discussions.

So far, the work mentioned has been carried out by non-linguists, by sociologists or researchers in communications studies who have adopted what they have found in linguistics for their own purposes. Linguists have remained, for the most part, remote from this particular area of application, perhaps because they have little knowledge of the media. It is easier to become involved in the application of linguistics to language learning and language teaching which is the background from which most linguists come. There is also the fact that this whole area of ideology, politics, propoganda gives the impression of being polemical, uncertain, unscientific, and so to be avoided. The only major linguist who is involved and concerned is Dwight Bolinger who has argued (Bolinger 1972) that linguistics should deal with such matters. He sees this sort of study as a study of the appropriateness of language, that communication presupposes non-concealment between interlocutors, which logically excludes all form of deception not merely propositional lies. Even if less polemical and less explicitly concerned with ideology than the others I have discussed, basically, his concern is the same: public language and lack of equal access to it; distortion of language through the propoganda of powerful groups such as government or commercial interests. He has written on the use of metaphor in modifying our world view (Bolinger 1979) and on syntax where, like Kress and Hodge in particular, he argues that any change in form involves a change in meaning (Bolinger 1977). He talks of the necessity to safeguard public language and to ensure the public have full and correct information from the media. The linguist, he says, can contribute to this by using all he knows about presuppositions, entailments, concealed agents, existentials, deletions, hidden sentences of all kinds, question-begging epithets and the running commentary of intonation and gesture - every form of indirection in word and structure. (Bolinger 1980, p. 188).

To end this section, let me mention that this sort of approach to content analysis was used by Senator Brendan Ryan in his submission to R.T.E. and then to the Broadcasting Complaints Commission on the Today Tonight programme of 16 February, 1984 on the travelling people. However his allegation that the programme was biased against the travellers was not upheld.

Language Policy and the Media

The previous section of this paper was concerned with a particular application of linguistics. On the other hand, this area of language policy fits in to sociolinguistics as I mentioned at the beginning. Most attention is given to language policy of the media, as in language policy matters generally, in bilingual and multi-lingual situations. In this country, the question of Irish on R.T.E. has always been a topic of concern and controversy. But there is also the question of what variety of a particular language is to be used. As a language is a composite of different varieties of that language, of different dialects, it is important to know what choice has been made in regard to the variety of language to be used in the media and why the choice was made.

The B.B.C. is an excellent example in this regard, having long been concerned with the type of English to be used in its broadcasts. In 1926, an Advisory Committee on Spoken English (A.C.S.E.) was set up which included phoneticians such as Daniel Jones, Lloyd James, W. Wyld and H. Orton. G.B. Shaw was one of the representatives of the Society for Pure English. In the late 70's, R.Burchfield, D. Donoghue and A. Timothy were asked to examine the language of B.B.C. radio. They did so and published a booklet on "The Quality of Spoken English on B.B.C. Radio" in 1979.

The Broadcasting Authority in Ireland set up a committee on the Standardization of the Irish Language in 1961. This was to establish a 'standardized' form of Irish to be used for news programmes and station announcements. On the whole, it favoured Connacht Irish as a bridge between the Munster and Donegal dialects. However, the English used on R.T.E. has never been examined, although there is a person in charge of speech standards there. So whereas the B.B.C. has an explicit policy towards English to be used on its programmes, R.T.E. has not and its attitude towards English must be deduced from other factors.

There are three steps involved in the development of a language policy. Firstly the selection of a language, languages or variety of a language to be used, whether all the languages in the country will be used, all varieties of languages, which is extremely unlikely. Secondly, the language or variety of language chosen may be codified, as with the B.B.C. pronouncing dictionary, the R.T.E. committee on the standardization of Irish. Thirdly, the policy must be implemented, through the training of personnel, the selection of personnel, the appointment of linguistic advisors. In Britain for a long time, B.B.C. announcers were recruited from Oxbridge graduates and so were R.P. speakers.

To return to the first point, what are the factors which determine the selection of the language to be used on the media.? Leitner (1983) although working specifically with radio, implies that the following factors apply to the media in general:

1. Media status, structure including a) its legal basis (public corporation, commercial or a mixture of both), b) its reach, national, regional or local, c) the number of channels. (The most status is given to public, national institutions).

2. Media goals. The overall objectives - to inform, entertain, educate and their particular interpretation at a given time.

3. Programming policy. With more than one channel, whether there is streamed or mixed programming.

4. Wider media context. Overall media pattern in a country and the use people make of the different media e.g. radio faced with competition from television, the new changes that will come with cable and satellite networks.

These factors are not static but are constantly changing and, as they change, the language used in the media will change also. This is well illustrated in Leitner (1980) with regard to the B.B.C. and to German broadcasting. For example, with the setting up of the B.B.C. in 1926, goals focussed on high culture were established, with the R.P. accent being used exclusively. However, during the war, there was less emphasis on education and high culture, more emphasis on national unity for the war effort and a widening of the accent spectrum found on radio.

There is then no single style of language used in the media but a range of speech styles which will be found on different stations depending on these factors listed and on the target audience. Most is known with regard to national broadcasting stations which tend to be public or at least partially public corporations and to have high cultural goals. These stations also tend to use the standard variety of the language, in spite of the counter-example I have given above and the language of the media is often identified as being the standard form of the language, in Britain, in the U.S. with network English and in Ireland which I deal with later.

There is a problem, however, in establishing what the standard is and, for example, the existence of network English in the U.S. is disputed. However, I am accepting that it is the variety which is generally accepted as the norm, the correct form of the language as found in grammars and dictionaries, that it is the national form of a language not restricted to any particular region of the country, the form used by the leaders in a country, the people with power, including the media. It is used in the media largely because of its prestige, though often the reason given is because it is most easily understood. As the standard is spoken in other public domains such as the law courts, educational institutions, so it is also used in the media. The announcers are also recruited from social groups who speak the standard. National broadcasting is concerned with disseminating high culture, as representing the serious side of broadcasting. Finally the standard language is regarded as authoritative and objective compared with other varieties. Within the station, the highest standards of speech are required, and so the tightest control exercised over continuity presenters and newscasters. These are the people most closely identified with the station itself, and, in the cast of the newscasters, the alleged authority and objectivity of the standard form of the language is obviously important. Journalists and presenters of other programmes have more freedom. There is often considerable difference between the accents used by journalists and newscasters, not all of which can be explained from the fact that newscasters are reading from a script whereas journalists are more likely to be giving oral reports.

The use of the standard on national media is a two-way process. It is not only the media taking and using the prestige form that already exists in society at large but the language used in the media is regarded as being the standard, as having high status and it is claimed, although unproven, that the media are spreading the use of the standard form generally throughout the speech community. Broadcast language is regarded as the standard because the fact that it is used in broadcasting enhances its prestige. It is also the most widely available model of what is regarded as correct,good speech.The general concern of the public of maintaining a high quality of language in the media, the fear of standards slipping, of mispronunciations being used testifies to what expectations are held about media langwage. Research on attitudes towards different accents in the U.S. by Tucker and Lambert (1969) showed speakers of Network English were rated highest on both personal and social status attributes. In Britain, there is little doubt that R.P. has the highest status and that B.B.C. English is regarded as exemplifying R.P. It is more relevant, perhaps to look at countries which are more comparable with Ireland, colonial or post colonial countries such as New Zealand, Canada for French and

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Belgium with its bilingualism, both French and Flemish being used in neighbouring countries also.

In New Zealand, firstly, the prestige accent is R.P. with the New Zealand accent being perceived as inferior. (Bell, 1983). Secondly, the National Programme (I.Y.A.) is the prestige service of the public corporation Radio New Zealand (N.Z.) and B.B.C. world service is rebroadcast on New Zealand radio. Bell has shown that B.B.C. English is regarded as the most formal, most prestigious style, followed by the English used on the National Programme and then the other stations. In Quebec, it is reported that European French has the highest status, followed by the speech of the professional classes in Quebec. Broadcasting language is the quasi-official embodiment of standard Quebec French (Forget, 1978) and the prestige speech of Radio Canada is said to be very close to European French (d'Anglejan, Alison and Tucker, 1973). In Belgium, there are the two main languages French and Dutch, both of which are triglossic. There is a supranational standard for Dutch, shared between Belgium and Holland and for French between Belgium and France. There is a Belgian standard for Dutch, Zuidnederlands Standard and for French, the Brussels regional form. There are local Flemish and Walloon dialects also. All six varieties are used on the Belgium media. (Baetens, Beardsmore and Van Beeck, 1984). A study by Geerts et al (1978) into attitudes towards different varieties of broadcast Dutch found that 86.2% objected to local dialect forms on radio and television; at the same time only 35.3% would choose to use Algemeen Nederlands themselves if they were to take part in a programme, so the favoured dialect presumably would be the Belgian variety of the standard. Belgium would thus appear to differ from New Zealand and Quebec in favouring the national standard other than an external one where New Zealand has R.P. as the prestige standard accent and Quebec, European French. However, there must be some reservations about this conclusion as the Belgian research is reporting on what people say they would do whereas the evidence from the other two countries is empirical research on what actually happens.

The situation in Ireland

Most of the attention given to the language policy of R.T.E. has always centered on Irish, with very little being said about English. There is much debate on whether it has fulfilled its statutory obligation with regard to providing programmes in Irish and great concern that Irish should be used in the media because of the reputed effects of the media on language behaviour, i.e. that because the media have prestige, the language used will be imitated. However, I want to look at the English used on R.T.E., whether R.T.E. English is regarded as standard Hiberno-English, what you would expect going through the factors listed by Leitner and what form of English you actually get.

A major difficulty is that there is no thorough research on standard Hiberno-English. Much work has been done on the dialects of Northern Ireland and Belfast in particular (Milroy 1981) but nothing comparable is available for the Republic of Ireland. This does not seem to have caused difficulties for researchers carrying out attitudinal surveys on different Irish accents. Edwards (1979) Masterson et al (1983) and Killian (1986) all include "standard" speakers amongst their sample. Also, it would seem that people have no difficulty in defining the standard in terms of the English used on R.T.E. Barry (1982, p.101) states that "Educated Dublin speech as used by R.T.E. newsreaders seems to have ousted the old 'ascendency accent' - the form of speech used by Anglican clergy trained at Trinity College in Dublin and by the old landed gentry as the most desirable form of speech". Killian (1986) also found that her subjects, when asked to guess the occupation of the standard English speaker in her research, were likely to put him down as a newsreader. Donoghue (1979) in his contribution to The Quality of Spoken English on the B.B.C. dissents from this view, "In Ireland, --- radio is not deemed to have any particular care for correct or handsome speech, or indeed, any special responsibility in that respect" (p. 17).

Assuming that there is a standard Hiberno-English accent and that this standard is identified with the English spoken on R.T.E., what form does that standard take ? Would we expect to find that the real prestige accent in the country is R.P., similar to the situation in New Zealand and Quebec and that the newscasters on R.T.E. have accents close to R.P. ? Or is it the case that R.T.E. English has a strong Irish identity of its own ?

Looking at R.T.E. in terms of Leitner's factors, it is a national corporation but it has always been a partially commercial enterprise because of its reliance on advertising for some of its funding. This has caused many difficulties over the years, how to combine its role as a national, prestige service on the one hand and at the same time, be a viable commercial enterprise. With regard to its goals, from the very start, broadcasting was regarded as necessary for maintaining national identity. It is said that the first broadcast communication in the world was that from the G.P.O. in Dublin during the Rising in 1916, when a ship's radio transmitter was used in an attempt to get news of the Rising out beyond British control. The government in the twenties was eager to set up a radio station, their awareness of the importance of broadcasting both nationally and internationally is evident from the Dail Debates of the period. The Post-Master General, J.J. Walsh, speaking of the setting up of the national radio station in 1926, concluded a fiery speech with, "Any kind of Irish station is better than no Irish station at all". Prior to this, the Dail Special Committee on Wireless Broadcasting had stated in 1924, that "The Committee --- is --- convinced that the control of broadcasting in Ireland must be rigourously preserved a National control and that the transmission service must not be permitted to become a monopoly in private hands" (§5, 2nd Interim Report). Broadcasting remained under direct government control until, officially, the passing of the 1960 Broadcasting Authority Act, which made R.T.E. autonomous. During the 50's, the Minister for Post and Telegraphs, Erskine Childers, had, in fact, appointed a Comhairle of 5 to assist him in the running of the service, so that it was already semi-independent. Concern for the reflection of the national outlook and culture in broadcasting was very evident in the report of the Television Commission in 1959 and also in the Broadcasting Authority Act of 1960.

> § 17 "In performing its functions, the Authority shall bear constantly in mind the national aims of restoring the Irish language and preserving the national culture and shall endeavour to promote the attainment of these aims".

From this, one would expect R.T.E. to use an identifiably Irish accent of English. There have, however, been changes since 1960. In the amendment of the broadcasting act in 1976, the functions of the broadcasting service were defined very differently.

> § 13 In performing its functions the Authority shall in its programming:-
>
> a) be responsive to the interests and concerns of the whole community, be mindful of the need for understanding and peace within the whole island of Ireland, ensure that the programmes reflect the varied elements which make up the culture of the people of the whole island of Ireland, and have special regard for the elements which distinguish that culture and in particular for the Irish language.
>
> b) uphold the democratic values enshrined in the Constitution, especially those relating to rightful liberty of expression, and
>
> c) have regard to the need for the formation of public awareness and understanding of the values and traditions of countries other than the State,

> including in particular those of such countries which are members of the European Economic Community.

The definition of the functions, apart from being more detailed and specific, no longer talks of one national culture but of varied elements, different strands which go to make up our culture. Why was there such a change between the definitions given in 1960 and 1976 ? It was a period of great change, with major economic development in the 60's, changes brought by the introduction of television itself, by greater travel, education, more contact with the outside world and a general opening up to outside influences compared with the more insular, narrow outlook of the 50's and earlier. The situation in Northern Ireland had led to a reassessment of history, with a recognition of the different elements that make up the Irish people, who are not by any means pure-blooded Celts.

The actual working of this section also no doubt owes much to the then Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, Conor Cruise O'Brien, who was to the foreground in revising the accepted version of modern Irish history. He was more extreme in his views than others and when this Bill was first being debated in the Senate, he was also proposing to re-transmit B.B.C. 1 to the country as a second television channel, a proposal which was widely rejected, even by his government colleagues. Section 13 did not get an easy passage through the houses of the Oireachtas, especially through the Senate. Many felt it did not emphasise enough what should be the specifically Irish character of the broadcasting service. The opposition spokesman, T. J. Fitzpatrick proposed a rewording of the original §17 which was based on the 1973 proposal of the Broadcasting Review Committee.

> 17 - 1) In performing its functions the Authority shall in its programming be mindful of the need for the safeguarding, enriching and strengthening the cultural, social and economic fabric of Ireland.
>
> 2) The Authority shall aim to provide a service that is essentially Irish in content and character and which in particular encourages and fosters the Irish language.
>
> 3) The Authority shall be responsive to the interests of the whole community, and be mindful of the need for understanding and peace within the whole island of Ireland.
>
> 4) This service should -
>
> a) be a balanced service of information, enlightenment and entertainment for people of different ages, interests and tastes covering the whole range

of programming in fair proportion.

b) be in Irish and English, with appropriate provision for other languages.

c) uphold the values enshrined in the Constitution.

d) actively contribute to the flow and exchange of information, entertainment and culture within Ireland, and between Ireland and other countries, especially her partners in the European Economic Community.

e) provide for a continuing expression of Irish identity, and

f) be made available so far as practicable to the people of the whole island of Ireland."

However, this amendment was defeated and it is under Conor Cruise O'Brien's wording that R.T.E. now operates. From reading it, one might well expect that R.T.E. is closer to New Zealand and Quebec radio than to the broadcasting service envisaged by J. J. Walsh and others in the early days of the Dail.

What kind of English is used on R.T.E. ? Is it distinctively Irish or has R.P. prestige here as in New Zealand ?

There is little research on the attitudes of the Irish towards speakers of R.P. Killian (1986) did include a speaker of British English in her study, although the precise accent of this speaker is not mentioned. This speaker did tend to be rated negatively by the judges.

Wells (1982) and Barry (1982) provide descriptions of Hiberno-English. Both describe it as distinctive from and not owing allegiance to R.P. Wells, p. 418 "Neither R.P. nor popular accents of England exert much perceptible on Irish English ....-. In Ireland, R.P. is in no way taken as an unquestioned norm of good pronunciation." Yet, for both of them, changes coming into educated Dublin speech reflect R.P. pronunciations, which Wells put down to the influence of British T.V. along the east coast. Croghan (1984) also argues that the tendency with Hiberno-English is to adopt more R.P. forms, and a student of his (Corless, 1983) in a study of R.T.E. newsreaders' accents, supports his argument. The difficulty, once again, is the vagueness of the term standard Hiberno-English. I find some of the phonetic features in Croghan and Corless to be more typical of a conservative rural Irish accent than any standard from, e.g. /o/ instead of /ou/ in "know", "show"; /e/ instead of /ei/ in "hay, "they".

The following list of features are commonly accepted as distinguishing standard Hiberno-English from R.P.

Features of Standard Hiberno-English compared with R.P.

	H.E.	R.P.	Example
1)	hw	w	which, white, when
2)	rhotic	non-rhotic	far, here, mother
3)	clear l	dark l	feel, milk, double
4)	t̪ d̪	θ ð	thin, wealth, then, weather Note the pronunciation of Taoiseach, Tanaiste
5)	ţ	t	but, Saturday, not at all
6)	a:	ɑ:	aunt, forecast, France
7)	ɔ̈	ʌ	Dublin, cup, public.

It would seem that newsreaders tend to adopt forms closer to R.P. for most of the above features with the following exceptions:-

1) w is always pronounced hw; 2) both Wells and Barry mention that there seems to be a change towards the use of the dark l in post-vocalic position in Ireland and this is evident in news broadcast; 3) Hiberno-English is said to be firmly rhotic, yet the r's are less strong and at times disappear in newsreader speech; 4) alveolar fricatives are commonly used on R.T.E. instead of the more usual dental stops. Hypercorrection leads to Irish words with dentals being given the same treatment, as in "Taoiseach", "Tānaiste"; 5) the split alveolar fricative in medial and final position scarcely occurs in newsreaders speech perhaps because of the formal reading style; 6) & 7) both of these vowels are usually given R.P. pronunciation on R.T.E.

My suggestion that the prestige accent in R.T.E. is changing from a more distinctive Irish accent to something closer to R.P. needs empirical research to sustain it. It does, however, fit in with the typical way in which nationalism and strong national identification through a language or variety of language evolve, (Fishman 1984). To start with, the emphasis of nationalism is on the inherent unity of a population and language is usually one of the most important symbols of national identity.

However, nationalism does not remain at a constant pitch. When the national identity has been more firmly established, there is a declining need to assert this identity as separate and unique; the problematic nature of identity declines and with it, the centrality of language can and does decline too.

In Ireland, the Irish language has been symbolic of the whole of Irish culture but with emphasis on the uniqueness of the Irish as a nation, this was going to flow over onto the perception and use of English also as having a distinctive Irish form and not referring to any British form of English as a model. English was and is the mother tongue of the vast majority in the country who have never regarded their language or literature as being inferior to that of Britain.

Conclusion

The language used in the media is of concern not only to linguists and those working in the media. It raises questions of public concern because of the interaction between the form of language used and questions of values, culture and ideology.

I have discussed the use of linguistics in content analysis where it can show up the emotive, evaluative and prescriptive elements of meaning in so much of language. This is what Kress and Hodge refer to as critical linguistics and is obviously an important application of linguistics even if it receives little attention from linguists. Greater public awareness of how language works would be of benefit in leading to more vigilance about bias in media texts.

With regard to language policy, much attention is given to language as a symbol of national culture, the Irish language, that is. There is little or no concern about the variety of English used. Yet this has repercussions. I have argued that the media in this country conventionally use the standard form. As the majority of the people do not speak the standard form, what effect has this on non-standard speakers ? Also there is a related problem raised by research into reactions to different types of accents. Consistently it has been found that non-standard speakers are rated negatively with regard to competence (Edwards, 1982). This has been a matter of concern in education for some time, that teachers could have negative expectations, which tend to be self-fulfilling, of pupils with non-standard accents. But what about the effect of this in the media ?

When speakers with non-standard rural or urban accents appear in interviews, discussions or other programmes, the audience are prejudiced against the content of what they are saying because of the way in which it is expressed. It is another case where more knowledge of linguistics by the public at large could be beneficial as there is some evidence (Masterson et al, 1983) that those with linguistic knowledge are less prejudiced by accents than those without.

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LE LABO DE LANGUE: MORT OU SURVIE?

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Alors que le laboratoire de langues avait une place bien définie dans les méthodes audio-visuelles on peut se demander aujourd'hui quel rôle il devrait jouer à l'intérieur d'un programme d'enseignement communicatif? Si à première vue, il semble évident qu'on ne peut pas communiquer de façon naturelle dans un labo devons-nous toutes et tous, professeurs de langues ayant la chance (ou la malchance) d'avoir un labo dans notre école ou notre université, le fermer à clé pour toujours et oublier à jamais les exercices structuraux et la phase de répétition?

Si les laboratoires de langue ont été tant critiqués durant les années 70 c'est surtout à cause du genre de travail que l'on y faisait.

Et en retournant un peu en arrière on peut comprendre pourquoi; dans les années 50 les méthodes audio-orales recommandaient l'utilisation du labo. On ne peut cependant s'empêcher de remarquer que les éléments linguistiques présentés aux étudiants au labo étaient souvent donnés sans contexte. Très souvent le sens (aspect essentiel du langage) n'était pas travaillé ou du moins négligé au profit de la grammaire.

Ceci fut corrigé dans les années 60-70 avec les méthodes audio-visuelles. Les élèves ou étudiants comprenaient le contenu linguistique des exercices et, si ces exercices étaient souvent bien choisis, suivaient une progression bien définie et étaient controlés. Par contre, on ne se posait pas assez souvent la question de leur efficacité en dehors du labo: Qu'est-ce que l'élève ou l'étudiant(e) allait faire des éléments linguistiques acquis (on l'espère) au labo, une fois sorti(e) de ce lieu clos?

Depuis les années 70 il s'est produit une véritable révolution dans les installations de labo: il y a eu d'abord l'adaptation du magnétophone à cassette, puis la miniaturisation des éléments et l'informatisation des micro-processeurs. Une révolution semblable a eu lieu en méthodologie : les exercices structuraux basés sur le behaviourisme sont petit à petit remplacés par l'utilisation du language réél, authentique et contextualisé. De grands changements d'attitude se sont produits également: on est passé de ce que l'on voulait enseigner à ce qui est appris et du langage en général (universel et impersonnel) à la notion de communication qui est quelquechose d'individuel, de personnel, et nécessairement situé dans un contexte social. Dans la classe de langue (et pourquoi pas au labo?) de nouvelles stratégies d'apprentissage seront développées et les activités seront diversifiées, specialisées et individualisées.

Quel peut donc être le rôle du laboratoire de langue dans le contexte d'un apprentissage des langues communicatif?

Caractéristiques essentielles d'un laboratoire de Langue.

Alors que certains ont pensé durant les années 70 que les laboratoires de langue allaient disparaître, de nouveaux modèles de plus en plus perfectionnés sont apparus régulièrement, et de plus en plus d'écoles secondaires en Irlande s'équipent en labos.

Il existe deux sortes de labos: les labos AA (Audio - Actif) et les labos AAC (Audio-Actif-Comparatif). Les labos AA sont surtout présents dans les écoles secondaires et permettent aux élèves d'écouter une bande et de répéter, tandis que les labos AAC sont présents dans les universités et écoles de langues ainsi que certaines écoles secondaires et permettent aux élèves non seulement d'écouter mais également de s'enregistrer pour ensuite pouvoir comparer leur production orale à celle du modèle sur la bande.

Le sort de ce matériel n'est évidemment pas de remplir une pièce. Un labo de langue peut aider les élèves et le professeur à mieux organiser ou au moins à rationaliser le travail d'apprentissage,à gagner du temps, et à construire une collection de matériel enregistré qui devra être facile d'accès et facile à utiliser.

Certains principes de base devront être respectés telle qu'une bonne qualité technique des bandes maîtres et un bon fonctionnement du matériel. Si le laboratoire est utilisé souvent il faudra changer les cassettes plusieurs fois pendant l'année. Il est également déconseillé d'utiliser de la craie dans un labo. Tout matériel acheté est enregistré sur ce qu'on appelle une bande maître. Les bandes maîtres doivent être copiées dès qu'elles sont achetées cataloguées et rangées soigneusement. Seules les copies seront utilisées au labo.

Le labo pourra ainsi être utilisé avec une classe mais aussi comme centre de ressources et de matériel audio-visuels. On notera d'ailleurs que même la terminologie a changé et que dans beaucoup d'établissements le laboratoire de langue est devenu "Centre Audio-Visuel", ou encore "Sonovidéothèque" (Language Centre, Language Learning Centre, Language Resource Centre etc... en anglais).

Le travail au labo.

Si l'on essaye d'appliquer les principes de l'approche communicative dans un programme d'enseignement des langues en classe et au labo on s'adressera en premier aux besoins des élèves.

Les élèves du secondaire et de l'enseignement supérieur, en Irlande, entendent très peu de Français parlé "authentique".

Ils ont également des problèmes de compréhension et des problèmes d'expression. Ils sont limités dans leur production orale.

A ces problèmes linguistiques s'ajoutent des problèmes psychologiques. Les élèves ou étudiant(e)s dans l'ensemble, ne sont pas sûr(e)s d'eux/elles, ne se sentent pas capable de parler la langue cible, sont gêné(e)s devant les autres élèves dans la classe et parfois même ont peur du professeur. Si ces remarques sont valables pour la classe, elles le sont peut-être encore plus au labo.

Un questionnaire fut élaboré en 1983 au Language Centre de Maynooth College et distribué aux étudiants de Français, Allemand et Irlandais de $1^{\text{ère}}$, $2^{\text{ème}}$, et $3^{\text{ème}}$ années. Ces étudiants doivent venir au labo 1 heure par semaine, par langue. Le but du questionnaire était de découvrir les besoins et problèmes des étudiant(e)s au labo ainsi que leurs attitudes envers les différents types d'exercices faits au labo et envers l'utilité du travail en labo en général.

A la question: "Qu'est ce qui vous gêne le plus au labo

1. les étudiant(e)s à côté de vous
2. le professeur qui vous écoute à votre insu
3. la mauvaise qualité des bandes
4. autres.

16% des étudiants ont répondu -
"les étudiants à côté de moi"

12% seulement: "le professeur"

Ces réponses furent d'autant plus surprenantes que les étudiants au labo (à Maynooth) sont séparés par des cloisons qui permettent une certaine insonorisation de cabine à cabine.

Caractéristiques principales de l'approche communicative

Il faudra d'abord tenir compte des besoins des élèves pour établir le contenu d'un programme d'enseignement et essayer de répondre aux besoins réels des apprenants. L'acquisition de nouvelles connaissances devra être basée sur ce qui est déjà su.

Les activités réceptives surtout (l'écoute et la lecture) devront être développées au début. L'utilisation de matériel authentique est très importante pour motiver les élèves et il est recommandé à l'enseignant de faire preuve d'une certaine tolérance envers les erreurs des élèves.

Le rôle de l'enseignant a aussi changé dans l'approche communicative et celui - ci ou celle-ci est devenu animateur. Les élèves occupent une place centrale dans la classe. Ceci se reflète dans l'importance donnée au travail de groupe où le professeur encourage la communication entre élèves.

La compréhension orale et écrite joue un rôle très important dans un apprentissage communicatif sans oublier qu'un acte de parole devra être présenté dans une situation et un contexte qui seront expliqués et/ou illustrés.

Comment tirer parti du labo pour appliquer certains de ces principes?

A. L'ECOUTE AU LABO.

Il est évident que le labo de langues peut être un instrument de travail très pratique pour l'écoute de matériel authentique. Le langage authentique avec ses hésitations, ses erreurs, ses répétitions (cf Oral Niveau I Léon 1982) pourra être présenté en labo et permettra l'écoute de voix différentes, d'accents différents, de niveaux de langue différents etc... Certains labos équipés de projecteurs de dispositives (et maintenant de moniteurs TV) permettront une illustration des situations décrites.

Dans notre activité langagière de tous les jours, c'est l'écoute qui est l'activité la plus fréquente. Les différentes recherches varient quant à leurs résultats mais dans l'ensemble nous passons 50% du temps à écouter, 25% à parler, 15% à lire et 10% à écrire.

> Weaver (1972) écrit: *"For several centuries we have devoted our study and teaching to the expressive part of the communicative process which we use only half as much as we use the receptive skills. Most people are unaware of the amount of time they spend listening. After all listening is neither so dramatic nor so noisy as talking. The talker is the centre of attraction for all listeners".*

De nombreuses raisons expliquent que cette activité d'écoute ait été négligée, entre autres, l'idée fausse selon laquelle l'acte d'écouter est un acte passif. En fait, on ne sait toujours pas comment on écoute et comment on comprend et l'acte d'écouter est extrêmement complexe. De nombreuses méthodes basées sur l'écoute ont été élaborées depuis les années 70 telle que "Total Physical Response"(TPR) ou les méthodes de suggestopédie.

On ne discutera pas ici des mérites de ces méthodes mais si l'on considère le labo de langue comme instrument de travail, il peut être le lieu privilégié de nombreuses activités d'écoute. Cependant, il est évident qu'on ne pourra apprendre à parler une langue étrangère qu'en parlant.

B. Quels types d'exercices communicatifs sont faisables en labo?

Des exercices basés sur des jeux de rôle peuvent être intéressants: on demandera aux élèves de prétendre qu'ils sont quelqu'un d'autre dans une situation bien définie:

M. Legoux (SPEAQ, p.112-113) donne un très bon exemple: "Vous êtes la sécretaire du patron, il est absent , quelqu'un téléphone - répondez".

L'exercice est accompagné d'une fiche sur laquelle le patron a laissé ses coordonnées, heure de retour etc... Ainsi que d'une autre fiche sur laquelle la secrétaire doit noter les noms adresses et numéros de téléphone des personnes qui appellent.

On trouve également ce genre d'exercices qui peuvent être faits en classe et au labo dans "Prenez la Parole" (DRAGOGE M, 1982).

Dans l'unité 6 par exemple, l'élève doit prétendre être la femme de Marcel. L'exercice ne peut se faire qu'avec l'illustration qui montre Marcel au lit.

Son patron teléphone, sa femme répond et doit expliquer pourquoi il n'est pas au travail. En prétendant être cette femme, l'élève doit à la fois faire passer le message du patron à l'employé et de l'employé au patron. Grace à l'illustration la situation est présentée très clairement. D'ailleurs l'exercice n'est pas faisable sans cette dernière. La situation amusante et réaliste ne peut que stimuler l'élève à faire l'exercice.

Il est également possible au labo de travailler les activités précommunicatives "Prenez la Parole" (op.cit) offre dès l'unité I, des exercices, encore une fois, de jeux de rôle, sur les différentes façonsde se présenter. Des fiches de renseignements sur différentes personnes sont données en illustration et l'élève doit prétendre se présenter. Dans le cadre d'un apprentissage communicatif, l'attitude de l'enseignant au labo devra changer également. Plutôt que d'être un "espion" qui écoute ses élèves, les coupe et les corrige en milieu de phrases, l'enseignant pourra participer au travail en labo et insérer entre les exercices un certain dialogue avec l'élève. Il faudra tolérer un certain nombre d'erreurs tant qu'elles n'entravent pas la compréhension, et aider les élèves à faire les exercices plutôt que les corriger ou les espionner.

C. Si l'on considère maintenant les différentes stratégies d'apprentissage d'une langue seconde, on citera Dulay and Burt (1981) qui estiment que lorsqu'on apprend une langue étrangère on passe au moins par trois types de phases communicatives et dans l'ordre suivant:

(1) "One way communication": lorsqu'on lit ou écoute en L2 (radio, journaux, films). Il est tout à fait possible en labo de lire et écouter en même temps, ou bien de regarderdes diapos et d'écouter en même temps.

(2) "partial two-way communication" a lieu lorsque les élèves répondent en hochant la tête ou en utilisant leur langue maternelle. On ne demande pas à l'élève de produire la langue cible.

(3) "Full two-way communication": les élèves doivent écouter, comprendre et répondre en parlant.
Il est tout à fait possible de suivre l'ordre de ces 3 phases dans un programme d'exercices pour le labo préparé sur une année scolaire par exemple.

Au labo, des exercices faisant travailler la communication réduite (2) sont par exemple les exercices Vrai/Faux. Ces exercices ne devront pas tester la mémoire mais la compréhension. Le contenu des exercices devra être intéressant et stimulant et ne devra pas mettre les élèves sur la défensive (Krashen 1980).

Au niveau (3) l'enseignant devra participer et créer un dialogue avec les élèves et si possible simuler au labo une situation de classe. Au lieu d'arriver avec une bande préenregistrée, l'enseignant se souviendra que les labos de langue possèdent un simple micro à partir duquel des exercices ou un dialogue peuvent être enregistrés sur la bande des élèves.

Il est possible d'établir un certain "dialogue" entre le professeur et les élèves au labo. Il ne faudra pas oublier que dans la communication réelle il doit y avoir transfert d'information. Le professeur ne posera donc pas de questions dont il connait les réponses et l'élève qui ainsi se sentira impliqué reçevra un message authentique auquel il répondra de façon tout aussi authentique.

Il est évident que pour ce genre d'exercices les élèves doivent comprendre les questions et avoir les moyens de répondre. Si l'enseignant est capable au labo, de tout simplement parler avec les élèves, (bien sûr par l'intermédiaire du micro et des écouteurs) il arrivera à créer une atmosphère plus détendue et à faire un peu oublier la présence des machines.

exemple: "Bonjour. Nous voilà au labo. Essayez de répondre à mes questions, comme vous le désirez, par oui ou par non. Essayez, si possible, de faire des phrases.

- Alors vous êtes prêts?
- Est ce qu'il y a un garçon ou une fille à côté de vous?
- C'est quoi son nom?
- et devant vous? qui est devant vous?
- au fait, qu'elle heure est-il?
- Où allez-vous après le cours?
- Est-ce que ces questions sont faciles ou difficiles à comprendre?
- Est-ce que vous aimez travailler au labo?

etc...

Finir par: "est-ce que vous aimeriez écouter une chanson française?"

Ce genre de dialogue en labo devra être préparé à l'avance mais enregistré sur place, par l'enseignant ou même l'assistant de Français. Ainsi l'enseignant participe au travail des élèves en labo, il n'est plus seulement l'espion qui écoute et guette les fautes et il n'est plus question d'enfermer les élèves au labo et d'aller prendre une tasse de café!

Autres idées d'exercices.

1. Trouvez les mots qui manquent Oral Niveau 1 (op.cit).
Les exercices de ce genre peuvent également être faits par groupe de deux élèves. Donner une photocopie du texte complet à chaque élève et une bouteille de tippex. Chaque élève efface un certain nombre de mots, et donne la feuille au voisin -(il gardera une liste de ce qu'il a effacé).

2. Des tests vrai/faux peuvent être faits en labo les réponses correctes seront données sur la bande.
Des exercices de discrimination auditive, ou testant des connaissances de civilisation peuvent être élaborés facilement à partir de ce qui a été fait en classe (et permettront de vérifier ce qui a été acquis ou non acquis).

Exemples:a 1.Un grand festival de Cinéma a lieu tous les étés à Cannes
Vrai/faux - répondez.

2.Un grand festival de Cinéma a lieu tous les étés à Cagnes.
Vrai/faux - répondez.
Réponse: C'est le 1^{ere} phrase qui est vraie:phrase 1 répétée

Catherine Deneuve a les cheveux blancs.
Catherine Deneuve a les cheveux blonds.

Le Sahara est un désert.
Le Sahara est un dessert.

b. En France les gens boivent du thé avec leur repas.
Vrai ou Faux, répondez -
Exemple de réponse possible donnée sur la bande:
Faux. En France les gens ne boivent pas de thé avec leur repas.
Ils boivent du vin, de l'eau, ou de la bière parfois.

- En France il n'y a pas d'école le mercredi après-midi.
Vrai ou Faux.
Réponse donnée:
Vrai, mais il y a de l'école le samedi matin.
- Un lièvre court aussi vite qu'une tortue.
- Il y a 4 chaines de télévision en France.

etc... etc...

3. Il est également possible au labo de faire écouter de petits dialogues et de demander aux élèves de deviner la profession de la personne qui parle ou la situation.

   - chez le dentiste
   - en classe
   - dans une boulangerie
   - au téléphone
   - dans une discothèque etc...

   Cet exercice peut se faire également avec des diapositives illustrant les dialogues. (ou bandes dessinées).

4. On pourra aussi entraîner les élèves et étudiants à une meilleure compréhension de la radio en passant des enregistrements courts piqués sur différentes radios françaises(cf "Le Français chez les Français).

En conclusion on remarquera que très peu d'ouvrages sont maintenant destinés uniquement au travail en labo. Dans une approche communicative de l'enseignement d'une langue seconde, le professeur pourra décider de faire certaines tâches précommunicatives ou d'évaluation ou un entraînement à l'écoute ou à la compréhension orale et écrite, au labo. Ce genre de travail sera d'ailleurs facilité dans le futur par les nouveaux labos tel le SONY LLC5510 New Computer Control Intermedia System dont le design permet une installation dans la salle de classe, incorporant magnétophone à cassette, vidéo et ordinateurs.

Il ne faut pas oublier que les élèves d'aujourd'hui, dans l'ensemble, ont une attitude positive envers cette technologie à laquelle ils sont habitués parce qu'ils ont grandi avec . Pourquoi donc ne pas tirer profit de cette attitude positive et présenter au labo des types d'exercices qui stimulent les élèves, qui les amusent et sur des sujets qui les concernent. Le labo peut les aider à mieux écouter à mieux comprendre et peut-être aussi à mieux juger toute l'information que l'on reçoit aujourd'hui.

Le laboratoire de langues est donc un instrument de travail qui peut aider les élèves à acquérir les skills dont ils/elles ont besoin pour exprimer et transmettre leurs idées personnelles et si grâce à une nouvelle attitude du professeur au labo et grâce à de nouvelles tâches on arrive à mieux faire dialoguer les élèves, on aura peut-être commencé à humaniser le labo et à conquérir la technologie.

Finalement, si l'on considère les trois aspects fondamentaux de la notion de communication (recevoir, donner et échanger des informations, opinions, sentiments etc..) il est évident que l'éducation en général s'oriente vers ces besoins. Même si le rôle du labo de langues reste modeste dans ce procédé il peut tout de même offrir de réelles possibilités.

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SPEECH DISFLUENCY IN THE DONEGAL GAELTACHT: A REPORT ON A SURVEY.

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Reports on the study of fluency in first language acquisition are not too numerous and there is a significant dearth of studies of fluency in bilingual children. With regard to first language fluency, the studies that exist focus attention on disfluency in emerging grammar with reference to the frequency, type and location of disfluencies in children's speech (Davis, 1939, 1946; Metraux, 1950; Zwitman, 1978; Colburn & Mysak, 1982). The major findings from such studies include: the recognition of the frequent occurrence of disfluency in the language acquisition between the ages of 2 and 7 years, process which is referred to as developmental disfluency or normal nonfluency; the predominant types of disfluency include, frequent pauses, repetitions of whole words and phrases, prolongation of syllables particularly of interjections, revisions of phrases and sentences and "loosely coordinated clauses" (Crystal & Davy, 1971).

In contrast to the relatively few studies in this area, the relationship between developmental disfluency and the disfluency that constitutes a disorder is well documented (Johnson, 1939, 1959; Bloodstein, Apler & Zisk, 1965; Bloodstein, 1970, 1974). The latter disfluency encompasses stuttering (or stammering) and the less common disorder cluttering, and can be defined as "a word improperly patterned in time and the speaker's reaction thereto". (Van Riper, 1971). As such, the focus rests on the temporal and sequential disruptions in speech and their psychological correlates. The overt characteristics of stuttering and cluttering include rapid, tense repetitions of syllables and part-words, blocking behaviours involving breathing disruptions at laryngeal and/or articulatory levels, rate variations from excessively rapid to excessively slow with resultant effects on prosodic, syntactic, lexical and semantic levels.

Factors that serve to differentiate between these two fluency disorders include reduced awareness and anxiety with a breakdown at the articulatory and/or phonological level and an increase in oral and visual language problems associated with cluttering.

In all of the major approaches to the study of stuttering - the most common disorder of fluency - there is varying emphasis put on:

a) the speech act per se (Ryan, 1974; Webster, 1975; Perkins, 1973).
b) the anxiety involved and whether it is a causative or resultant factor (Van Riper, 1971).
c) the role of the speaker's attitudes to speaking, to stuttering and to personal interaction in general (Sheehan, 1968; Williams, 1968; Francella, 1972).

Regardless of the approach favoured however, important facts regarding stuttering have emerged that have to be considered in any aspect of intervention. These include the following findings selected from the review presented by Andrews, Craig, Feyer, Hoddinott & Neilson (1983).

Stuttering children show many times more part-word repetitions and prolongations than non-stutterers, this is a dimensional difference rather than categorical.

The vast majority of stutterers begin stuttering somewhere between the onset of speech and puberty, most between 2 and 5 years, the mean age of onset being about 5 years, the median about 4 years. (In at least half of the cases, speech development is well underway when stuttering begins).

The probability of recovery by age 16 is 78%, this is a cumulative figure since 75% stuttering at age 4 will be better, as will 50% stuttering at age 6 and 25% stuttering at age 10.

Three times as many boys as girls stutter and this disproportion increases with age. (Environmental or genetic attributes which inhibit recovery should be more evident in the few women who continue to stutter).

Perinatal brain damage is the only environmental event likely to be a cause of some ideopathic stuttering because it is associated with epilepsy, cerebral palsy and other neurological syndromes associated with higher than expected prevalence of stuttering.

Conversely, deafness is the only condition associated with a reduced prevalence of stuttering.

There are no other established facts about the more obvious features in a stutterer's environment that might point to the cause or maintenance of stuttering, be they family structure, race, socio-cultural factors or parental characteristics.

Stutterers appear to come from the same environment as non-stutters, with one exception: they come from families with an excess of stuttering relatives.

There is general agreement that stutterers differ from non-stutterers in speech and language development. First, that they are approximately 6 months late in passing their speech milestones. Second, that they perform more poorly on some tests of language (PPVT, and subtests of ITPA). Third, that stutterers show three times greater risk of articulation disorder than non-stutterers. In the recent neurological studies, significant findings include: the demonstration that stutterers are more inclined than non-stutterers to process linguistic material in the right hemisphere; that they have difficulties in stimulus recognition/recall in complex auditory tasks and that they lag in tests of sensory-motor response. The interaction of neurological findings in stutterers and of those bilingual pose a wide range of questions.

Clinical reports from Speech Therapists working in the Donegal region suggested that there was a higher prevalence of speech disorders in the Gaeltacht area. Those who presented with disorders obviously posed different and difficult questions for the Therapist working with the bilingual population. It was in an attempt to address these questions that the present work was undertaken.

Initially, all of the schools listed as Gaeltacht schools were asked to complete a questionnaire indicating the numbers, ages and sex of children with speech disorders and of those with stuttering. Following this, the non-Gaeltacht schools in County Donegal were surveyed. Replies received indicated that the numbers with speech disorders were slightly lower than expected. Table 1 shows a comparison of prevalences of disorders found in the various surveys.

Table 1

PREVALENCE OF SPEECH DISORDERS IN IRELAND

		Disorders as assessed By:			
No.Surveyed	Region	Teachers	Therapists	Year	Ref.
36,955	General	4.39%		1961	Supple (1980)
4,418	"		6.45%		
15,249	General	3.48%		1980	
1,138	"		3.86%		
	Co.Clare		3.00%	1978	Collins (1978)
2,924	Donegal - Gaeltacht	2.90%		1982	
9,225	Non-Gaeltacht	4.70%		1984	

In general, these estimates of prevalence coincide with those done in other countries, with the "most apparently reliable ...(Surveys).. varying from 2.5% to 5.0%" (Quirk Report, 1972). When the prevalence of stuttering is considered, once again a lower number than expected was found. This is presented in Table II.

Table II

PREVALENCE OF STUTTERING IN DONEGAL SCHOOLS

Gaeltacht Schools	Non-Gaeltacht	in general (Van Riper, 1971)
0.72%	1.06%	< 2%

The data presented by Van Riper (1971) represents a range of studies done in the U.S., in Europe and in Japan. Apparently, the number of stutterers in the Donegal Gaeltacht is well within the expected range for the general population. So evidently, the clinical indications are misleading. The reasons for this are unclear but many possibilities can be considered. Among these we can consider first, that clinicians are probably ill-prepared for intervention with bilingual speech disordered children since there is a veritable dearth of research studies in this area. Miller (1984) makes this point when he calls for an "expansion of disordered acquisition studies in bilinguals". Second, bilingualism per se may have an ameliorative effect, or at least no negative effect, on the language acquisition and usage process. This controversial aspect of bilingualism is well documented (Eisenstein, 1980; Myers & Goldstein, 1979; Magiste, 1980, 1981 (a), Okoh, 1980; Oren, 1981; Politzer, 1978; Wijnstra, 1980). Thirdly, that the familial tendency for stuttering (be it genetic and/or environmental) referred to earlier is presenting a misleading picture of higher than average prevalence of the disorder, since family awareness and exploitation of services is to be expected.

Also, if stuttering is a family problem, there may well be a high tolerance of the disorder which may affect therapy outcome.

Whatever speculations are made, there is ample opportunity to do research in the special problems presented by the numbers of bilingual children with disfluency and indeed with other speech disorders and one can only agree that "better intervention will only result from further insight into diagnostic and other evaluative procedures and into the process of the bilingual's language developement" (Miller & Abudarham, 1984).

In conclusion, there are more questions than answers arising from this survey - which is a very healthy state of affairs. Let us hope that interest, energy and endeavour can be speedily invested in this area of special importance.

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SOME DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED IN TEACHING GERMAN GRAMMAR AB INITIO TO THIRD LEVEL STUDENTS

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The vast majority of the students in Galway R.T.C. who choose German as a subject have not had the opportunity of having it offered in their post-primary curriculum. Consequently, though having Leaving Certificate in other subjects, they are complete beginners in German at the start of their third level courses of study. A lack of understanding of grammatical concepts exists among many of these students, even in English and Irish, often despite their having achieved good grades in the higher papers at Leaving Certificate level in these subjects.

They seem to be unsure of what constitutes a valid sentence,of the function of a verb, of the difference between a subject and an object. Once the structure of a basic valid sentence with its subject and predicate has been made clear, the place and function of the object has to be taught. The whole concept of what constitutes an object presents any amount of difficulty to many of them. Numerous illustrations have to be presented of e.g. Johnny/Mary kicking the ball, reading the book (bearing in mind, though, that neuter or feminine nouns are wasted as examples when teaching the German Accusative), buying the wine, etc. Sometimes things (objects) even have to be physically kicked to demonstrate impact and its grammatical effect!

Other difficulties for some students are the differences between nouns and adjectives and the different functions of adverbs and adjectives. Abstract nouns are a puzzle to many (the concept of an abstraction as a noun seems hard to grapple with), but prove useful in the compilation of lists of nouns with feminine endings e.g. die Gleichheit, die Freundschaft, die Tendenz, die Hoffnung etc.

Gender really is the first big puzzle to most beginners in German. Why should the word for "girl" (das Mädchen) be neuter and one of the words for "female/woman" (das Weib) be neuter? Only when the significance of word-endings is explained and understood, does some light appear in the gender-problem tunnel.

The first tense taught, the Präsens (present), lands the English-speaking learner in more difficulty. German (mercifully) has only one way of expressing the present, but Standard English has three and Hiberno-English has an additional one, the Continuous Present (a direct translation of the very expressive Irish tense - an ghnáth láithreach - e.g.

German Präsens:	I listen (to the radio)
Standard English:	I listen (to the radio)
	I am listening (to the radio)
	I do listen " "
Hiberno-English:	I do be listening (to the radio)

Many students have to be advised, time and time again, against attempting to translate "am" and "ing" and "do" and "do be".

Expressing the future also harbours difficulties. In spite of the welcome news that the German Präsens is now more and more used to express the future, some students persist in seeking out the actual future form e.g. "ich werde fahren", which, in practice, most Germans only use when there might be some doubt implied.

The main past tenses (Perfekt and Imperfekt) and their different uses can also be a source of confusion. Distinguishing between weak, strong and mixed verbs, using their different past participles, and knowing which of the two auxiliary verbs to take when using the Perfekt, has to be continuously explained and practised.

Word-order, particularly the fact that the verb is always the second idea in a German statement, has to be grasped from the very start. Otherwise, for some students, it is a source of constant confusion.

The grammatical importance of punctuation when forming subordinate clauses in German has to be stressed and restressed. Since proper punctuation has become very lax in both English and Irish (mistakes in the print media abound), forming good punctuation habits in German is an uphill struggle.

What can be done then to remedy the situation outlined above, so that the valuable time spent teaching remedial grammar could be used to plough ahead with the actual course content? Surely more stress could be laid on basic grammatical literacy during the junior cycle of second level? Ideally, however, the foundations should be laid during fifth and sixth class of primary school, so that the average thirteen year old starts his/her post-primary education well able to parse, analyse and put together a proper sentence. His/her work in the wider post-primary curriculum will be all the better for the solid foundation and the learning of a foreign language, particularly German, will be a far more pleasurable activity.

APPLIED LINGUISTICS: MACRO-PROBLEMS AND MICRO-PROBLEMS

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INTRODUCTION

The underlying assumption of this paper is that there are three orders of problem: large, medium and small. In the main, applied linguistics in Ireland has dealt with the medium order of problem, especially in the field of teaching methodology. There is an inbuilt human desire to solve problems. But equally, people are loath to tackle problems they see as insoluble, or beyond their competence. In other words, effort is only expended when there is a chance of success. The three orders of problem I have mentioned correspond, in broad terms, at least, to three levels of administration or planning: large (macro) problems can only be solved with the support, and possibly finance of state agencies; medium problems can be solved by research groups and the third level; while small (micro) problems can only be solved, and often perceived by practitioners, at "grass-roots" level.

THE MIDDLE GROUND

In Ireland, applied linguistics has much to be proud of. Internationally, our reputation stands high, and people abroad often talk of Ireland as some kind of paradise of applied linguistics. From our own vantage point, that might seem a rather exaggerated claim, but it is easy to see how one might be impressed by what has been done in Ireland over the last few years:

a) an overhaul of the modern languages examination syllabus,
b) two modern languages conventions,
c) the establishment of a defined content syllabus,
d) the Salut project,
e) the Authentik project,
f) the creation of, first a diploma, then a master's programme in linguistics and applied linguistics at the CLCS,
g) the holding of several IRAAL and AILA conferences,

h) the CLCS auto-tutor development programme.

There are undoubtedly many solid achievements that one can point to. For the record, it might be worth recalling what has not been achieved:

a) More attention has been paid to starting beginners off on the language learning process than on finishing the process, or even on determining what the end-point of the process should be. Thus, junior cycle is well catered for, but the senior cycle, and indeed, third level, are still a mess.

b) Although excellent teaching materials like Salut and Authentik have been devised, their penetration is patchy and haphazard due to the decentralized nature of the school system.

c) There are a number of university lecturers who have a serious interest in language teaching, but this number falls well short of the total number of university language teachers. Recently, the Royal Irish Academy devoted a whole research seminar to language teaching. The attendance was gratifying, but drawn in large part from non-university third-level institutions. Thus, for example, the two Dublin departments of French, with some 30 staff between them, were represented by four souls at the seminar.

d) With the implications of the new examination structure being assimilated at different rates by different schools in the decentralized school system, third-level teaching is, more than ever, becoming "mixed ability" teaching. Not only are there different levels of ability, which one might learn to cope with, but increasingly, there are different kinds of ability.

By way of conclusion to this first section, one might say that applied linguistics in Ireland has had a better than middling stab at solving middle order problems.

MICRO PROBLEMS

The middle order of problems on which, as we have seen, applied linguistics in Ireland has done so much work, is very much concerned with practice: otherwise it would not be properly the field of applied linguistics. However, the practical implications stem from theoretical considerations. Nevertheless, the practical implications have to be implemented at "grass roots" level, and there, a new order of problem springs up: the micro problem. A few examples should suffice:

a) After years of campaigning, an oral examination is introduced, but no sooner is this point of principle won, than a discussion about the best date, the acoustic problems of examination rooms, the availability of tape-recorders, multiple copies of tapes, access to examination rooms for teaching staff etc. begins.

b) Authentik is published, but it is discovered that the pages are too big.

c) Seminars on the advantages of authentic materials and paired work are held, but teachers complain they have nowhere to put up posters, and they are not allowed to move desks, and in any event, the headmaster does not approve of children talking in class time.

It would be wrong to belittle these little problems and the people who give voice to them. They are, as one can see, questions of logistics rather than of principle. But they are real problems for all that, and have to be addressed.

However, these micro problems do represent a danger for the applied linguist. The danger is that of being so diverted by the practical problems arising from the implementation of ideas that (s)he will be side-tracked from dealing with other, perhaps more major problems.

MACRO PROBLEMS

Macro problems, like micro problems, may in a sense be logistical, but they have resource and planning implications. There is a reluctance to stray from the middle ground to tackle these problems because, when they are perceived at all, they are not perceived as soluble. It has to be admitted that not all macro problems are of equal magnitude, but I think it will be agreed that those I intend to discuss have one thing in common: they all go beyond what we usually think it "safe" to think about.

1) Is the time-table provision for language teaching either rational or adequate?

2) Are we making adequate overall provision of language teaching?

3) Does the rather general curriculum of language teaching provided at secondary and university level actually take account of the communicative approach we pretend to favour?

4) What, if anything, has applied linguistics done for mother tongue teaching?

5) Have we ever considered the role of language in subjects which do not announce themselves as specifically language subjects?

6) Have we ever considered how we might improve the native language so as to make it more learnable?

7) Do we really mind what happens to Irish?

1) Is the time-table provision for language teaching either rational or adequate?

Much has changed in language teaching over the last few years. Authentic materials, paired working, taped and video documents have been introduced. Careful thought has been given to the revision of the examination syllabus. But no one seems to have contested that 2 hours 40 minutes a week is the most adequate or the optimal time-table provision. This is not the place to propose solutions. But even assuming 2 hours 40 minutes to be the right provision, ought it to be grouped on one morning, divided into two blocks, or divided equally throughout the week. If 4 hours a week were to be the optimum weekly provision, would we campaign for that? If language teachers were to have 4 hours a week at their disposal, would they then need five years of language teaching? Might we find that two or three week immersion courses in vacation time would give better results? There is not enough data to allow us to pronounce on the matter, but it is the case that university language departments claim to be able to teach a language *ab initio*.

2) Are we making adequate overall provision of language teaching?

On 4 June 1984, at their 932nd meeting, at which Ireland was represented by Mr Liam Ó Laidhin, the European ministers of education decided to give a fresh impetus to the teaching of foreign languages to pupils, students and adults and took the following resolutions:

> One modern language in addition to the mother tongue should be studied in depth, and the learning of other languages should be encouraged. At least one of the languages taught should be an official language of the European Communities. The member states agree to promote all appropriate measures to enable the

> maximum number of pupils to acquire, before the end of compulsory education, a practical knowledge of two languages in addition to their mother tongue ...

At this point, it is worth examining how far, since 1984, Ireland has come towards fulfilling this pious wish.

Language Teaching in Secondary Education in Ireland

Intermediate Level

Languages offered	French	German	Spanish	Italian
Number of schools in which a given language subject can be taken to Inter Cert. out of 805	744	170	89	10
Percentage of such schools in which a given language subject can be taken to Inter Cert.	96%	21%	11%	1.25%
Number of pupils taking a given language subject to Inter Cert. out of 205 317	146 361	12 729	6 257	408
Percentage of pupils taking a given language subject to Inter Cert.	71.28%	6.2%	3.05%	0.2%

Language Teaching in Secondary Education in Ireland

Leaving Certificate Level

Languages offered	French	German	Spanish	Italian
Number of schools in which a given language subject can be taken to Leaving out of 775	732	163	118	16
Percentage of such schools in which a given language subject can be taken to Leaving	94%	21%	15%	2%
Number of pupils taking a given language subject to Leaving out of 96 024	58 727	3 188	2 428	146
Percentage of pupils taking a given language subject to Leaving	61.15%	3.32%	2.53%	0.15%

It is impossible to say whether language teaching is available in all Irish secondary schools. But it is clear that some provision is made in the vast majority of schools. On the other hand, the actual percentage of students receiving language instruction is quite low, and the vast majority of students have access to only one foreign language, most commonly French.

Recently, a number of schemes have been advanced to stop pupils taking French in preference to other languages, to practise a form of positive discrimination in favour of what have come to be called "minority languages". These schemes should be looked at critically. Their object is not to increase overall language provision, but to redistribute the existing market share. If crowned with success, their result would be to leave us with approximately 15% of pupils studying French, 15% German, 15% Spanish and 15% Italian. That would give us four more minority languages, and a subject area which would easily be disregarded. It would be much more in the spirit of the European ministers' statement, much more positive, and much more in the interests of pupils and teachers alike, to increase overall language teaching provision. With less than 10% of pupils studying two foreign languages, the scope for expansion is great.

Moreover, it has to be said that the so-called "minority" languages are only minority languages within an Irish context: that is to say:

a) they are not widely taught, but
b) may be examined, and
c) have a subject association.

In fact, even Italian is infinitely better off than, say, Dutch, or Portuguese. If it is known why four and only four foreign languages are taught in Ireland, the rationale behind this choice has been forgotten, and has not been reexamined for a long time. The monolithic examination structure developed under the ægis of the Department of Education did not lend itself to innovation. Only prolonged pressure and lobbying could bring about any change. It is permissible at least to hope that the new Curriculum and Examinations Board will allow new configurations of language subjects to arise.

I am personally convinced that there are excellent reasons for which French should occupy an important place in the educational system:

it stands in a close historical relationship with English, has always been an important cultural language to English speakers, and is the nearest foreign language in geographical terms as well as an important administrative language in the EEC. Equally, it seems unlikely that it owes its strong position in Ireland to these considerations. It is taught because it has come to be regarded, in some sense, as the minimum modern language.

I have also long felt that a language awareness subject should be created which would include elements of linguistics, grammar, style and register, the use of the native language for special purposes and some notions of contrastive linguistics with a few insights into some other languages. It would be a mixture of theory and practical work to set alongside the amorphous and ill-defined subject area English. Whatever the merits of such a language awareness programme, it must be recognized that it does not exist for the same reason that French does: inertia! In the absence of a professional association of graduates to undertake active lobbying, nothing will change. Very little serious planning goes on in the area of curriculum planning. It is desirable that when these matters come to be examined, pressure from vested interests should not be mistaken for principle, and that the reform should be got right.

3) Does the rather general curriculum of language teaching provided t secondary and university level actually take account of the communicative approach we pretend to favour?

Time was when structure based language courses concentrated on following a grammatical progression, to the virtual, sometimes almost complete, exclusion of vocabulary. The notion was, of course, that once the structures had been mastered, vocabulary could be added, fitted into the empty structures, as it were, when and as they were required. Now we are all aware of the folly of that view, but we do something very similar. We tell our pupils that languages are useful, that they will need them throughout their lives, but we do not provide many opportunities for continued language work after leaving certificate, and we do not try to equip them with the specialized vocabulary they might actually need.

Naturally, language teachers know that the majority of their pupils will not follow a specialist language course at university. They no doubt recognize that this is necessarily so. But language teachers are not in a position to provide pupils with the specialist vocabulary they will eventually need. It would seem that modern language teaching suffers from being separated from the rest of the curriculum, much as mother tongue teaching does. In a chemistry class, for example, it would seem inevitable that the teacher should eventually explain that oxygen is so called from Greek oxy, meaning sharp, and gen as in Genesis, meaning producing, because it was discovered to be an essential ingredient in the formation of acid, which is bitter to the taste. At this point, it would be so easy to add that the French is oxygène (rather like English), and the German is Sauerstoff. In this way, students would take away a mass of technical vocabulary, and the chemistry lessons would be in no way weakened, because these digressions would almost certainly help pupils to memorize the subject material. Time and time again it has been brought home to me that scientific colleagues possess an encyclopædic knowledge of the specialist vocabulary of their area, and it seems a great shame not to spread this knowledge around on a more systematic basis.

4) What, if anything, has applied linguistics done for mother tongue teaching?

Few IRAAL members are actually teachers of mother tongue. Most of those who would so describe themselves are teachers of Irish. It seems to be taken as axiomatic that not only is the linguistic content of the English course of little account, but that linguistics has little to say about the teaching of the subject. It is odd that applied linguistics should devote so much time and attention to child language acquisition, and its possible implications for second language learning, while scant attention is paid to its importance for first language teaching.

A variety of factors have contributed to the sorry state of English in Ireland. The ambiguous status of Irish may be one: it is alleged that if you tell children that English is not really their language, a second-best, a sort of expedient, to be used pending the full restoration of Irish, you can scarcely expect them to like and respect English. I have no doubt that this attitude exists. But I doubt whether it would be fair to use it to explain away all the misfortunes of English. Many Irish enthusiasts, being linguists, have as much feeling and love for English as anyone.

In many ways, one might maintain that Irish has an important lesson for English in the Irish context. In any university department of Irish, one will find one or several language specialists. However, there are no Professors of English language, except in its earlier states. The assumption seems to be that English is such a negligible quantity that no scholarly attention needs to be devoted to it. I find it difficult to believe that in the Netherlands or Denmark, one would not find specialists in the local language. In Belgium, for example, the "Belgian" languages (Dutch and French) are taught in sections of Germanic and Romance philology, alongside English, German, Italian and Spanish. Thus, there is no difference in treatment between first and foreign languages. In this country, English is perceived, by those who practise it, as a solely literary discipline. I mention university professors, who are a symptom rather than the root of the problem, for three reasons:

a) they have a symbolic role as incarnating the importance attached to a discipline,

b) they create an expectation in the graduates who go out and teach, and,

c) they have a hand in devising the curriculum.

What use do we make of our native tongue, beyond purely utilitarian oral communication? Reading for pleasure is an important, though largely class-bound activity. But mostly, our written production is utilitarian, undertaken within a set of stylistic conventions and constraints: articles, reports, etc. These utilitarian uses of language, language for special purposes, should not be considered as inferior to literature by society at large. Conversely, one might say that literature, and the reading of literature are not necessarily a good preparation for them. The literary text has value and is marked by deviating from certain stylistic or grammatical norms. Because the literary text is deviant, it is seldom a proper model for imitation. The imitation of a literary text marked by a deviant style is a pastiche. Reading Shakespeare, Joyce, or even Jane Austen will not give pupils a good English style. A physics report or a history essay in the style of Joyce would simply not be a good piece of work.

English is, paradoxically, handicapped by having Shakespeare as the classical corpus. French school-children may arguably write better French through having read Racine. At best, English-speaking school-children will learn to stuff their writing and conversation with quotations. Where pupils' English may be at variance with standard written dialect, apart from any aesthetic pleasure gained, Shakespeare is a dead loss: the pupil has no possibility of extrapolating from his reading to his own language practice; in general, comprehension is slight, and that is demotivating.

On the other hand, the skills of good practical writing can be taught: the appropriate length for a sentence, the arrangement of paragraphs, format of notes etc. can readily be codified. In university, and I suspect elsewhere, the experience is that these skills have not been mastered at school. The masterly achievement of producing a generation of illiterates who have all read Shakespeare is a bizarre tribute to the misplaced faith of English teachers in the pedagogical virtues of literary analysis.

5) Have we ever considered the role of language in subjects which do not announce themselves as specifically language subjects?

This is not the place to resolve the dispute over the place of language in thought processes. But without claiming it to be necessarily the only element, perhaps it will be agreed that language is an important element in our conceptual ability. Little informed linguistic (though some philosophical) attention has been paid to the epistemological role of language in academic disciplines. The general assumption seems to run as follows:

a) some subjects are languages, and in those cases, language is the object of study, and hence is important;

b) other subjects are concerned with things, not language, so that language impinges only insofar as it is better to have things well written rather than badly.

This view would broadly be shared by arts and science specialists alike. It would be better to express the difference as follows:

a) arts disciplines are basically concerned with some kind of commentary on language materials: the formulation of grammatical rules, the criticism or exegesis of texts sacred and profane, the evaluation of the validity of propositions, etc.

b) scientific disciplines are concerned with writing about the physical world in such terms as to have the greatest, and ever greater conformity between the physical world and the description given: this descriptive process begins with naming, or taxonomy. To establish the same distinction more succinctly, science disciplines are about evolving a language, whereas arts disciplines are a study of language through language. In other words, science subjects are _linguistic_, while arts subjects are _metalinguistic_.

Examples of science subjects whose scientific status has been established through the invention of an appropriate taxonomy are legion: botany, zoology, chemistry and physics. Chemistry really became a science when Lavoisier devised a vocabulary which allows the name of a substance to be a direct reflection of its chemical composition, thus making the graphic representation of formulae and the periodic table etc. possible.

One might claim that science subjects are a form of linguistic engineering. Less widely spoken languages must take stock of this when they need to invent (in an organized way) equivalents for neologisms which have been generated (in an un-organized way) by more widely spoken languages. Given that this linguistic activity is, in effect, an application of linguistics, it would be in everyone's interest if it were subjected to more informed scrutiny.

6) _Have we ever considered how we might improve the native language so as to make it more learnable?_

Notwithstanding all that was said earlier about the need to train young people in language skills, including and especially native language skills, I believe there are other services one can render English and the community. Complaining about pupils is one of the foibles of the pedagogue. And when it seems unreasonable to put all the blame on the pupil, one can complain about (other) teachers (as elsewhere in the present article). However, when the failure of the teaching process is great and consistent, it is only intellectually honest to ask whether the fault might not lie with the matter taught.

Concern is often expressed as to whether foreign language teaching gives value for money, whether enough or too much time is devoted to it, etc. However, discontinuing foreign language teaching is a possible (if undesirable) option. Discontinuing native language teaching is not. If a reasonable level of literacy cannot be achieved within the existing conventions, perhaps the conventions should be looked at.

The case of the secondary teacher who submits an article for publication with spelling errors is known to anyone who has been in an association of any sort. In fact, the situation is scarcely better in university, where draft submissions for the university Calendar are painstakingly revised, and where reports submitted to committees often arrive accompanied by apologies for the English. Although, with practice, I have developed a certain sensitivity to other peoples' spelling mistakes, I still, in middle life, cannot write without a dictionary. The reason is that English has devised a Mandarin spelling. Consider the following word-list:

> bath-chair, bath-house, bathroom, bed-pan, bedridden, bedroom, bed-spread, shipbuilder, ship-chandler, ship-owner, shipwright, shipyard, shop-assistant, shopping-bag, etc.

Knowing when to use a hyphen, when to write as a single word, and when to write as two separate words, is a life(-)time's study. Amazingly, most languages have resolved the problem, and it would be easy to adopt a single convention which would obviate the difficulty.

In point of fact, most languages, except English and French, have reformed spelling relatively recently. There are special problems in the case of an international language like English, it is true, but any practical reform would have to stop short of phonetic transcription, would have to co-exist with the present orthography for a while. However, there is something faintly ludicrous about saying that when we can put men on the moon, and conflate years of painstaking calculation into a few seconds of computer time, we cannot give ourselves a simple and logical spelling, given that there are institutes full of applied linguists, all with great expertise in phonetics and phonemics.

The reaction to such proposals is generally one of horror. People who have struggled for years to master the present anarchic system feel they are being robbed. What they are being robbed of is their superiority, the prestige that knowing spelling for sure confers on the Mandarin. The thought that anyone after a few months practice could do as well seems an intolerable injustice.

The Mandarin view is that English spelling represents the greatest achievement of English civilisation. The corollary would be to dismiss the Italians as a lesser cultural breed merely on the grounds that they have failed to rise above a perfectly logical orthography.

In education, as elsewhere, there is a sort of Parkinson's law. What has to be taught will always expand to fill the time available. But now, filling the available time is no longer the problem. Inventing spurious justifications for imposing dead languages or rendering complex things which might be simpler is not the problem. Unfortunately, once a subject has been invested with false prestige, it is rather more difficult to revert to simplicity. One would have hoped that headmasters, for whom fitting all the timetable subjects into the available time is a constant headache, would see the advantages of reducing the initiation into the mother tongue to a minimun.

In point of fact, paring minutes off the timetable is not the main reason for contemplating such a reform. The fact of the matter is that a Mandarin spelling creates a Mandarin society in which a substantial proportion of society feels alienated from their own language, and cannot always accede to the posts to which their intelligence might otherwise entitle them to aspire. This caste system, the Mandarins versus the rest, is neither in the interests of society nor of the language.

7) Do we really care what happens to Irish?

That Irish should be fostered and protected is one of the central tenets of Irish education. Irish does not have to compete for attention in the same way some other subjects do. It is privileged, room must be made for it, and advantages accrue to those who use it. And until recently, there were special penalties for those who could not. What politicians think deep down is not known, of course, but any suggestion that they are not personally committed to the language, or proficient in it, would draw a strong and hostile reaction.

Still, it has to be admitted that it is in some ways a liability. One way or another, it will always be an extra call on the curriculum, either as an extra subject when the medium of instruction is English, or because English will nevertheless be an essential tool where the medium of instruction is Irish. Irish is often seen as the badge of national identity. Conversely, it is scarcely an advantage in the search for national unity. Even those who believe, or persuade themselves they believe, that Northerners of the unionist tradition could one day be attracted by the idea of closer ties with the Republic may have some difficulty in envisaging their ultimate linguistic conversion.

Still, in matters of language and language policy, pragmatism and reason are not the only considerations. Sentiment and the strong desire to protect an inheritance, even on the part of a vocal minority, are legitimate and frequent elements in language policy. And given that even enthusiasts have their doubts about the long-term chances of the language, an all-out effort to maximize its chances of renewal could be mounted.

What seems less acceptable, however, is to perpetuate a situation which combines the worst of both worlds, which gives maximum inconvenience and minimum advantage. That is very nearly the situation which exists at present. Irish does take up a considerable amount of school time. The net benefit would seem to be slight insofar as few university students after eleven years of Irish are able to supply simple vocabulary items on request. The language policy is not attractive to many Northerners.

On the other hand, there is little sign that Irish is improving its position as a vehicular language, or even that it is surviving especially well in the gaeltacht.

Perhaps it is worth asking in what conditions the situation of a language might be improved through government encouragement. Irish language enthusiasts have often drawn strength from the case of Hebrew, a "dead" language which was, so to speak, resurrected. However, there are many differences between the two cases: Biblical Hebrew was already known by most of those who would be called upon to use it, before the founding of Israel; with a people that did not share a common language there was an urgent need for a lingua franca, and although Hebrew was not the only possible choice, it did have certain advantages, such as establishing a national identity. There is no case history exactly like that of Irish.

A language, to exist fully, should possess a full range of oral and written manifestations, that is to say speakers, and a range of textual material, not principally literary. Irish, it must be admitted, is poorly provided in both respects.

There are cases of languages spoken not written: many African languages, Basque or Welsh are cases in point. But they do start from the base of a large number of willing and enthusiastic speakers.

On the other hand, there are authenticated cases of governments having some success in increasing the overall presence of the language in textual material. The Irish government has done some things, such as making a range of attractive children's reading matter at very reasonable prices. And supplying Irish language tax forms. Though tax forms are not universally perceived as motivating, and there are a number of ways in which attempts at increasing the presence of Irish have actually demeaned it. A habit of using Irish decoratively, that is, in situations where the meaning is immaterial, has grown up. The A chara and mise le meas of official correspondence is a glaring example. I recently purchased a pre-paid post card with a sepia picture on it. At the top are the words CARTA POIST, and under the sepia print, one reads: Mail Coaches leaving the General Post Office, Dublin, 1820. Of course, I could see that it was a post card. Indeed, I had asked for one. So the CARTA POIST is neither here nor there. On the other hand, the content of the picture might be the subject of some doubt, abroad if not in Dublin. There, English alone is used. Often, attempts at using Irish do even more tangible harm, such as when common nouns are used as brand names: Fiacla toothpaste, Ola petrol, Slainte soft drinks, etc. It is difficult to imagine Tooth toothpaste, for example. And if seriously used in conversation in Irish, these misguided genuflexions before the altar of the language could cause confusion.

Yet there are cases in which governments have successfully provided languages with a firmer textual base. Quebec offers a useful example. Under the influence of monolingual English signs, the French of Quebec was being seriously affected by interference. A series of laws concerning the use of the language were enacted, the details of which need not concern us here. But the Quebec experience points to a few things which could easily be done in Ireland. The law could require all packaging material to give equal prominence to both national languages. Thus, cornflakes packets would be in Irish on one side, and in English on the other. The same might be done for advertising. Or RTE could be required to offer a concessionary rate for advertisements in Irish, or to observe a certain proportion of English to Irish publicity. Now that teletext is available, Irish subtitles could be supplied for films, etc.

There are two principles underlying these suggestions: one is that they should not directly cost the tax-payer anything. The second is that they would vastly increase the amount of written Irish in circulation, so as to give teachers a more favourable general environment in which to teach.

Of itself, the mere fact of having more Irish textual material visible would not do anything to change the fortunes of the language. But it would provide more general motivation. I do not believe measures like these to be a sufficient condition for a renewal of the language, but I do believe them to be a necessary condition. If a link between Irish and the modern world cannot be graphically demonstrated, Irish may continue to benefit from the affection of the majority, but not their active support.

But it remains to be seen whether anyone cares enough to do it.

CONCLUSION

In an article putting forward a variety of ideas, it is difficult to come to any very firm conclusion. Obviously, some ideas will appeal to some people more than to others. But applied linguistics is an important discipline because language is an important business. It would be a pity if applied linguists allowed themselves to come to be preoccupied with micro problems, and to be deflected from the larger considerations, which, in the long run, could do much to change the quality of life.

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GRAMMATICAL INSTRUCTION IN THE SECOND LANGUAGE CLASS: BEWARE THE PENDULUM (1)

1 INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been a distinct eclipsing of the audio-lingual orthodoxy which banned explicit grammatical instruction from the second language classroom. This can be explained partly in terms of theoretical difficulties with the behaviourist paradigm of language learning on which audio-lingual methodology was based, but partly also (perhaps indeed principally) in terms of teachers' disappointment with their experience of using this methodology. In any case, many language courses and teaching manuals which have appeared in the last ten years or so - particularly those claiming inspiration from the "communicative" movement - are quite uninhibited in approving the overt treatment of grammatical form.

There are, in our view, two things to be said about the new atmosphere in relation to the teaching of grammar:

(i) it is most certainly to be welcomed, since the former dogmatism was warranted neither by research findings nor by teaching experience; and

(ii) like virtually every other situation, it contains temptations and dangers.

To expand (ii) just a little: there is, for instance, the danger that, despite the very sensible qualifications and provisos which advocates of some grammar teaching attach to their proposals, the impression may be gained by some teachers that grammar is simply "in" again and that a reversion to good old-fashioned "grammar bashing" is in order. Another, more subtle, danger might be that teachers using the communicative approach, and accordingly deploying in class large quantities of authentic spoken and written samples of the target language, might be cowed by the comparison between such samples and their own, often rather obviously inauthentic, productions in the target language. In order to preserve a role for themselves without, as they might see it, dragging down the general level of authenticity of input to which their pupils were being exposed, such teachers might in their own contributions be tempted to devote a disproportionate amount of time and energy to grammatical explanations in the learners' mother tongue.

In the light of these dangers it is appropriate to remind ourselves of the limitations of grammatical instruction. Three recent studies conducted in Ireland yield findings which are apt for this purpose. The studies in question were not specifically focussed on the role of grammar in language learning; moreover, they differ considerably from each other in terms of the kinds of information they sought to gather. Nor is there any homogeneity amongst the subjects of the studies, which range from primary school pupils to adults following a broadcast language course. Nevertheless, all three studies provide evidence which is relevant to the question in hand and which taken together constitutes a warning against any excessive rehabilitation of explicit grammatical instruction.

2 THE THREE STUDIES

The three studies in question are:

(a) Devitt et al.'s study of a group of subjects who agreed to have their progress monitored while following the first level of the RTÉ/Bord na Gaeilge course in Irish, Anois is Arís (Devitt et al. 1982-3);

(b) Little and Grant's study of an experimental self-instructional programme in German available to students of Engineering Science at Trinity College, Dublin, and featuring a counselling service offering both pedagogic and therapeutic support (Little and Grant 1984 and forthcoming);

(c) Harris's series of surveys of the oral-aural competence in Irish of Irish primary school pupils at 2nd, 4th and 6th grade (Harris 1984).

Each of these studies provides information on a different aspect of the problem of explicit grammar teaching. Some of the findings of study (a) relate to the palatability of grammar teaching, those of study (b) shed some light on how grammar teaching can affect the learner's sense of difficulty, and those of study (c) bear on the usefulness of grammar teaching in terms of the kind of progress it promotes. The next three sections of this paper focus on each of these issues in turn.

3 HOW PALATABLE IS GRAMMATICAL INSTRUCTION?

The first question we consider is: how palatable is grammatical instruction to learners? What we mean by this is: how positively or negatively do learners feel about being taught grammar as an experience, as it were, in itself? Of the three studies summarized above, the one which provides the most interesting evidence on the palatability or otherwise of grammar teaching is, as we have indicated, that conducted by Devitt et al. (1982-3). The relevant data come from subjects' responses to four questions in the questionnaire administered just prior to the commencement of the broadcast course, on subjects' use of which the study was principally focused. These questions relate on the one hand to subjects' previous experience of learning Irish and on the other to subjects' experience of learning languages other than Irish. They are:

(i) What did you enjoy most about learning Irish?

(ii) What did you enjoy least about learning Irish?

(iii) What did you enjoy most about learning this language/ these languages (other than Irish)?

(iv) What did you enjoy least about learning this language/ these languages (other than Irish)?

It should be noted that these questions are quite open. That is to say, they are associated in the questionnaire not with a list of items for subjects to choose from, but merely a large white space. Of those subjects who responded to these questions some wrote "nothing", others mentioned just one aspect of their learning experience, others mentioned up to five, and others wrote "everything". Also worth noting is the fact that, on the face of it, these subjects were exceptionally well-disposed both towards Irish and towards language learning generally. They had not only spontaneously decided to follow a broadcast language course in Irish, but were also interested enough in their past and prospective language learning experience to volunteer to report on it in some detail.

The responses to the four questions specified are quantified in Tables 1-4 (see Appendix). What emerges from these tables is that whereas not a single subject specifically mentioned "grammar" as an aspect of language learning he/she had most enjoyed, in respect of both Irish and other languages "grammar" was easily the most frequently mentioned "least enjoyed" factor.

One might qualify this a little by arguing that some of those respondents who said they had most enjoyed "the language itself/languages themselves" (re Irish 18.5%; re other languages 17.5%) might have been referring obliquely to enjoyment of grammatical instruction. One might further argue that some of those who mentioned the "teaching approach" as a "most enjoyed" factor (re Irish 0.7%; re other languages 6.3%) might have had grammar teaching in mind, especially in view of the fact that from responses to other areas of the questionnaire it appears that, for example, oral and written grammar exercises were very much a part of the language pedagogy to which most subjects were exposed (Devitt et al., Tables 23, 25, 29; pp. 19, 20, 23 respectively). Even if such qualifications are valid, however, it has to be said that the percentages of subjects involved are relatively modest. Moreover, rather higher percentages of subjects than claimed they had most enjoyed the "teaching approach" claimed they had enjoyed it least (re Irish 15.9%; re other languages 11.1%).

Another approach to the data would be to interpret "grammar" in Tables 2 and 4 as alluding not to the experience of grammatical instruction but rather to the inherent grammatical difficulties of the languages learned. Whilst such an interpretation is certainly admissible, it seems to us quite implausible not to read subjects' references to "grammar" as relating at least in part to "the position given to grammar in their learning materials and ... the approach adopted by their teachers" (Davitt et al., p.28). One notes that in relation to Irish 2% of subjects reported specifically that they had least enjoyed the "emphasis on grammar and written Irish".

In short, although the above data fall very far short of proving anything, they do suggest that even amongst apparently well-motivated language learners many regard grammatical instruction as one of the least pleasant aspects of learning a second language.

4 HOW DOES GRAMMATICAL INSTRUCTION AFFECT LEARNERS' SENSE OF DIFFICULTY?

The next question we address is: how does grammatical instruction affect learners' sense of difficulty? And we turn to Little and Grant's (1984 and forthcoming) study of the operation of a counsellor-based self-instructional programme in German available to undergraduate students of Engineering Science at Trinity College, Dublin, and based, at least in its initial stages, on the BBC German Kit. The data that relate to the question in hand emerged from a counselling session with one particular student. The following extract from Little and Grant's report of this interview more or less speaks for itself.

> During the second term of the programme one participant who had taken German at Leaving Certificate visited the counsellor in order to express doubts about both the suitability of the BBC German Kit to his needs and his own ability to adapt to self-instructional learning. He appeared to be on the point of abandoning the programme. The chief source of his difficulties seemed to be irrational beliefs about both his own ability and the language learning process. Although he expressed great enthusiasm for language learning, he confessed that he had found it a boring process at school, where he had not been a particularly successful language learner. He believed that he was good at picking up languages in a natural setting, but doubted his capacity to organize a self-instructional learning programme and develop a pattern of regular learning. It became clear to the counsellor that he was setting himself unrealistic goals and became despondent when he failed to attain them with a minimum of effort.
>
> The negative image that this participant had formed of himself as a language learner constantly impeded his attempts to learn. He used evaluative adjectives like "wrong" and "hopeless" to describe his learning experiences and the

> language he produced. In discussion with the counsellor it emerged that these labels derived from the criteria which had been used in his German classroom to evaluate pupils' linguistic performance. He performed "badly" in his (or his former teacher's) terms if he failed to produce a complete sentence in response to a question, even though in most cases a native speaker would respond with no more than a word or two. During his first counselling session he admitted that he found the oral/aural dimension of the *BBC German Kit* off-putting as his previous learning experience had been almost exclusively focussed on written forms of the language. From the beginning of the programme he found that he had considerable problems with the pronunciation of German, and he attempted to overcome this by constantly repeating and memorizing phrases and sentences from the early units of the *Kit*. Thus he spent a lot of time and energy learning by heart material which was already familiar to him and which was far too simple to be of enduring interest. At school learning by heart had proved an effective means of obtaining satisfactory marks, but in the context of self-instructional learning it produced boredom and a sense of failure.
>
> (Little and Grant forthcoming)

Everything in the above extract points to the fact that the learner in question was subjected to a very rigid grammar-translation variety of language teaching. It further shows that at its worst this approach can make language learning seem so boring and difficult as to seriously damage a learner's capacity to engage in autonomous language learning at a later date. How much the specific component of grammar teaching contributed to the above learner's problems is far from evident; and one has to recognize that every methodology has its better and its worse exponents. However, to attempt to explain this learner's negative self-image entirely in terms of elements other than grammatical instruction or in terms of the inadequacies of his particular teacher's manner of teaching grammar would in our view be unwarrantedly complacent.

5 HOW DOES GRAMMATICAL INSTRUCTION AFFECT LEARNERS' PROGRESS IN CONTROLLING THE TARGET LANGUAGE SYSTEM?

The third question on our agenda - how does grammatical instruction affect learners' progress in controlling the target language system? - is perhaps the most pertinent to teachers' preoccupations. After all, most teachers (and a good many learners) would be prepared to put up with the unpalatability of grammatical instruction and even any unfortunate effects it might have on perceptions of difficulty, if only it were efficacious in promoting a secure command of the target system. Harris's (1984) study, to which we now turn, and which is focussed not on learners' emotional responses or perceptions but on their actual oral-aural competence in a second language, does not provide evidence of any such efficacy.

The study comprises three large-scale surveys of primary level learners of Irish. Each of the surveys was directed at a different primary school grade - six, four and two respectively (and in that order) -, the aim being to assess the oral-aural competence in Irish of representative samples of pupils from these different grades in relation to particular criterial objectives derived from the relevant levels of the so-called *Nuachúrsaí* (new courses), that is, the officially sanctioned primary school programme on which most teaching of Irish at primary level is based. The bulk of the data come from predominantly English-medium schools in predominantly English-speaking areas, although some comparative data were collected from schools in the Gaeltacht (predominantly Irish-speaking areas) and from Irish-medium schools in English-speaking areas.

The criterial objectives used in the surveys of the different grades were:

- for the 6th grade survey: sound discrimination; listening vocabulary; general comprehension of speech; understanding the morphology of verbs, prepositions, qualifiers and nouns; pronunciation; speaking vocabulary; fluency of oral description; control of the morphology of verbs, prepositions, qualifiers and nouns; control of the syntax of statements and questions;

- for the 4th grade survey: sound discrimination; listening vocabulary; general comprehension of speech; understanding the morphology of verbs, prepositions, qualifiers and nouns; understanding the syntax of statements and questions; pronunciation; speaking vocabulary; fluency of oral description; control of the morphology of verbs, prepositions, qualifiers and nouns; control of the syntax of statements and questions;

- for the 2nd grade survey: listening vocabulary; general comprehension of speech; understanding the morphology of verbs, prepositions and pronouns; understanding the syntax of questions; speaking vocabulary; communication; control of the morphology of verbs, prepositions and pronouns; control of the syntax of questions.

At this point it is appropriate to describe the *Nuachúrsaí*. They are based on a structural syllabus drawing on the results of a quantitative study of Irish similar to that, for example, which led to the establishment of *le français fondamental* (see, e.g., Ó Domhnalláin 1967; 1977) and they have the appearance of audio-visual courses of the classic kind:

> The Nuachúrsaí teacher's handbooks for each grade consist of up to 40 lessons, some of which may be revision lessons. Each of the regular lessons follows a structured five-step plan ...: (a) "hearing and recognition" (b) "imitation"

(c) "repetition from stimulus" (d) "speech mould and vocabulary exercises" and (e) "free creative conversation".

However, at no stage has the teaching of Irish at this (or any other) level been characterized by an absence of explicit grammatical instruction. The official Department of Education handbook is somewhat ambivalent on the question of grammar teaching (An Roinn Oideachais 1971, pp.55-77), but certainly does not explicitly proscribe it (2), and in practice, "at the chalkface" the exposition of grammar points and even the rote-learning of paradigms have continued to loom large, as the most cursory glance at the wallcharts on display in most Irish primary school classrooms will confirm. What most primary level learners of Irish experience, therefore, is a structurally graded syllabus realized via a combination of audio-visual pedagogy and traditional grammatical instruction.

To return to Harris's study, three levels of achievement were recognized in relation to each objective - "mastery" (75% or more of the maximum possible test score), "at least minimal progress" (40% or more of the maximum possible test score), and "failure to make even minimum progress" (less than 40% of the maximum possible test score). Of particular interest in the present context is the fact that, notwithstanding structural grading and drills and explicit grammatical instruction, "mastery" and "minimal progress" were on average markedly less often exhibited in respect of the grammar-related objectives than in respect of the non-grammar-related objectives (Table 5; see Appendix).(3)

The relatively poor performance of Harris's subjects in grammar tests, that is to say, in those which related most closely to the principal orientation of both syllabus and pedagogy, must of itself cast doubt upon any very strong claim with regard to grammar teaching. However, there is some further evidence from Harris's study to suggest that real progress in mastering the target system depends on factors other than grammatical instruction. This evidence is presented in Tables 6-9 (see Appendix).

First there is the evidence concerning the influence of home language use on the Irish competencies of pupils attending predominantly English-medium schools (Tables 6 and 7). In the 4th and 2nd grade surveys subjects were asked about languages used at home. It was thus possible to categorize these subjects according to home language use and to compare the average performance of the different categories. As one might expect, it was found that subjects who reported some use of Irish at home performed overall much better in Irish than subjects reporting no such home use of Irish. What is particularly interesting about the result, however, is that the difference between the performance of the two groups is very much more marked in respect of the grammar-related objectives than in respect of the non-grammar-related objectives (70.99% vs. 31.93% re 4th grade; 187.51% vs. 84.36% re 2nd grade). The inescapable inference is that the major factor in developing control of the target system is the degree of meaningful use of the target language.

This inference is strongly supported by what emerged from a comparison of data from English-medium schools with data from non-Gaeltacht Irish-medium schools collected in the course of the 4th and 2nd grade surveys (Tables 8 and 9). As was predictable, the general performance in Irish of pupils from schools where the predominant language of instruction and administration was Irish was dramatically better than that of pupils from predominantly English-medium schools. Again, however, the less expected finding was that the "Irish-medium effect" was far more dramatic in regard to grammar-related objectives than in regard to non-grammar-related objectives (270.76% vs. 81.00% re 4th grade; 281.80% vs. 98.81% re 2nd grade). Again, what seems to make the difference in relation to grammatical accuracy is the level of meaningful use of the language.

6 CONCLUSION

Our general conclusions from the foregoing are

(i) that grammatical instruction can be unpalatable to learners;

(ii) that it can heighten their sense of difficulty; and

(iii) that as a factor in promoting control of the target system it is less important than a high level of meaningful use of the target language.

It is tempting to link these three points and to relate them to the so-called Affective Filter Hypothesis - posited by Dulay and Burt (1977) and subsequently adopted by Krashen -, which predicts that acquisition of the target system will be hindered if learners are "anxious, 'on the defensive' or not motivated" (Krashen 1981a, p.56). Point (iii) can also be taken as supporting the now widely held view that what is most important in developing learners' control of the target system is the fostering of "meaningful interaction in the target language - natural communication - in which speakers are concerned not with the form of their utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding" (Krashen 1981b, p.1).

None of this constitutes a case against grammar teaching in any absolute sense. It should be noted that Krashen himself stresses that grammar teaching does have a role (see, e.g., Krashen 1982, pp.83ff.). What it does appear to suggest, however, is that grammatical instruction is an instrument to be wielded imaginatively, sensitively and proportionately.

NOTES

1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the IAAL colloquium "Language and International Understanding", Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 3 May 1985. We are grateful for feedback from those who attended this colloquium and in particular from Andrew Cohen.

2 The handbook merely states that, in view of the fact that there is "no formal grammar on the programme" ("nach bhfuil aon ghramadach fhoirmiúil ar an gclár"), special importance is assumed by the practice of "forms and vocabulary" ("múnlaí agus foclóra"), the drill ("an druil"), and "functional grammar exercises" ("cleachtaí ... i ngramadach fheidhmiúil"). This last expression refers to form-oriented slot-filling exercises of a rather traditional kind. As for "formal grammar", it seems to have the narrow sense of explaining grammatical rules in terms of traditional grammatical categories. It is to be noted that the phrase "no formal grammar on the programme" occurs as a simple statement of fact concerning the *Nuachúrsaí* and is *not* in the nature of a directive. (See especially An Roinn Oideachais 1971, p.64)

3 Grammar-related objectives are those which specifically focus on morphology and syntax. Harris himself (1984, pp.90f.) calls into question the usefulness of comparing grammar-related and non-grammar-related performance at second grade level because of the limited scope and number of the non-grammar-related objectives isolated for this level. He also suggests that at this very basic level the distinction between grammar-related and non-grammar-related objectives is not as meaningful as at other levels. We take his points. However, the pattern which emerges from a comparison of performance on the two categories of objectives at second grade level is broadly similar to that which emerges from corresponding comparisons drawing on 6th and 4th grade data. This may indicate that to set grammar-related performance and non-grammar-related performance against each other has some validity even at second grade level.

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TABLE 1 What Devitt et al.'s volunteers enjoyed most about learning Irish (percentages relate to total number of volunteers who had previously learned Irish: 151)

Nothing	7.9
Attractiveness of learning materials	0.7
The challenge	2.6
Competitive dimension	0.7
Comradeship with other learners	2.0
Contact with Gaeltacht	1.3
Contact with Irish culture in general	7.9
Contact with Irish literature	7.9
Contact with Irish songs	1.3
The fact that Irish was easy to learn	3.3
The fact that Irish was not compulsory	0.7
The language itself	18.5
The learning process itself	1.3
Listening to Irish	5.3
The novelty of the experience	0.7
Patriotic dimension	20.0
Professional dimension	0.7
Reading Irish	9.3
Self-expression in Irish generally	5.3
Sense of achievement	17.2
Speaking Irish	16.6
Teaching approach	0.7
Translating	0.7
Writing Irish	4.0
"Everything"	1.3

(Based on Devitt et al. 1982-3, Table 37, p.27)

TABLE 2 What Devitt et al.'s volunteers enjoyed least about learning Irish (percentages relate to total number of volunteers who had previously learned Irish: 151)

"Nothing"	4.0
Cynicism from others	0.7
Dialectal variation	0.7
Difference between textbook Irish and native-speaker Irish	0.7
Emphasis on grammar and written Irish	2.0
Emphasis on need to acquire blas (authentic accent)	1.3
Examinations	0.7
The fact that Irish was compulsory	2.6
Frustration at slow rate of progress	1.3
GRAMMAR	41.0
Having to do other subjects through Irish	1.3
Incomprehension	1.3
Lack of opportunity to use Irish	4.0
Nationalistic associations of Irish	0.7
Native-speaker attitudes	0.7
Old Irish texts	0.7
Orthography	4.0
Particular learning environment	2.0
Pronouncing Irish	1.3
Reading Irish	0.7
Restricted subject matter	0.7
Sense of inadequacy	6.6
Solitariness of experience	1.3
Teaching approach	15.9
Vocabulary	4.6
Writing Irish	3.3
"Everything"	1.3

(Based on Devitt et al. 1982-3, Table 40, p.29)

TABLE 3 What Devitt et al.'s volunteers enjoyed most about learning languages other than Irish and English (percentages relate to total number of volunteers who had learned "other languages": 126)

"Nothing"	5.5
The ability to communicate in a foreign language	14.3
The attractiveness of learning materials	4.0
The challenge	5.5
Comparing different languages	0.8
Contact with foreign culture in general	4.8
Contact with foreign literature	1.6
Contact with foreign songs	1.6
Finding out the origins of words	5.5
The language itself/languages themselves	17.5
The learning process itself	8.7
Listening to the language(s)	4.8
The novelty of the experience	1.6
Professional dimension	2.4
Reading the language(s)	13.5
Self-expression in the language(s) in general	0.8
Sense of achievement	4.8
Speaking the language(s)	24.6
Teaching approach	6.3
TV/radio programmes in the language(s)	1.6
Translating	3.2
Travel aspects	8.7
Usefulness of language(s) for exams	0.8
Writing the language(s)	1.6

(Based on Devitt et al. 1982-3, Table 45, p.32)

TABLE 4 What Devitt et al.'s volunteers enjoyed least about learning languages other than Irish and English (percentages relate to total number of volunteers who had learned "other languages": 126)

"Nothing"	4.8
Confusion between languages	0.8
Dictation	0.8
(Unspecified) difficulties	2.4
Effort involved	4.0
Examinations	0.8
Frustration at slow rate of progress	4.8
Getting started	0.8
GRAMMAR	44.4
Historical studies	0.8
Incomprehension	2.4
Lack of books	0.8
Lack of opportunity to use language(s)	1.6
Lack of oral work	4.8
Literary studies	2.4
Memory work	0.8
Orthography	2.4
Particular learning environment	1.6
Pronouncing the language(s)	9.5
Sense of inadequacy	5.5
Solitariness of the experience	0.8
Speaking the language(s)	2.4
Teaching approach	11.1
Vocabulary	0.8
Writing the language(s)	3.2
"Everything"	1.6

(Based on Devitt et al. 1982-3, Table 48, p.34)

TABLE 5 Mean percentages of 6th, 4th and 2nd grade pupils in predominantly English-medium schools attaining mastery/making at least minimal progress in "grammar-related" and "non-grammar-related" objectives

	Attaining mastery	Making at least minimal progress
	6th grade pupils N = 1,984	
"Grammar-related objectives"	17.98	62.07
"Non-grammar-related objectives"	44.75	75.72
Objectives overall	28.02	67.19
	4th grade pupils N = 1,981	
"Grammar-related objectives"	25.96	58.52
"Non-grammar-related objectives"	54.48	88.07
Objectives overall	36.65	69.60
	2nd grade pupils Na = 1,143* Nb = 1,082*	
"Grammar-related objectives"	19.95	63.42
"Non-grammar-related objectives"	47.91	82.39
Objectives overall	31.13	71.01

* All 2nd grade pupils (Na+b) were administered the listening items. Approximately half the 2nd grade pupils, Na or Nb, were administered each of the speaking items.

(Based on Harris 1984, Tables 3.4, 4.4, 5.3, 5.7 - pp.36, 51, 80 and 86 respectively.)

TABLE 6 Mean percentages of 4th grade pupils in predominantly English-medium schools attaining mastery of "grammar-related" and "non-grammar-related" objectives by home language

	"Grammar-related objectives"	"Non-grammar-related objectives"	Objectives overall
"English only" at home N = 1,901*	25.34	53.90	36.05
"English and Irish at home" N = 60	43.33	71.11	53.75
Difference (E+I)-(E)	+17.99	+17.11	+17.70
Difference as percentage of "English only" mean	70.99	31.93	49.10

* 4 pupils came from homes where "Irish only" was used and were discounted for present purposes. Home language was not recorded at all for 16 pupils.

(Based on Harris 1984, Table 4.6, p.54)

TABLE 7 Mean percentages of 2nd grade pupils in predominantly English-medium schools attaining mastery of "grammar-related" and "non-grammar-related" objectives by home language

	"Grammar-related objectives"	"Non-grammar-related objectives"	Objectives overall
"English only" at home Na = 1,122* Nb = 1,068*	19.54	47.45	30.70
"English and Irish at home" Na = 14* Nb = 12*	56.18	87.48	68.70
Difference (E+I)-(E)	+36.64	+40.03	+38.00
Difference as percentage of "English only" mean	187.51	94.36	123.78

* On Na and Nb see note under Table 5. 1 pupil came from a home where "Irish only" was used and was discounted for present purposes. Home language was not recorded at all for 8 pupils

(Based on Harris 1984, Table 5.6, p.84)

TABLE 8 **Mean percentages of 4th grade pupils in predominantly English-medium schools and in non-Gaeltacht Irish-medium schools attaining mastery of "grammar-related" and "non-grammar-related" objectives**

	"Grammar-related objectives"	"Non-grammar-related objectives"	Objectives overall
Predominantly English-medium schools N = 1,981	25.96	54.48	36.65
Non-Gaeltacht Irish-medium schools N = 24*	96.25	98.61	97.14
Difference (I med)-(E med)	+70.29	+44.13	+60.49
Difference as percentage of English-medium mean	270.76	81.00	165.05

* From a non-random selection of classes.

(Based on Harris 1984, Table 4.10, p.66)

TABLE 9 **Mean percentages of 2nd grade pupils in predominantly English-medium schools and in non-Gaeltacht Irish-medium schools attaining mastery of "grammar-related" and "non-grammar-related" objectives**

	"Grammar-related objectives"	"Non-grammar-related objectives"	Objectives overall
Predominantly English-medium schools Na = 1,143* Nb = 1,082*	19.95	47.91	31.13
Non-Gaeltacht Irish-medium schools Na = 111* Nb = 105*	76.17	95.25	83.80
Difference (I med)-(E med)	+56.22	+47.34	+52.67
Difference as percentage of English-medium mean	281.80	98.81	169.19

* On Na and Nb see note under Table 5. The Irish-medium sample is in this instance a random one

(Based on Harris 1984, Table 6.22, p.119)

ASSESSMENT OF NASALITY IN PATHOLOGICAL SPEECH

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Many of the approaches and techniques of assessment of nasality in pathological speech can and often are used in analysis of nasality in normal speech. When looking at nasality in general phonetic theory and in speech pathology, one of the major problems is that of definitions. Bzoch, (1971) stressed that the concept of nasality must be restricted by definition, if it is to be used reliably. So before evaluating any assessment techniques, we must first look at the definition of nasality.

Laver, (1980) stated that the lack of explicit distinctions made between many of the terms used to describe nasality results in a vagueness of the concept. The literature indicates that the term nasality conveys many different meanings. Perhaps the variations in use of the term may be explained by the different motives for defining nasality, e.g. nasality may be defined for general phonetic theory or for the theory of speech pathology. In general phonetic theory, nasality is defined by Laver,(1980), in terms of neutral velopharyngeal setting where there is velopharyngeal closure on all phonetic segments, except those where audible nasality is critical for phoneme identity and on contextually nasalized segments immediately preceding and following them. Hence neutral velopharyngeal setting or normal nasality will vary from speech sample to speech sample, depending on the presence of nasal phonemes. Acceptable degrees of nasality will also vary from language to language e.g. French contains phonemically nasalized vowels as well as contextually nasalised vowels, whereas English contains only contextually nasalized vowels. Hence the degree of nasality is greater in the French language than in the English language. In general phonetic theory, nasality is seen as a normal phenomenon.

In speech pathology, there is some controversy over the use of the term. Luschinger & Arnold (1965) see nasality as an abnormal concept, they defined it as the addition of nasal resonance to vowels and consonants or the total replacement of oral enunciation by constant nasal airflow.

Kaplan, (1960) defines it as too much nasal resonance. Other theorists in speech pathology define nasality as a normal quality.

Laver, (1980), points out that there are various meanings associated with the term nasality but there are also various terms used to describe the abnormal aspects of nasality, e.g. nasality/denasality, rhinolalia, open nasality/closed nasality, hypernasality and hyponasality. When you consider the vagueness of the concept and the wide variations of definitions, is it any wonder that phoneticians and speech pathologists cringe at the mention of the word nasality.

In order to evaluate the procedures of assessment of nasality, a detailed comprehensive working definition is necessary. If you look at the literature you will find that nasality is usually defined under one of the following headings:- auditory, acoustic, articulatory and aerodynamic.

An auditory definition defines nasality as nasal resonance perceived by a listener. They emphasise the importance of listener judgements. Such a definition is highly subjective. What is excessively nasal to one listener may not be nasal to another. An acceptable degree of nasality depends on the linguistic background of the listener e.g. French v English.

An acoustic definition defines nasality in terms of sound waves. It describes the effect on vowel formants of nasal resonance (i.e. amplified harmonics).

An acoustic definition is more detailed and less vague than an auditory definition, however the acoustic output of nasality is highly variable and complex.

Articulatory definitions define the cause of nasality rather than the concept itself. It highlights the articulatory movements of the velum and pharyngeal walls. Laver (1980) gives a detailed definition - he states that the vital factor in inducing nasal resonance is the ratio of the nasopharyngeal port size to the oropharyngeal port size.

An aerodynamic definition defines nasality in terms of nasal airflow. There are fewer aerodynamic definitions, however there has been much research on nasal airflow as a correlate of nasality and velopharyngeal port size.

Our definition then, includes auditory, acoustic, articulatory and aerodynamic factors.

Nasality may be defined as the degree of perceived nasal resonance, resulting from the addition of the nasal tract to the resonating cavities of the vocal tract, due to the adjustment of the size ratio of the nasopharyngeal port to the oropharyngeal port, using normal respiratory effort for speech.

This describes a normal voice quality. In order to describe abnormal nasal resonances in speech pathology, two more terms need to be defined - hypernasality and hyponasality. Hypernasality is excessive nasal perceived on sounds, resulting from an increase in nasopharyngeal port size in relation to the oropharyngeal port size. Hyponasality is insufficient nasal resonance perceived on sounds, especially nasal consonants and adjacent vowels, resulting from a decrease in nasopharyngeal port size in relation to the oropharyngeal port size. Both hypernasality and hyponasality can be affected by a respiratory effort.

As our working definition includes the four parameters of nasality, it follows that our assessment of nasality should include the four approaches.

1/ Auditory assessment of nasality involves subjective listener judgement of the degree of nasality present in the speech sample. Auditory assessments range from a vague classification of nasality in terms of mild, moderate and severe, to a detailed scaler evaluation of degrees of nasality. Weatherly et al (1964) pointed out the classification of nasality in terms of mild moderate and severe in a gross classification, and that there are considerable variations between listeners. Scaler judgements are used widely in research and in clinical practice. An example of this is the Buffalo resonance profile devised by Wilson. This includes parameters of hypernasality and hyponasality, and nasal emission. Each parameter is judged as present or absent, and if present, it is rated on a 7 point equi-distant scale, where one = slight deviation and 7 = severe deviation. The problems with this scale is that each point on the scale is not clearly defined.

The problems with auditory assessment are as follows:

1. There is no baseline for re-assessment.
2. There is poor inter-judge reliability.
3. Lack of definition of degrees or scaler points.
4. What's called Halo Effect.

Halo effect is the contamination of the judgements of nasality by influencing factors, such as pitch usage, articulation, effectiveness in conveying meaning and cues associated with particular disorders of voice.

Although an auditory assessment of nasality has many problems, we must remember that the ultimate test of aceeptability of speech involves the perceptual acceptability to the listener, (Moll, 1964). However, Counihan in 1971 points out that although the human ear is the final detector of nasality, it does not follow that the human judgements are valid and reliable measures of nasality.

2/ Acoustic Assessment looks at the variations in sound waves resulting from coupling or substitutions of nasal resonance. The first type of acoustic assessment looks at the effect of nasal resonance on the formants of vowel sounds. Formants are amplified harmonics, whose frequency varies according to the shape of the vocal tract. The coupling of nasal resonance to resonance in the vocal tract alters the shape of the vowel spectra.

The second type of acoustic assessment measures sound pressure levels of nasal sound in relation to oral sound. Problems with acoustic analysis is that it is very complex, and specific training in data analysis is necessary. The acoustic output of a normal speaker is widely variable due to the anatomical differences of the nasal tracts.

3/ The third approach to assessment is Articulatory Assessment. This primarily looks at velopharyngeal movement. The two main types of articulatory assessment techniques are radiography and fiberoptics.

a) Radiography - i) still lateral x-rays of the position of the velum in relation to the pharyngeal walls. This can only assess velopharyngeal closure on isolated sounds.
    ii) Cineradiography is continuous x-ray which is projected on to a screen

which can be recorded on a video or cini-film. It provides a dynamic record of movement of speech organs during the production of connected speech. This not only analyses velopharyngeal closure, but also the co-ordinated movement of the velum and pharyngeal walls.

b) Fiberoptics. Nasendoscopy allows observation of the velopharyngeal port and its surrounding muscles during continuous speech. An endoscope, which is a fiberoptic scope is passed along the floor of the patients nose, and allows observation of the velopharyngeal port from above. The patient is asked to recite words, and co-ordinated movement of the velum and pharyngeal walls can be observed.

Both techniques are used widely in clinics for assessment of velopharyngeal incompetence. It is important to note that not all normal speakers have velopharyngeal closure, and hence inadequate closure does not mean that therapy/surgery is indicated.

4/ The fourth approach to assessment is the Aerodynamic Assessment of nasality. This measures nasal and oral airflow during speech. There are two main systems used to assess airflow in speech -

1) Pneumotachograph - which measures pressure differences, and
2) Warm Wire Anemometer - which measures airflow according to temperature change.

A pneumotachograph system is in use in various clinics, however at present the system is very large and expensive and difficult to use. The system has to be calibrated, and therefore is not immediately accessible for use in the clinic. The anamometer is cheaper and easier to use, however it is not as reliable as the pneumotachograph and can only assess single words.

Although there has been a great deal of research into the area of aerodynamic assessment of nasality, results have been inconclusive. There is a wide variation in the airflow measures in normal speakers, and this makes assessments of pathological speech difficult.

The literature indicated that assessment of nasality is fraught with problems. Varying definitions result in confusion and varied use of the term nasality.

A well defined term and the precise use of the term should aid the development of a better approach to assessment.
Further work is necessary to develop normal baselines in the four parameters of nasality.

Isolated techniques have proved to have poor test retest reliability, and poor interjudge reliability. The literature indicates that one technique is not adequate to assess nasality in speech.

If we recall our working definition of nasality, which includes the four parameters of nasality, it follows that our assessment should also cover the four parameters. Results of studies strongly support the use of subjective assessment of nasality, implying that auditory judgement should act as a base assessment and this should be verified and quantified by objective measures. The combined approach to assessment is strongly indicated.

An ideal battery of tests would provide the following information:-

1. A reliable estimate of degree of nasality.
2. The cause of nasality disorder.
3. The prognosis for improvement of vocal quality with various approaches to treatment.

So far a combination of the four types of assessment comes closest to providing the necessary information.

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Hak, T., Haafkens, J., & Nijhof, G. (Eds.) Konteksten (Vol. 6). Working papers on discourse and conversational analysis. Rotterdam: Instituut Preventieve en Sociale Psychiatrie (Postbus 1738, 3000 DR). 212 pages. Price: 12f (c. £7.00)

In this book, written mostly by sociologists and psychologists of the phenomenological/hermeneutic school, the term "discourse" has a very general meaning. It refers not merely to discourse in the linguistic sense (extended passages of written or spoken language) but also to social exchanges generally, insofar as they can be said to "express", in the broadest sense, social realities, especially the realities of inequality, class discrimination, racism, sexism, and so on. For example, in the present volume, we hear about a "discourse of masculinity" which includes, in the case of the working-class adolescent boy, activities such as "fooling with his mother" or "firing spit-balls around the classroom" (p. 166). And this discourse, in turn, can be taken as part of the larger social-political discourse, expressing realities such as "the interchangeability of abstract labour in advanced capitalism" (p. 166).

If you think that this stretches the notion of discourse beyond the limits of usefulness the book is probably not for you. It is true that discussion continually returns to matters of discourse in the narrower sense. Indeed a particular model of discourse analysis features in several of the papers, the Harris/Pecheux model, of which something must be said in a moment. Nonetheless the most constant theme of the collection, it appears to me, is not discourse, even in its broad sense, but social inequality and the attendant phenomena of domination, manipulation, stereotypes, prejudice, and so on. Language, as we think of it in linguistics, pure or applied, features in a secondary role only. It is brought in to support or refute more central claims about inequality. I say this not as a criticism but merely as a clarification for IRAAL members who will want to know in what sense the book is about "discourse", as they will understand the term. Nor do I wish to suggest that a book on social dynamics, as manifested in discourse, will be of no interest to IRAAL members. Depending on your interests, it may well be.

It contains 15 articles in all. They originated in three different conferences, one organised by the Institute of Preventive and Social Psychiatry of Erasmus University in Rotterdam, and two more organised by other working groups of Dutch social scientists. It is possible that the present volume, and its predecessors, would not have come to our attention except that Brian Torode, of the Department of Sociology in Trinity College, is closely involved in the work. He wrote 4 of the 15 articles, including the opening and closing contributions. He is also author of a previous volume in the series. (The present volume brings the series to six.)

The 5 psychiatric papers stand out as a group. They deal with inequalities found in patient-client interviews, including inequalities between doctors and lay people, and between men and women. There are studies here dealing, for example, with stereotypes of mental illness and pregnancy. Two other papers also stand out as a group, a study (done in this country by Brian Torode) of parents attitudes to parent-teacher organizations, and a commentary on the study which suggests an alternative analysis of some interview transcripts. There are 7 papers which may be loosely grouped together on the grounds that they deal, directly or indirectly, with socio-political inequality: a review of Willis' Learning to labour; a reply to the review; a commentary on the work of a contemporary Russian critic writing on Gogol's "Dead Souls"; an analysis of conversations with Neo-Nazis; and three papers dealing with the work of the sociologist and discourse analyst Pecheux. There is a connection between the three groups of papers insofar as Pecheux's method, adapted from Zelig Harris' distributional grammar (Harris, 1963), features in all of them. (However, in some of the papers the references to the model appeared to me to be quite extrinsic, amounting simply to an acknowledgement of its existence and the hope that it might prove useful eventually.) The final two papers discuss alternative views of sociology itself, as a discipline, in the light of the Harris-Pecheux formalism.

A brief comment is needed on the Harris model, and the idea that Pecheux, by drawing attention to it once more, is returning to things which linguists have overlooked in the meantime. In the context of contemporary linguistics the model is a dead duck. It pre-dates transformational grammar and, in the behaviourist ethos of the period, attempts to construct a semantics for an extended text by defining first-level elements in terms of recurring word-strings, going on from there to define second and higher-level elements by sequentially relaxing the definition of equivalence to allow strings occurring within equivalent strings to be themselves counted as equivalent. With the coming of transformational grammar such formalisms were reassigned to the theory of mechanized pattern recognition. For the time being, at any rate, mechanisms based on equivalence-classes of surface features have no role in linguistics. It is possible, however, that they might find one if they are confined to pragmatic and interpersonal aspects of disourse, working in tandem with regular "bottom-up" parsers. The use of the model on its own, as an all-encompassing "top-down" parser amounts to a lightly-structured form of mentalistic analysis and will not have any interest for those working in linguistic semantics.

I found the volume well worth reading. The hermeneutic approach, alas, irritated me as much as ever. From my own (equally entrenched) position it continues to be characterized chiefly by its majestic indifference to the problems of subjectivity, combined, quite incongrously, with a weakness for logical and mathematical formalisms. I also found the volume a little too "chummy" in places. Very few concessions were made to the "others", i.e. the broader readership envisaged for this volume, who would eventually cast a slightly colder eye on the proceedings than the participants did. On the other hand, my problems with phenomenology may be of my own making. I have exactly the same trouble with Merleau-Ponty, Sartre, Foucault, Habermas, et al. as I had with Hak et al. And on the subject of chumminess, it must be conceded there is now some acceptance of the principle (enunciated in in the foreword) that working papers, like working groups, are entitled to a break from the more impersonal criteria of the journals.

The collection is efficiently produced and presented—in the familiar A4-reduced-to-A5 format—with English translation from the Dutch where necessary. The individual papers hang together better than most collections of this sort, largely, I suspect, because the contributors are familiar with each others work, and also because some of the papers originate in a common projects. For me, the book was a useful demonstration of the hermeneutic method as applied to some areas of linguistics which I am accustomed to look at quite differently. I feel we owe Brian Torode a special debt of gratitude for making the alternative viewpoint, which is largely a continental way of looking at things, so readily available to us in this country.

Eoghan Mac Aogáin (ITÉ)

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Réamhrá

Tá TEANGA 7 linn. Baineann na hailt inti le cainteanna a tugadh ag seimineáir de chuid IRAAL i rith na bliana seo caite. Tá súil againn go mbeidh tarraingt ag ár léitheoirí ar an ábhar atá iontu.

An tEagarthóir,
Meán Fómhair, 1987

Introduction

TEANGA 7 is with us. The articles herein are the result of various seminars held by IRAAL in the last year. We hope the contents will appeal to our readers.

The Editor,
September, 1987

An Bord Eagarthóireachta/The Editorial Board

Dónall P. Ó Baoill
Jeffrey L. Kallen
David Singleton

WHY IS VARIABILITY A NECESSARY PART OF LANGUAGE LEARNING?

Richard Towell
University of Salford

Both as a learner of a foreign language and as a teacher of a foreign language I am continually being made aware of the irregular and frustrating nature of the foreign language learning process.

Part of the experience of foreign language learning is the inevitable sense of "getting it wrong" when you shouldn't have "got it wrong", of saying or writing something which is 'silly' and which you know to be 'silly' when someone points it out to you. The experience is rather like losing control of some faculty or knowledge which you thought you possessed but which, when you come to use it, somehow isn't there in quite the form you thought it was. I say inevitably because it would seem to me that this is nothing to do with intelligence and that it is a universal part of language learning. Most teachers (when they are teachers but not when they are learners!) put this down to carelessness. Clearly carelessness has a role to play in this experience, but it would seem that even those of us who are most 'careful' in other aspects of our lives are nonetheless incapable of giving to our foreign language learning that smooth progression towards our goal which we would like to achieve. Instead our language production seems uncertain and irregular. In non-technical terms this is the phenomenon I am referring to when I talk about variability: our ability in the foreign language is variable, sometimes we are good at it, sometimes we are bad at it and it frequently seems that we are getting worse rather than better even over lengthy periods of time.

Later I will produce evidence to show that this 'feeling' has some foundation in the actual performance of undergraduate language learners over a period of four years.

About ten years ago now I decided to start a research project to see if I could understand more about this problem and to collect data from undergraduate learners of French throughout their four year course in order to be able to describe and interpret the nature of their language development: it is this set of data which I will describe in greater detail later which will serve as illustrative material for this article.

There are, of course, many theories to explain this kind of phenomenon: the Monitor Theory (Krashen 1981, 1982), the Natural Order Hypothesis (Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982), the Variable Competence Theory (Ellis 1984), The Capability Continuum (Tarone 1982), The Acculturation Model (Schumann 1976), The Pidginisation Hypothesis (Schumann 1978), Interlanguage (Selinker 1972), The Production Hypotheses (Dechert 1984), Interlanguage Strategies (Faerch and Kasper 1983), Proceduralisation (Raupach 1985), Error Analysis (Richards 1974) and Contrastive Analysis (James 1980) to name but a few.

When I first set out on this project, however, there were probably three areas of theory which bore centrally on the procedures to be adopted, one which was mainly linguistic or applied linguistic, one mainly sociolinguistic and one psycholinguistic. The first and the most important was certainly 'Interlanguage' (Selinker 1972) as it had been developed in the early seventies. The second contribution came from the sociolinguistically oriented writings of Tarone (1982) and others warning of the influence of sociolinguistic factors and situational factors on the production of interlanguage. The third was a psycholinguistic approach to speech production as exemplified by the work of F. Goldman-Eisler (1968) in which the significance of pausing, of hesitations etc was examined. This work has been applied to second language learners by researchers such as Dechert (1984) and Raupach (1980) in Germany.

Interlanguage was introduced as a concept by Selinker in 1972 and very similar ideas were put forward at almost exactly, the same time by Corder (1971) and Nemser (1972). They all wished to consider the language used by the second language learner as "systematic" in so far as it could be considered as an independent natural language system which was neither L1 nor L2 but which nevertheless contained its own set of rules which might well be idiosyncratic but which also might be shared by a number of learners.

In so far as these ideas gave central importance to the notion that the learning was controlled by something which was already in the learner's mind and which determined what was learnt and perhaps when it was learnt, the concept of interlanguage owed a great deal to the views on language acquisition put forward by Chomsky (1965) who argues, on logical grounds and not on empirical grounds that in order to explain the child's capacity to acquire any language to which it is exposed (generally without negative feedback and on the basis of degenerate data) we must posit as axiomatic the existence of an 'innate language acquisition device' which contains a set of linguistic universals which are then triggered by the environment.

Part of the same inheritance is the separation of language into 'competence' and 'performance' involving the idealisation of the data on the basis of the reliable intuitions of a native speaker-hearer.

I therefore consider that a set of expectations or hypotheses can be set up on the basis of transferring these ideas into the area of second language acquisition:

1) that the learner has a series of intermediate linguistic 'competences' which it is possible to describe at different stages of the learning process

2) that the forms in the later 'competences' will be nearer to the L2 than the forms in the earlier 'competences'

3) that the process will be systematic at least for any given learner and probably for any homogeneous group of learners and possibly even for all learners

As I said earlier, I am interested in advanced learners, young adults, and whilst there is no reason why the basic interlanguage position should not apply to these learners there are four areas where the direct applicability of the theory as described above might be questioned:

1) given that these learners have been given a great deal of negative feedback and that the data to which they have been exposed is not degenerate but 'potted' and that the learners actually take much longer to acquire the language, it may be that the 'logic' of Chomsky's argument does not apply so well to these learners

2) it is difficult to see how interlanguage data can be idealised on the basis of the reliable intuitions of native speaker-hearers because the data is constantly in a state of flux and inherently unstable

3) whereas it can be argued that for the child the process of maturation and the acquisition of other cognitive skills go hand in hand with the first language development process, it is obvious that those other cognitive abilities are already available in the L1 for the older learner and this has to be taken into account. I

would like to introduce here a term to cover all those other cognitive skills/abilities which contribute to language use: 'channel capacity' borrowed from V. Cook (1985)

4) the 'innate language acquisition device is said to contain 'linguisitc universals' which belong to the 'core' of any language. In addition to these 'core' features every language contains a large number of non-universal 'particular' features which have to be learnt as a specific property of that language. The peripheral features may not be learnt in the same way as the core features and the advanced learner may be more concerned with peripheral features

So, whilst I do not wish to question the central importance of the learner's contribution to the learning process, I shall be wary of borrowing too many ideas from the Chomskyan paradigm which, after all, was set up with very different objectives in mind.

We will return to these considerations as part of our final discussion.

I will now turn to a brief presentation of the other two theories which guided my work. The second of my central considerations is sociolinguistic in origin deriving from the work of the other modern master of linguistics, Labov (1972), Elaine Tarone (1983) and others, taking their lead from Labov's work on variability, have pointed out that if an interlanguage is a natural language, which is the basic claim, then it should be expected to have 'varieties' which would be used by the speaker in different situations. She suggests that the interlanguage consists of a 'capability continuum' containing varieties of the interlanguage of a more or less formal nature: she regards the least formal end of the continuum or the 'vernacular' as being the end which most clearly represents the learner's current 'competence' and suggests further that the capability continuum develops on the basis of integrating new knowledge of the language at the more formal end and then moving it along the continuum until it becomes part of the learner's 'internalised competence'.

Rod Ellis (1984) has built a psycholinguistic dimension on to this basically sociolinguistic starting point by suggesting that the movement along the continuum towards the less formal end also represents a movement from knowledge of the language which has to be carefully thought about or canscious knowledge, to knowledge which doesn't have to be thought about i.e. it becomes unconscious or automatised (or proceduralised in another approach).

This leads me into my third approach which is the psycholinguistic dimension. If the approach based on interlanguage, with or without variable rules, is seen as the 'competence' dimension, then the approach based on psycholinguistic processing is the 'performance' dimension. Work on hesitations and pauses by Goldman-Eisler (1968) had suggested to me that the development of this aspect of the ability to use a second language might well be measured by such indications. Subsequent work by Grosjean and Deschamps (1975, 1980) on native speakers of French and English and the application of such studies to second language learning research by writers such as Dechert, Möhle and Raupach (1984) seemed to offer a positive way of specifying the developing language ability. I therefore set out to offer an analysis of the developing language skills in terms of what have come to be known as the "temporal variables". I will define these now so that they can be used later when I come to the analysis of the data:

SPEAKING RATE is expressed in syllables per minute and gives an indication of how many syllables were produced on average per minute taking into account the time used for pausing. The figure is obtained by dividing the number of syllables produced by the total time taken to produce them and multiplying the result by sixty. The measure gives an overall indication of the speed at which the speech is being formulated and produced.

ARTICULATION RATE is expressed in syllables per second and gives an indication of how many syllables were produced on average per second of actual speech, not including the time devoted to pausing. This figure is obtained by dividing the number of syllables produced by the time needed to produce them, not including any pause time. This gives an indication of the speed at which the speech is produced.

PHONATION/TIME RATIO gives a percentage figure for the amount of time spent speaking in relation to the total time. It would be expected that a task requiring more thought would have a lower percentage of the time spent speaking and a higher percentage of the time spent pausing. In addition to the overall ratio attention needs also to be paid to the distribution of pauses and to false starts.

MEAN LENGTH OF UTTERANCE is the average number of syllables which occurred between unfilled pauses of not less than .25 secs and the figures give a rough indication of the learner's ability to encode smaller or larger units. The mean is not always a reliable indicator because with very small amounts of data a number of one syllable utterances could distort the figures very easily. The presentation of the mean needs to be supplemented on occasions with facts about the percentage of utterances of various lengths.

The basic expectation in terms of psycholinguistic processing was that the learners would improve on all these measures over time.

The measures could then be used as a means to the end of discovering to what extent the language had become 'automatised' and perhaps what elements had become automatised. They could also be seen as measures which would enable statements to be made about the transfer of channel capacity and also allow investigation of any possible relationship between the ability to process language and the learning of the language system.

I have now introduced a linguistic, a sociolinguistic and a psycholinguistic dimension to the analysis: each discipline has its own methodology and its own demands which on occasions threaten to tear research such as this apart, but it seems important to me to try and bring these dimensions together because, as I will now attempt to demonstrate, each certainly has a role to play in explicating the behaviour of the learner and to ignore any one is to risk having competing explanations at a later date.

Briefly the resulting research design was as follows:

The research project consisted of a longitudinal study of undergraduate learners of French at the University of Lancaster between 1975 and 1979. It followed a group of learners, all native speakers of English, from first to final year, including a year in France and recordings were made once a term. The aim of the data collection was to allow comparisons to be made both on a "vertical" or longitudinal basis and on a "horizontal" or cross-sectional basis keeping the topics and tasks separate whilst maintaining as far as is possible over four years a similar recording situation, thus allowing any variability introduced by change in the task to be spotted. I should say now that in actual fact very little difference was noted in the use of the language system in relation to each topic and therefore this area will not be pursued in any great detail.

The research design and the topics covered are shown in the following diagram:

	Term One Topic/Task	Term Two Topic/Task	Term Three Topic/Task
Year I Year II Year III Year IV	General conversation on a personally relevant topic, e.g. why choose Lancaster? where do you live? what do you think of it?	Narrative based on a book, a film or on an event Justify an opinion on a subject where you hold a strong opinion.	Describe how a machine works. Imagine the rest of a story. Ask questions in relation to an imaginary event.

The aim was to collect twelve recordings for each student where the topic/task was dealt with in a one-to-one interview type situation. The interviewers were "lecteurs" in Lancaster and teachers in France. All were briefed in detail by the researcher. They were instructed to ask certain questions, repeated from year to year, to conduct themselves as informally yet normally as possible and not to correct the learner's language unless the learner in some way sought correction. The intention was to allow as natural an interaction as possible and to reproduce the same situation at each recording. There were predictable difficulties in achieving this (and some unpredictable difficulties) and certain recordings had to be rejected because of specific interferences in the data collection situation. At the end of the study the subjects were interviewed by the researcher and questioned about the conduct of the interviews and only where assurances about comparability have been received from the subject have comparisons been made.

My first set of data is taken from the recordings made of a male student in terms 1, 4, and 7 of his course i.e. the first terms of years one, two and three (three being the year spent in France). A recording was also made in term 11 (year four) but was so different in content that the kind of detailed comparison of the actual language used is not possible, but I have included figures relating to the temporal variables for the fourth year. The data presented shows the responses to the question: "Pourquoi as-tu décidé de venir à l'université? (plutôt que de travailler par exemple?) Pourquoi venir à Lancaster? (plutôt que Bristol etc.?)". The questions are in fact similar rather than identical as the interviewers were asked to slip the questions in as part of a 'natural' conversation and in so doing they changed the focus of the questions slightly but the content of the answers is similar enough in my opinion to justify the kind of comparative statements I wish to be able to make.

The data are presented in transcribed form using normal orthographic conventions but showing pauses of .25 secs and above. Information is given at the end of the texts about the temporal variables as indicated above.

DATA SET ONE

Term One (year one)

1. I: pourquoi est-ce que tu es venu à l'Université?
2. S: parce que (1.6) uh j'ai voulu (.8) étudier (.25)
3. le français (.5) um (1.3) et (.9) devenir un
4. professeur (.3)
5. I: tu veux être professeur?
6. S: oui
7. I: dans une école ou dans une université?
8. S: (1.4) probablement dans une école specialisée
9. (1.4) avec des jeunes handicapés peut-être
10. I: handicapés physiques ou mentaux? donc tu veux
11. leur enseigner le français?
12. S: um (.3) physiques je_crois_(.3) c'est plus_
13. difficile de (.8) d'enseigner (.25) des
14. handicaps (1.3) handicapés uh (.6)
15. I: mentaux
16. S: mentaux je_crois_(.3)
17. I: c'est tout à fait autre chose et tu veux leur
18. enseigner quoi le français ou autre chose?
19. S: uh oui je sais pas (.8) exactement (.5) parce que
20. (.5) uh (3.0) ce qui m'intèresse beaucoup c'est
21. l'art (1.1) et (.45) les langues (2.9) et (.9) um
22. (1.9) j'ai (.6) j'ai déjà etudié le français
23. depuis (.6) sept ans (.65) ainsi* (.9) je
24. voudrais continuer (1.5) pour être (.9) uh très
25. courante
26. I: pour parler couramment
27. S: pour parler oui (1.0)uh(2.1) ainsi* je je ne
28. sais pas (.9) je je voudrais uh enseigner (1.6)
29. en France je crois

Term Three (year one)

- j'avais (.25) faim (1.0) ainsi* (1.4) je suis entré dans un bar ...
- nous sommes sur l'autre route (1.5) ainsi* (.25) quand (.3) je suis (.6) venu ...)

Term Four (year two)

I: pourquoi est-ce que tu as décidé après l'école
secondaire d'aller à l'université?
S: um (.3) parce que (2.1) uh (2.1) j'ai voulu de
(1.2) me perfectionner le français (.6) et (.8)
je_crois_que (2.0) c'est c'est une bonne méthode
(.5) de de perfectionner la langue (1.0) venir
à dans une une université (2.4)
I: et pourquoi ce choix précis de Lancaster pourquoi
Lancaster et non pas Bristol ou n'importe quelle
autre université?
S: parce que (.4) um Lancaster (.7) nous offre (.4)
un un un très bon cours (.9) um (.7) c'est un
(2.1) plus flexible (.5) je crois (.7) um (.4)
il_y_a_beaucoup de choix (.8) on peut étudier um
(.3) trois sujets (.6) pendant le la première
année (.7) la première année (1.0) et um (.25)
pour_moi_ça c'est bon et aussi (.6) uh j'ai
étudie uh (.6) l'italien l'année dernière (.7) et
um et (.3) je je n'ai jamais étudié cette langue
(.4) et (.9) on peut (.4) commencer (1.1) uh
(2.5) complètement uh (1.0) au au début (.8)
I: d'accord

KEY
⬭ = pause/filler/pause combination
___ = error
- - - = formula
* = hypothesis/formulation

Term Seven (year three)

I: et uh pourquoi as-tu choisi l'université de Lancaster?

S: uh (.3) je crois il y a deux raisons (.8) le plus_important (.5) c'est (0.8) pre (.3) premièrement c'est_c'est le le (.5) um (.25) la structure des cours (.4) à Lancaster ils sont (.5) c'est une université moderne (1.1) c'est (.7)_que_je peux (.7) étudier (.9) trois sujets au (.25) dans la première année (.4) après je peux (.4) faire un choix (.9) pour spécialiser (.3) pour_moi_c'est_c'est_le plus_important (.7) et (.6) je pouvais (.6) um (1.0) je pouvais (1.4) uh (.5) commencer a étudier italien (.6) sans avoir (.7) jamais (.25) étudié italien par avant (1.9) et (.25) deuxièmement (.6) c'est (.5) Lancaster c'est dans la région des lacs c'est une région très pittoresque (.3) très jolie (.7) um (.8) moi je préfère la campagne c'est mieux que (.3) um (.25) à Londres par exemple ou il_y a beaucoup_de bruit et (.5) c'est pollué (.7) et (1.7) j'ai j'habité mes parents habitent au sud d'Angleterre bon je (1.2) je (.3) je voulais un changement (1.1) c'est c'est peut-être le plus important chose.

TEMPORAL VARIABLES

	Speaking Rate (syll/min)	Articulation Rate (syll/sec)	Phonation/Time/Ratio % time spent speaking	Mean Length of Utterance (sylls)	Percentages of runs various lengths 1-4 syll	5-10 syll	11+ syll
Year I	122.46	3.88	52.59	4.27	75.75	15.15	9.09
Year II	121.50	3.35	54.66	4.69	63.63	32.95	3.40
Year III	149.85	3.77	67.46	6.84	58.88	27.77	13.33
Year IV	177.45	3.75	78.45	6.20	50.00	38.52	11.47

COMMENTARY ON DATA SET ONE

As indicated above I will seek to comment on the data from two points of view in relation firstly to the "interlanguage" development as revealed in particular by the errors in the text and then in relation to the temporal variables as indicators of psycholinguistic processing. In order to back up what I wish to suggest about interlanguage development I shall then comment on data taken from all the learners in the study in those areas of interest to us.

The errors in the text are underlined by continuous lines, but to make reference easier I reproduce them here:

Year One.
j'ai voulu :12
devenir un :13
enseigner des :113
j'ai étudié
  depuis :122/23
être courante :125
ainsi :123
ainsi :127

Year Two.
voulu de :13 (see Year 1 12)
venir à dans :17
le la première :115
je n'ai jamais
  étudié :119

Year Three.

je crois il y a :11 (see Year II 15)
le le la structure :15 (see Year II 115)
au dans la première année:19(see Year II 17)
sujets :18
spécialiser :110
étudier italien :113(see Year II 118)
étudier italien :114
au sud d'Angleterre :122
le plus important chose :123

The kind of errors which occur present few surprises. Typical persistent errors are those with gender, with prepositions, with lexical items and with tenses.

What is perhaps more surprising is the distribution of the errors and in particular the re-occurrence of the same kind of error, or the same area of uncertainty, from year to year and even more striking the re-appearance of errors in the later years with structures which were apparently well-controlled in the earlier years. For the re-occurrence of errors it is worth noting the hesitations with gender which occur in Year II,115 and Year III, 15 and the hesitations over "à" or "dans" which occur in Year II,17 and Year III,17. The errors with tenses also refuse to go away. The re-appearance of errors is evident when a comparison is made between Year III "je crois il y a" (13) and Year II "je crois que c'est" (15) and Year III "étudier italien" (13.114) with Year II "étudier l'italien" (118). The same phenomenon is also visible in Year II with "voulu de" (13) compared with Year I "voulu étudier" (12). It seems fairly evident even on the basis of this tiny amount of evidence that no-one should assume that just because this learner could use a given structure in one year he will be able to use it a year later.

The use of "ainsi" is worthy of comment. It occurs in Term One, lines 23 and 27 and it occurs elsewhere in Year One tapes as is indicated in the examples quoted from term three. In each case, it occurs with the same meaning and in a context where a native speaker would be unlikely to use it and that meaning is one which a native speaker would be unlikely to give it. In fact, this student appears to have hypothesised that "ainsi" = "so" in English and uses it in contexts where English "so" would be used. This hypothesis persists throughout the first year but cannot be found in any subsequent tapes.

The hypothesis seems to have been reformulated in a way which in this case does bring the learner nearer to native speaker use.

In fact, there are also positive developments in this learner's language. In terms of lexical development we note that "étudier le français" in term one becomes "se perfectionner" in term four, although the construction is not quite mastered. There is also an "improvement" in the syntax used to express the idea of learning Italian from scratch. In Year Two - lines 17-21 - there is a certain clumsiness about the use of co-ordinated clauses "j'ai étudié ... et je je n'ai jamais étudié ... et on peut commencer" which leaves the listener to work out what the relation is between the clauses in terms of meaning. In Year Three, however, lines 13-14 - he does manage to make the meaning explicit and to embed one clause within the other by the use of "sans avoir jamais étudié italien par avant" even if the article for "italièn" is lost on the way and if the use of "par avant" is idiosyncratic. The text in Year Three is also the only one to demonstrate organisation at the text level by the introduction of "il y a deux raisons ... premièrement ... deuxièmement" which is indicative of another kind of progress.

However, whilst it is indeed possible to cite some examples of "progress" and, as I expected, it is possible to show that some "early" interlanguage forms are replaced by more sophisticated "later" interlanguage forms, it is equally, if not more, possible to demonstrate that certain error types persist, are seemingly impervious to learning and that learning is not linear in the way that interlanguage theory as outlined above might have led us to expect. For reasons which have to do with the way in which students internalise the language structures that which appears to have been learnt at one stage may appear to have been "unlearnt" or at least frequently unperformed at a later stage and it is clear that non-systematic variability may persist for a long time.

I would now like to turn my attention to my second approach to this same set of data i.e. the approach which places the emphasis on psycholinguistic processing. The main evidence for changes in psycholinguistic processing are provided by the temporal variables listed above and it is fairly obvious from the figures quoted that this student has progressed in this area. The SPEAKING RATE remains low for the first two years (122.46 syll/min in the first year, 121.50 syll/min in the second year) but once the student is exposed to French in France the rate rapidly increases (149.85 syll/min in year three and 177.45 syll/min in year four). The PHONATION/TIME RATIO shows a very similar pattern of development, maintaining a low level in years one and two (52.69% of the time spent speaking in year one, 54.69% in year two), but improving considerably in year three (67.40%) and even more in year four (78.50%). The MEAN LENGTH OF UTTERANCE progresses slowly from 4.27 sylls in year one to 6.20 in year four and the figures for the percentages of runs of various lengths show the longer runs becoming more and more frequent. The exception for this student is ARTICULATION RATE which, if anything, shows a decrease from 3.88 syll/sec in year one to 3.75 syll/sec in year four. This is extremely unusual in the data and I can find no explanation for it. With the odd exception of articulation rate the other temporal variables show clearly that the student is able to process language at a faster rate than he could at the start of the data collection process.

This fact, however, does little more than confirm what our ears would tell us anyway. These figures are not really an end in themselves but rather the means towards the end of finding out what it is that the student is doing to enable him to process language faster.

In order to find this out we have to look in greater detail at two other aspects of language use. One is the distribution of pauses or more precisely the distribution of pause+filler+pause combinations in the data and the other is the use of "automatised" structures.

If we look first at pause + filler + pause combinations i.e. those occasions when the learner makes most use of a time-gaining strategy during which language planning can take place by combining a pause with a "filler" like "um" or "et" (indicated by a circle ⬭ in the text), we find that there is an overall decrease in the density of this pattern from year to year. In year one a pause + filler + pause combination occurs every fifteen words, in year two one occurs every sixteen and a half words and in year three one occurs every twenty-two and half words. The relative density appears to be progressively diminishing as the learner needs less time to encode the message.

It is possible that the learner needs less time because the forms being used are more automatised and so it is worth looking at the use made of those forms which have been described in the literature as "formulae". There are various terms in current use such as "schemata", "routines" and "patterns" all of which are slightly different from each other but which share the characteristics of being frequently used by native speakers, restricted, if not unique in their morphological form and they are seen as being easily accessed by the native speaker who, it is suggested, stores them in a way which is different from the way in which "rule-governed" speech is stored.

In fact, it soon becomes obvious that this is an area where the learner's speech has evolved considerably. In year one the use of formulae is confined to the three examples of "je crois" in lines 12, 16 and 29 (underlined by a non-continuous line in the text) and possibly "c'est difficile de" in line 12. They are more frequent in year two: je crois que (15), c'est + noun (=une bonne méthode) (15), il y a (114), pour moi ça c'est bon (117) but they are much more obvious in year three: le plus important, c'est ... (14), c'est c'est le le la structure (15), c'est une université moderne (17), c'est que je peux (17/8), pour moi, c'est le plus important (11), Lancaster, c'est dans la région des lacs (116), moi, je préfere (118), c'est mieux que (118/19), il y a (119), c'est pollué (120), c'est c'est peut-être le plus important chose (123/24).

"C'est" in particular becomes the answer to all problems and if we look at the variety of structures which follows "c'est" in this short extract we begin to see the value of this formula for the would-be communicator in oral French. In this short text we see the following range of structures:

noun
que + clause
c'est + superlative
prepositional group
adverbial
adjective

This short examination of the development in psycholinguistic processing suggests to me that the "progress" in terms of an ability to process the language more quickly and therefore more fluently has been achieved in the main by taking greater advantage of linguistic forms which are easily automatised and by being more successful in combining these with more "rule-governed" forms.

In terms of the expectations with which I began the study:

1) I can trace "growth" but whether it can be called growth in "competence" is doubtful

2) Later forms are not always more akin to the L2 than earlier forms

3) The process seems more variable than systematic and 4) A whole dimension is missing if I don't take into account pausing and automatisation of structures.

Obviously this is only one student and it is clearly not wise to draw conclusions on the basis of so little evidence: but the texts cited here are typical of the texts produced by the other subjects of the study.

In order to obtain a picture of the development of the language system textual comparisons of the type just demonstrated were carried out for all five students. This comparative study suggested that it would be worth exploring further the assignment of gender, the use of prepositions, specific areas of lexis, certain syntactic structures, the use of formulae and the temporal variables along with some other areas which will not be developed here. All items except temporal variables were then examined throughout the data in the search for patterns which would help to explain the development of the subjects' interlanguage.

I will briefly outline the results of such an investigation:

1) Gender: throughout the data four out of the five students continued to produce gender mistakes. The density of these mistakes lessened over the years but still remained a distinctive feature of the interlanguage.

It was noted that in particular words ending in a nasal vowel and with certain other endings tended to have the gender wrongly assigned.

2) Prepositions,like gender,remained a consistent problem throughout the data for virtually all the students. No distributional pattern was visible, although it is probable that the actual numbers of errors decreased over the years. By the fourth year they were, however, still a significant feature of the interlanguage.

3) Lexis produced a number of patterns. One kind of pattern we have already seen with the use of 'ainsi' by the subject studied in more detail: the subject seemingly believed that 'ainsi' = 'so' up to a certain point and then suddenly revised that belief and as a result that usage disappeared from the interlanguage.

Another pattern is exemplified by the following set of examples in relation to the French term for 'language':

Term One: l'étude de langage
(apprendre) comment marchent les langages
Term Four: pas assez de langage de la langue
Term Five: pas le langage
Term Seven: c'était la littérature pas la langue
et le russe pas la langue
c'était juste les fondamentales de la langue
Term Ten: oui la langue russe

This displays a pattern of learning which goes from the certainty in the first year (albeit mistaken) that the correct word (perhaps the only word at this stage) for English 'language' is 'langage', to doubt or uncertainty in the second year caused by an awareness of the existence of another word, which leads to the doubling up of the two possible words, to renewed (and this time correct) certainty that 'langue' is to be used in these contexts.

Similar, but without the middle stage of uncertainty is an example of the learning to distinguish the word for the country from the word for the language of that country:

Most students made the mistake at one point or other but one had special difficulty:

Term One: je trouve le français plus facile que
l'allemagne
nous allons en allemagne ou en français
j'ai étudié l'espagne à l'école
Term Four: Lancaster avait un bon cours en français
en allemagne
j'ètudié le français mais non plus l'allemand
Term Seven: j'ai fait allemand
j'ai appris l'espagnol au lycée

These and other examples show that the confusion existed in the mind of the student for at least the first four terms, but that in or by term seven the problem was swiftly resolved: unlike the 'language'/'langue' example there was no period of using both forms.

4) Certain Syntactic Structures

The same is true of the next example which concerns the use of:

'c'est + preposition + infinitive
'à' or 'de'

'c'est difficile à faire'

'c'est difficile de (le) faire

These examples are taken from the recordings made in the terms indicated with the same female student and they list the examples of the use of the structure "c'est facile/difficile ——→ Infinitive". Some examples in the list are cited with an * to indicate that, in my opinion (backed up by a number of native speakers), the choice of "à" or "de", or in one case of 0, is not that which would be expected of a native speaker. The * is used only in relation to the structure under consideration and some sentences are quite obviously "wrong" in other ways.

Term One

1. je trouve que c'est très facile uh de faire des amis parce que ...
2. et c'est très facile aussi de faire des amies spéciales ...
3. sur le campus c'est plus facile d'être une étudiant que ...
4. c'est peut-être difficile de distinguer entre la vie dans la maison et dans l'université
5. j'aime j'aime le cours mais c'est difficile de maintenir le niveau de travail

Term Two

6. mais dans les choses comme uh le travail manuel c'est très difficile pour une femme de dire que elle est égale ...
7. mais c'est difficile de d'avoir des opinions comme ...

Term Four

8. *uh c'est difficile à connaître les professeurs
9. *uh c'est difficile à les connaître
10. *c'est plus facile à ouvrir une boîte
11. je je trouve l'accent de du Midi très (laughs) c'est mais la le vrai accent du Midi c'est très difficile à comprendre
12. ?j'ai une amie qui habite à Voreppe elle est de Montpellier et c'est très difficile à comprendre

Term Five

13. *c'est difficile à sortir pendant les soirs
14. *c'est difficile aller au cinéma (said without pause and a unified intonation pattern)
15. ?il y a toujours des taxis mais c'est difficile à trouver
16. *c'est difficile à commencer à vivre ...
17. c'est difficile d'être garçon et catholique

Term Seven

18. c'est une ville que c'est facile de d'aimer de s'éloigner de (!)
19. c'est peut-être très facile à s'habituer plus facile à s'habituer à quelque chose qu'on reconnaît un peu

Term Eight

20. ça c'est plus facile à comprendre des quelqu'un riche (= de (la part de) quelqu'un de riche)

Term Ten

21. c'est facile d'aller d'Irlande du Nord à Belfast d'Irlande du Nord à Lancaster
22. *et souvent c'est plus facile à faire quelque chose
23. *c'est difficile à trouver les peut-être quelque chose pour le mettre dedans
24. *(le russe) c'était difficile à parler
25. à cause de à c'était difficile uh par exemple de reconnaître des choses comme adverbaux (=adverbiaux)
26. mais s'il faut habiter à Morecambe c'est Morecambe c'est très difficile à ... (unfinished sentence)

Term Eleven

27. c'est difficile à expliquer parce qu'il faut vivre dans ...

Term Twelve

28. donc c'est plus facile de de s'accoutumer à à le (=au) sens d'humour

29. *les différences entre les deux styles je crois que c'est c'est difficile d'expliquer
30. bon familier c'est um difficile à expliquer hum un peu comme ...
31. un peu non c'est difficile à expliquer mais c'est pas très intellectuel

The sentences demonstrate an evolution in the use of this structure which, contrary to my expectations, appears to move away from the L2 rather than towards it, or at best to approach it by a very circuitous route. At first the student appears to control the structure 'c'est difficile de' and this is correctly used in terms one and two. Significantly, there are no examples of the use of 'c'est difficile à', erroneous or otherwise. In term four the use of 'de' is replaced systematically by 'à' in all the examples giving rise to errors in at least three out of five examples. In term five the systematic use of 'à' is replaced by the non-systematic use of 'à' and 'de' and this non-systematicity seems to continue then for the rest of the data collection period ie. for more than two years. In the last set of examples there may be signs of a further change in the rule as, unusually, in example 29 'de' is used in a context where 'à' would have been appropriate: but this doesn't change the fact that non-systematic variability has persisted for a considerable length of time. This example seems to follow the same pattern as that seen for lexis where over time certainty becomes uncertainty and remains in that state for some time before any resolution can take place.

At this point it might be as well to offer an interpretation of the evidence presented so far.

First of all I think that the evidence as presented illustrates that the 'feeling' of a lack of progress, of going backwards on occasions in language learning has some foundation in fact and I think it has demonstrated that this kind of data displays considerable variability.

The causes of that variability are a matter of interpretation but let me offer at this stage two possible causes for the variability we have seen so far.

If we take first the variable assignment of gender and the variable use of prepositions, I would suggest that explanation for this kind of variability should be sought in the nature of these language systems themselves. Although Lambert and Tucker (77) have shown that the French gender system is rule-governed according to the endings of the words, the second language learner clearly fails to perceive the patterns of regularity: I feel that the answer lies in the peripheral nature of these rules and the low-level of rule-governedness. The same applies to the rules for the distribution of prepositions which are at such a low level of generality as to need individual learning. The cause of this kind of variability I shall want to consider as purely linguistic.

If we then take the learning patterns of lexis and the learning of the 'c'est + à/de' I want to suggest that the learning there may be caused by the nature of language learning itself. The most obvious case is the learning of 'langue' where we see one 'certainty' being replaced over time by another 'certainty' with an intervening period of 'uncertainty'. The key is there: given that we are talking about the progressive expansion of a body of knowledge which is systematic (even if it tolerates considerable variability) then it follows that any new 'entrant' into that body of knowledge must compete for its place with the knowledge which is already there. Integrating new knowledge destabilises the system. If that new knowledge is not 'absolute' knowledge ie. it is the kind of knowledge which says in the case of lexis

'I know this word fits into this semantic field somewhere but I'm not quite sure where', which seems quite likely, then the 'system' is going to have to tolerate that item in an 'uncertain' state until the learner has tried it out in enough contexts to become more certain about where it fits. Then the pressure for a more economic system (and the dislike of the uncertainty on the part of the learner) will force the lexical items into separate identities.

I suggest that this is also what is happening with 'c'est à/de': one form, one rule is learnt initially: to some extent, in some contexts it works, until exposure to more of the language reveals that this rule is only part of the possibilities: then the new possibilities must be explored and eventually the possibilities sorted into their definable roles. This kind of variability I shall call 'interlinguistic' as it seems absolutely central to interlingual growth.

What is very striking, however, is the fact that it takes such a long time for problems such as this to be sorted out and this is the question to which I shall return.

For the moment, however, I put forward the suggestion that some variability is caused by the nature of the language system being learnt and the suggestion that other kinds of variability are caused by the learning process itself which necessarily involves destabilising the system. The problem then becomes, not why is the system destabilised, but why it takes so long to get it back on course again.

Now I have to take into account the evidence from the psycholinguistic side of language development. This I will do briefly under three headings: the use of temporal variables, the use of pause+filler+pause combinations and the use of 'formulae'.

We have already seen from our single student example in relation to a very restricted sample of data that his performance greatly improved as far as the temporal variables were concerned.

Students obviously varied greatly in when and where improvements in the temporal variables took place but here we are only really interested in establishing the degree of change which took place. When I average the figures for all the students on the basis of their weakest and their strongest performance on the interview task, I establish that:

Speaking Rate improved on	average	by	+ 60.10%
Articulation Rate "	"	"	+ 19.70%
Phonation/Time Ratio	"	"	+ 38.61%
Mean length of Utterance	"	"	+ 101.07%

Whilst I wouldn't attach too much importance to these averages because they hide considerable differences, I feel they do demonstrate that improvement in this area is spectacular.

If we then take the same data sets and examine the distribution of the pause+filler+pause hesitation that we looked at in some detail for the subject used as an example of the data, then we find that there is great improvement here as well as is indicated by the following table:

TABLE 2

Pause/Filler/Pause Combinations in Data of Interviews

	Subject One	Subject Two	Subject Three	Subject Four	Subject Five
Year One	1:16	1:17	1:20	1:9	1:16
Year Four	1:53	1:112	1:71	1:26	1:176

The table clearly shows a progressive reduction over time in the use of this pattern showing how the subjects came to be able to dispense with this time-gaining strategy to a considerable degree and therefore indicating an increase in their ease of access to the data. The improvement appears to be of the order of 300 or 400%.

The third part of the psycholinguistic dimension consisted of an examination of the use of the formula 'c'est' both in terms of its density of use and the functions which it performed. The subjects were found to vary greatly in the early stages as to the degree to which they used 'c'est': there were high density users and low density users who maintained more or less their density of use and then there were those who increased their use: the consequence was that by the end of the data collection period the density of occurrence of 'c'est' had reached a broadly similar level for all learners. Clearly, however, increased use of the formula can only be part of an explanation of an increased processing ability because some learners increased that ability without a parallel increase in the use of 'c'est'.

On the basis of these observations of the psycholinguistic dimension of language development it is fairly obvious that the learners' develop their skills to a considerable degree. Because this area is approached by measurements it is easy to make quantitative statements of the degree of progress as done above, but, of course, no equivalent statement can be made for the growth of the language system. It would appear, however, that the degree of progress in each area is at least equal and on that basis it is not illogical to argue that each demands equal attention.

When I now put these observations of the growth in psycholinguistic processing ability alongside the comments made above about variable progress in the development of the language system, I feel I have at least the beginnings of an answer to the question in my title.

Numerous factors can be related directly to variability in the development of the language system. These include, as demonstrated above, the nature of the linguistic systems being learned, particularly the nature of 'peripheral' items in the language; the nature of the language learning process which requires that existing systems be 'destabilised' before they can be 'reconstructed'; the interaction between the L1 and the L2 (as illustrated by the example of 'ainsi' where a hypothesis about the L2 was constructed on the basis of the L1); the influence of situations on language production; all of which mean that language learning must necessarily be accompanied by a degree of variability. In addition to these factors inherent in the development of the system itself, there are other psycholinguistic factors which are inherent in any use of that system. These factors, as we have just seen, make their own demands on the overall learning process and these cannot be ignored by the learner until (s)he has built up sufficient knowledge to begin to use the language, but, on the contrary, have to be integrated within the on-going learning process. The learner has to pay attention to, devote energy to and devote time to building up the processing capacity which has to be developed to a considerable degree before the whole system can be 'operational'. In this sense, the development of the language system and the development of the processing capacity are 'competing' with one another for the time and attention of the learner who is forced to trade off one against the other or switch from one to the other constantly in an attempt to achieve the best balance and the best results. The task of the learner, then, is to combine in the most effective way possible the 'processing' system and the 'knowledge' system so that both progress and neither is sacrificed to the other.

In terms of understanding the learner's behaviour it seems clear to me that only a theory which combines both sides of the total operation can hope to account for the process of language learning. Such a theory is not likely to be available to us if we insist on looking at 'acquisition'and 'production' in isolation from one another.

In terms of improving our teaching methods, it seems to me that we must adjust our expectations of what learners can and will learn to take account of the necessary character of variability as outlined in this article. There is no doubt in my mind that variability is a necessary part of the language learning process in the sense that learning will not take place without it. In addition to this fact, it is also true that the demands of the processing system will mean that variability, systematic or non-systematic, will persist for long periods of time until the overall 'economy' of the learning process can allow the relevant items a sufficiently high level of priority for them to be internalised in positions in the grammar which correspond to those they hold in a native speaker's grammar. This will unfortunately mean that any expectations that a teacher may have that what has been taught will be immediately available to the learner in spontaneous speech are frequently going to be disappointed. The only answer is (as so often for teachers!) for those expectations to be revised in line with what learners actually do as opposed to what teachers would like them to do if the world was other than it is.

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VARIATION IN DUBLIN ENGLISH

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Language consists of a system of symbols connected phonetically, syntactically and semantically in complex ways and referring to our non-verbal environment. Language is both a reaction to the world around us and at the same time enables us to structure it and react within it. "System" means that the elements are related to one another in a predictable way. This system is "variable" insofar as it is constantly undergoing change. The various stages of this continuous process do not drop out of the system but remain within as "variants". Changes are often restricted to certain social groups of speakers ("sociolects"), to certain geographical areas ("regional dialects") and styles ("stylistic variants"). When describing a language we usually exclude certain variants, restricting ourselves to "Contemporary English", "Standard English", "Colloquial English" etc. This paper will focus on the variety of English spoken in Dublin at the present time. My particular concern will be with those elements in the system which show a particularly high degree of internal variation. I will assume two constants: time and place. My observations refer to data within Dublin English of the 1970s and 80s. I am trying to correlate the observed linguistic items with social and stylistic parameters.

Dublin English is a variant of a Northern type of English (including dialects of Ireland, Western England, Scotland, the Northern United States) by virtue of retaining post-vocalic [r]. It differs from other Northern types with regard to the phonetic quality of [l] and [t] sounds, to take just one criterion.

The manifestations of Dublin English are described in terms of different levels of linguistic structure. We distinguish

DISTINCTIVE or "phonemic" units (such as the difference between *fill* and *full* or *kit* and *kid*) and SIGNIFICATIVE units (morphological, syntactic, lexical). The latter have a FORMAL or "expression" side and a SEMANTIC or "content" side. Variation exists on all these levels. Language thrives on the creative tension between speaker, linguistic forms and contents to be expressed. Groups of speakers are defined by the linguistic forms they use. The forms carry contents and thus structure the world around us and within us. Vice versa, linguistic forms develop as a result of the interaction of speakers with one another and their environment. Any social and technical developments, changes have to be reflected in language. Language has to be a variable system in order to be able to cope with this task. Speakers who communicate a lot with one another adapt to each others' ways of speaking. That is the motive for the formation of sociolects and regional dialects. Dublin English is the variety of English characteristic of speakers in the Dublin area. It cannot be sharply set off against other varieties as communication processes transcend regional limits. Due to the high mobility of the population the speech community in the City of Dublin is rather complex and this complexity is reflected in the variable linguistic norms prevalent here.

The statements made about a particular language variety obviously depend on a number of factors: the linguistic environment selected, the data considered, the model of description, and the linguist's skill in applying this model to the data. The results are affected by problems of various kinds:

1. Access to the language used in a particular speech community is always limited and observation of many data is accidental. This makes the collection of lexical and idiomatic data particularly difficult.
2. The data are not just there to be simply "discovered", but they result from the (not always explicit) application

of analytical categories to the linguistic environment by the observer.

3. The analyst has to rely on the analytical categories at his disposal. His interpretation of the data will very much depend on the model of description he uses.
4. The observer's memory of data is always insufficient. Tape recordings and written notes help, but many relevant data slip through because they cannot be recalled.
5. The analyst's abilities to handle data are also limited, of course. He will not always be able to generalize sufficiently or he may be prone to overgeneralize. He may also fail to relate the data properly to one another or to outside terms of reference.

The accuracy and relevance of the statements is subject to continuous matching with new data and listening experiences by other observers. Verification is an ongoing and never-ending process.

TYPES OF VARIATION

Studying variation means correlating linguistic with extralinguistic variables. A LINGUISTIC VARIABLE is an element or structure within the system of language that is heteroform. EXTRALINGUISTIC VARIABLES are circumstances determining linguistic expression. They fall into three basic categories: STYLISTIC, SOCIAL and HISTORICAL.

1. Stylistic: One particular speaker has alternative linguistic variants at his disposal. They will be used in different situations according to the degree of FORMALITY required.
2. Social: The occurrence of a linguistic item is related to one of the four social parameters: OCCUPATION/EDUCATION, GEOGRAPHICAL AREA, AGE, SEX.
3. Historical: Language change does not affect all speakers to the same extent and at the same time. Some tend to be

CONSERVATIVE (holding on to traditional ways of speech), others PROGRESSIVE (innovative) with regard to their use of linguistic forms.

We talk about FREE VARIATION when the difference between two functionally identical linguistic forms does not seem to be conditioned by any of the three extralinguistic variables mentioned above.

In classifying linguistic items according to their extralinguistic correlations it is often convenient not to relate them to one specific extralinguistic variable but to a composite type of variation which takes social, stylistic and historical factors into account simultaneously. We distinguish three such major types of Dublin English: POPULAR, GENERAL and EDUCATED DUBLIN ENGLISH (PDE, GDE, EDE). These types reflect expectations which we connect with speakers of a certain educational/occupational background and on a certain stylistic level. EDUCATED DUBLIN ENGLISH comprises linguistic characteristics which we associate with speakers with secondary and possibly third level education and corresponding occupations on a comparatively formal stylistic level. POPULAR DUBLIN ENGLISH comprises linguistic features associated with speakers with primary school education and corresponding occupations on a relatively informal stylistic level. GENERAL DUBLIN ENGLISH refers to linguistic data typical for speakers with post-primary education and with skilled occupations. The stylistic level would be between INFORMAL and FORMAL.

LINGUISTIC VARIABLES

We distinguish PHONOLOGICAL, GRAMMATICAL (morphological, syntactic, phraseological) and LEXICAL variables.

PHONOLOGICAL variables are classified either as VOWELS or CONSONANTS. The phenomena exemplified in this paper relate either to PHONEMIC INVENTORY, MORPHONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION or PHONETIC

REALIZATION.

Phonemic inventory of Dublin English vowels:

	long	short	diph.	short	long	diph.	diph.	short	long
high	i	ɪ						ʊ	u
				ə		[illegible]	ɔɪ	[illegible]	
mid		e	eɪ		ɑ		aʊ		ɔ
low		æ							
	front			central			back		

In our description of the phonemic inventory of stressed vowels we characterise the individual phonemes (functional classes of souns) according to the four distinctive features LENGTH, HEIGHT OF TONGUE, POSITION OF THE HIGHEST PART OF TONGUE and RETROFLEXION. The inventory varies between a minimum of 21 and a maximum of 28 vowels. Examples of linguistic variables:

a) HIGH SHORT BACK vowel versus MID SHORT CENTRAL vowel

/ʊ/ ≠ /ə/ $\quad$ look ≠ luck
pull ≠ dull

The opposition is always neutralized in PDE. Conservative GDE shows free variation between neutralization and opposition. Conservative EDE neutralizes in informal style. Progressive EDE never neutralizes.

b) MID SHORT BACK RETROFLEX vowel versus LOW LONG BACK RETROFLEX vowel

$/o^r/ \neq /ɔ^r/$ $\quad$ sport ≠ short
hoarse ≠ horse

This variable correlates with the parameter CONSERVATIVE/PROGRESSIVE. The opposition exists in conservative Dublin English of all three types. Progressive speakers neutralize it.

c) LOW SHORT FRONT vowel versus LOW LONG CENTRAL vowel

/a/ ≠= /ɑ/

gather ≠ father
lather ≠ rather

All speakers distinguish the two vowels in this environment.

man ≠= Mc Mahon
pal ≠ Cahill

The opposition is generally possible, although not always realized, as Mc Mahon and Cahill have an alternative pronunciation: /mək'mahən 'kahəl/.

Sam ≠= psalm
Pam ≠= palm

The opposition correlates with SOCIAL CLASS, SEX and AREA: Middle-class women from the Southern and South-Eastern Dublin suburbs are most likely to have it.

ant ≠= aunt

The opposition appears occasionally in EDE and more frequently in metalinguistic usage than in spontaneous discourse.

d) MID SHORT RETROFLEX FRONT/BACK vowels versus
MID DIPHTHONGAL RETROFLEX FRONT/BACK vowels

/e^r/ ≠= /ei^r/
/o^r/ ≠= /ou^r/

pear ≠= payer
mare ≠= mayor

more ≠= mower
roar ≠= rower

PDE neutralizes under /o^r ~ ou^r/ resp. /e^r ~ ei^r/. The short vowels are in free variation with the diphthongal vowels. GDE has a non-stable, EDE a stable opposition.

e) LOW DIPHTHONGAL FRONT versus MID DIPHTHONGAL CENTRAL vowels (RETROFLEX and NON-RETROFLEX)

/ai/ ≠ /oi/
/ai^{r}/ ≠ /oi^{r}/

tie ≠ *toy*
buys ≠ *boys*

liar ≠ *lawyer*
buyers ≠ *Boyer's*

Neutralization occurs in informal PDE, particularly among female speakers.

One of the most characteristic phonetic features of colloquial Dublin English (with the exception of EDE) is the morphonological distribution of /e^{r}/ and /$ə^{r}$/: /e^{r}/ reflects Middle English /ār air/ as well as /er/ (*hare*, *hair*, *heard*, *herd*) and, in some cases, /ir/. Middle English /ur/ as well as /ir/ in some cases is refelected as /$ə^{r}$/: *bird*, *word*, *turn*. Thus we get the following oppositions in PDE and GDE:

term, *firm* ≠ *turn*, *worm*
heard ≠ *word*
earl, *girl* ≠ *curl*
Gertie ≠ *dirty*

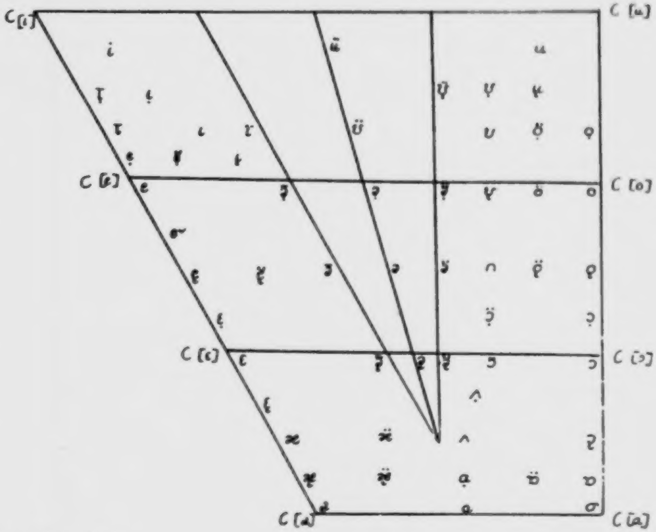
On the other hand, there is a tendency, in progressive GDE, to neutralize under /$ə^{r}$/ (the so-called 'fur hur' accent):

hair : *fur*
bear : *burr*
care : *cur*

Conservative PDE speakers have a characteristic distribution of /i/ and /ei/. Whereas EDE and GDE speakers rhyme *meat*, *sea*, *Behan*, *Raheny*, *Whelan* with *meet*, *see*, *Liam*, *Mc Sweeney*, *wheelin'*, conservative PDE speakers have /ei/, like in *mate*, *say*, *sayin'*, *Blaney*, *sailin'*. Neutralization under /ei/ may even involve words like *see* and *me*:

see : *sea* : *say*
me : *tea* : *may*

The area with the most extensive variation is that of PHONETIC REALIZATION of the stressed vowel phonemes.



Some examples:

/a^{r}/ Point of articulation and degree of opening of the variants are related to SOCIAL CLASS, STYLE, HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT and AGE. A slightly raised low front vowel is characteristic of older speakers of PDE [æː^{r}]: part, arm, started, argument. The low front variant [aː^{r}] is generally used in PDE. Low central [ɑː^{r}] features in EDE. [ɒː^{r}] characterizes progressive GDE and EDE. Younger progressive EDE speakers have [ɔː^{r}]. The degree of FRONTING correlates with AGE and EDUCATION.

/ai/	[ɑɪ]	GDE, PDE (Docklands, Ringsend)
	[ʌɪ]	conservative PDE (principally older, female speakers)
	[əɪ]	occasionally GDE, PDE
	[ọ̈ɪ]	male PDE speakers (principally Liberties, Northside Inner City, GDE (casual style)
	[σˑɪ]	EDE (frequently nasalized)

The degree of CLOSING correlates with SEX. Otherwise the variational pattern is rather complex.

/ɜ/	[ʌ]	progressive EDE
	[ʌ̣]	EDE and GDE
	[ᴖ]	GDE, PDE, conservative EDE
	[ö]	conservative speakers of all social strata
	[ʊ̣ːˑ]	PDE (children, occasionally)
	[ʊˑ]	PDE (before /g ŋ l/): *judge*, *young*, *pull*

The degree of CENTRALIZING and OPENING correlates with SOCIAL CLASS and PROGRESSIVENESS.

/ɔ/	[oː]	Progressive EDE, used by some female middle class speakers with third level education from the Southern suburbs. Many speakers of this group reject it as 'affected'. Diphthongal variants [oːə] appear before /z l/: *was*, *Ballsbridge*.
	[ọː]	Typical for progressive EDE. Before /l/ this variant occurs also in GDE occasionally: *all*, *also*, *small*.
	[ɔ̝ː]	frequent in EDE and GDE: *saw*, *water*.
	[ɔː]	generally used by conservative speakers, typical for PDE: *was*, *stories*.
	[ɒː]	casual style, typical for conservative PDE defines conservative PDE

The degree of OPENING corresponds with STYLE and SOCIAL CLASS.

The inventory of CONSONANTS in stressed syllables varies only with regard to the DENTALS: PDE and informal GDE frequently neutralize the correlation of plosives and spirants. Non-stable oppositions exist between:

tin ≠= thin
bat ≠= bath
tree ≠= three

day ≠= they
breed ≠= breathe
ladder ≠= lather

The neutralized consonant is always a plosive.

The social correlation of the presence or absence of the opposition /w ≠ hw/ is a significant feature of the morphonological distribution of consonants: The opposition is observed in EDE; GDE and older PDE speakers have free variation; younger PDE speakers, particularly children, neutralize consistently (always under /w/:

witch ≠= which
way ≠= whey
wine ≠= whine
wear ≠= where
weather ≠= whether
Wales ≠= whales

PALATALIZATION and ASPIRATION modify consonants systematically. Before /u/, PDE has a series of palatalized consonants: [p, b, t, d, k, g, f, m, r, h,], such as in Coombe, schools, two, Dooley (≠ duly), Mooney (≠ immune), room. Palatalization can also occur before some other vowels: tax, give, deaf, get. PDE differs from EDE by having a much stronger aspiration of initial voiceless plosives [p^h t^h k^h].

The phonemes /t θ/ show a particularly varied phonetic realization: About two dozen variants (with a very complex positional distribution) can be distinguished. A few examples:

[t̪] DENTAL ASPIRATED PLOSIVE occurs in ten, tree, true. PDE has it also in through, conservative Dublin English in three.

[t̬] VOICED DENTAL FORTIS PLOSIVE
PDE better

[ṭ] UNASPIRATED ALVEOLAR FORTIS PLOSIVE
PDE city, duty, motor, less frequent in GDE and EDE.

[ø] ALVEOLAR/PALATAL FRICATIVE ("split, soft, opened" t).
It is the typical GDE variant in final or intervocalic position: fit, write, fittest, writing. In PDE it is more characteristic for female than male speakers, who tend to use [ṭ]. It can also be heard occasionally in initial position, as in terrific, trap, three.

[s̄] ALVEOLAR FRICATIVE (advanced variant of [ø])
PDE in final and intervocalic position: what, water.

[ø̥] VOICED FRICATIVE
Occasionally used in intervocalic position: eighteen, scattered.

[t̬ø] three, through
[tø] network, later
These AFFRICATE variants occur in PDE, [tø]can also be heard in EDE.

GLOTTAL STOP
Characteristic of casual speech, principally of young PDE speakers. Occurs intervocally and finally: writer, potato, nothing, yet, might, out of it.

[r̭] Short rapid flap of tongue against the alveoles at d position. It is increasingly used by young speakers of PDE: cut it, that it is, gave it up, about her, what I mean.

/t/ can also be realised as nasalisation of preceding vowel: notice ['nɔ̃uəs]

PDE pronunciation shows particular features under post-stress conditions: insertion of /d/ before /n l/ and insertion of schwa /ə/ in /l/ and /r/ environment:

orange /'ordn̩dʒ/, *foreign* /'fordŋ̩/, *wearing* /'weʳdŋ̩/
general /'genəʳdl̩/, *natural* /'natʃəʳdl̩/, *Carol* /'kaʳdl̩/
Dublin /'dubəlɪn/, *film* /'fɪləm/, *firm* /'fɪrəm/.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

Among the most striking morphological features of PDE are preterite forms with participial function, often accompanied by special contracted forms of modal auxiliaries + *have*: *He woulda took a picture*. *I musta wrote it wrong*. *She must have gave me too much*. *Everything mighta went on*. *Took*, *wrote*, *gave* and *went* occur frequently, other forms such as *came* (*He shouldn't'a came out*), *ate* (*I would've ate it*) etc. occasionally. These preterital forms enter other constructions as well: *I'll get me picture took now*. *That was gave to her*. *I hope you havn't flew*. *Hada* in *If we hada known that* is an analogous formation according to *musta*, *woulda* etc. The preterites in the above construction are in free variation with the participial forms. In PDE the preterites are dominant. EDE does not use them. For GDE there is a correlation with STYLE. The more casual the speech, the more frequently the preterites occur.

Vice versa, certain participles occur with preterital function: *And he seen this copper and he made sure this copper seen him*. *And what I done: I wrote two paragraphs*. *So they come up and brought me down to the car*. The distribution of *seen*, *come* and *done* resembles that of the preterites mentioned above.

PDE and informal GDE use *be* in a number of ways different from EDE. These are variants of the standard present, future and conditional forms. a) conditional *be* (= *would be*): *If I sang I be barred*. b) future tense *be* (= *will be*): *My eldest granddaughter be twenty-five in May*. c) present tense *be* in temporal clauses: *Again you be finished it'll be too late*. *When there be heavy rains*.

d) iterative *be*: *And that's Joan, she be like that*. *Every morning he be down on his knees*. *She often used to say that and I be there*.

The SYNTAX of the VERB has a number of distinctive characteristics in Dublin English:

1. PDE, GDE and conservative EDE (with the exception of formal style) make use of the HABITUAL *do* construction: *Sometimes in the morning I do be tired*. *I do tell them jokes and everything*. *You don't know what she does be doing in the kitchen*. *I do be often thinking*. *What does he be sayin'*?

2. A feature of Dublin English, and indeed Hiberno-English syntax in general, is the construction *after* + EXPANDED FORM. It is used in all varieties of Dublin English and will only be rejected by purists in formal style: *I'm after tellin' you*. *I'm after bein' fast asleep*. *I'm just after havin' me tea*. *I'm only after walkin' in*. *I'm just only after comin'*. *Where are you after bein'*? *It's after bein' lashin' rain*. In combination with the HABITUAL *do* construction: *They do be after drinking*.

3. *for to* adverbial clause: This construction is current in Middle English and has been preserved in PDE and GDE. Semantically it corresponds to the following questions: For what reason? For what purpose? *They call me Eddie for to make the distinction*. *We collected money for to put a monument up*. In what respect? *John is a good man for to sing a few ballads*. To do what? To have what done? *She asked me for to get her skirts mended*.*I love you for to meet him*.

4. PARTICIPIAL constructions of four kinds: a) attribute to adjective, participle or prepositional phrase: *I got sick laughin'*. *I was in stitches laughing*. *The baby was roarin' crying*. *I am not in the humour fightin'*. b) functioning as past participle in modal construction: *he shoulda tellin' me* or as preterite: *I readin' it*. c) in construction with *and* + subject: *Here was Nellie and she roarin' her head off*. *And he movin' and he lookin' at you like that*. *And he after playin' three hours at the party*. d) attribute to noun: *What do you think of your woman's dress coming in*?

With regard to pronouns three variations are of particular interest: me ~ us, you ~ yous and these, those ~ them.

1. The first variation is primarily a stylistic one. The objective plural us meaning 'me' is generally accepted in Dublin as a variant belonging to casual speech: Give us a fag. Tell us. Excuse us. Can you do anything for us? Would you ever leave us into the hall. The morphological opposition between singular and plural is neutralized.

2. Yous /jəz/ as the second person plural is used in informal speech by almost all Dublin speakers (with the exception of a small group of EDE speakers that follow Standard British English usage). It is used more widely than us and not limited to extreme casual speech. Examples: (as subject) What are yous after doin' now? Would yous have the use of a car? I thought yous were jokin'. (as object) See yous in the New Year. The night we left yous to the airport. I have the weddin' album to show yous two. (with preposition) It's well for yous. Nobody can take it from yous. There is a pair of yous in it.

3. Informal PDE and GDE frequently use them, where EDE speakers would only use these or those. Demonstrative them can modify subjects, objects, complements and adverbials: They go wrong them things. I dug up them roads out there. I don't believe in them things at all. Have you any more, or is that them all? Five bob was a lot them days. Durin' them days.

Conservative speakers (particularly PDE and GDE) show a number of special features regarding the use of PREPOSITIONS and CONJUNCTIONS. 1. again a) (temporal) 'by' It'll have to be done again the 28th. b) 'against' they won't go again me 2. on a) 'belonging to' We broke that up on you b) 'with' Would you have a penny on you? 3. of 'on' (temporal) He died of a Tuesday. It doesn't be open of a Saturday 4. off 'from' I get them off the sister. There is a penny an hour stopped off our wages.5. again (temporal conjunction 'by the time') I might be an old man again I get the farm. Again we leave here

Mammy and Joan be in London 6. except (conditional conjunction 'unless') Except you knew the grammar it's very difficult. I don't believe people should take up this except they're dedicated.

On the PHRASEOLOGICAL level we distinguish WORD-MODIFIERS and SENTENCE-MODIFIERS. The following word-modifiers are typical for casual Dublin English:

aul': We had a good aul' laugh

fuckin', feckin', effin': Mind your own fuckin' business. You must be fuckin' jokin'. Ten pound fuckin' fifty. They were never any feckin' where. Senti-fuckin'-mental.

bloody: He done a bloody phantastic job. Whatever you bloody want. A head bloody shrinker.

bleedin': A bleedin' millionaire. I'm goin' bleedin' home.

whorin': Their aul' whorin' pound.

blinkin': It's too blinkin' easy now.

flippin': In a flippin' scrapheep of a bus.

These elements differ in their social and stylistic distribution and the frequency of their occurrence. Aul' is used equally by male and female speakers in informal speech. Fuckin' is one of the most frequently used modifiers in casual speech among men. It is not accepted for use in the public media and in the company of women, although women use it among themselves, too, but rarely in the presence of men, except in extreme casual speech. Men readily admit that they use it, women often deny it. They tend to replace it by feckin' or effin', which don't carry the same degree of taboo. Unlike in Britain, bloody does not carry a taboo in Dublin. It is used in EDE as well as PDE. Bleedin' is considered vulgar by all except PDE speakers. It is used principally in informal style. Whorin' seems to be restricted to male PDE. It occasionally replaces fuckin' or bleedin' and carries the same taboo. Blinkin' and flippin' are rarer and not tabooed.

A number of sentence-modifiers define colloquial Dublin English generally. Their stylistic level extends from very CASUAL to fairly FORMAL. The frequency of their occurrence increases with the degree of informality. Idiolectal profiles of speakers show different distributions of these modifiers. As PLOT CUES they are also rhetorical means for structuring texts. They combine modifying with linking functions. The principal PRE-VERBAL modifiers are: *sure* (and its expansions *ah sure*, *but sure*, *and sure*, *oh sure*, *to be sure*), *says I/you/he/she*, (*but*) *still an' all*.
Examples: *Sure look at the Continental countries*. *Ah sure it doesn't matter*. *Ah says you that book is smashing*. *But still an' all you do it*.

POST-VERBAL MODIFIERS occur with greater frequency and variety: *sure*, *says I/you/he/she*, *so I am /so he is*, *though*, *like*, *kind of* (*a way*), *so*, *an' all*, *Please God*, *like you know*, *though you know*, *will you*, *to be honest with you*, *you know what I mean*, *but still an' all*.
Examples: *I'll do it once sure*. *That's not bad says you*. *I am exhausted so I am*. *I feel tired though*. *He wouldn't have time like*. *She's out with a different fella every night kind of*. *I'm sure it's not true so*. *Did you ring an' all?* *And they will be here tomorrow again Please God*. *I saw the good days like you know*. *Stop it will you*. *One is as bad as the other to be honest with you*. *It is a great way of corresponding you know what I mean*. *I like her very much but still an' all*.

Finally, a brief look at LEXICAL variation. The use of certain nouns referring to persons correlates with social and stylistic factors. *Fella* is universally used to refer to a male person (*fellow* in the case of some EDE speakers). *One* 'female person' is characteristic of PDE and frequently has a slightly pejorative connotation: *She's a one that's always mutterin'*. *The one on the switchboard is an awful old rip*. *I bet you anything the ones had pusses as long as today and tomorrow*. *One* may also be neutral in connotation: *I did me schoolwork up in a corner with all the ones. I met this one last night*. In the latter example *one* is in post-stress position. *One* may assume the special meaning of 'girlfriend' in *your man and the one*. Likewise, *fella* often means 'boyfriend': *She went out with her fella last night*. *Fella* cannot refer to a child or an old man. A boy is a *yóung fella* (with *fella* in post-stress position). *Yóung fella* can also refer to a young man in his twenties. *Yóung one* is hardly applied to a child, but to a girl in her teens or twenties. For EDE speakers *yóung one* can have negative connotations: "a 'young one' is a sort of a minor scrubber". Old men and old women are referred to as *ául' fellas* and *ául' ones* respectively. *Ául' fella* can also be used by the wife, referring to her husband, or by the son, referring to his father. A husband can refer to his wife with the term *ául' one*. It can also mean 'mother' or refer to other female relatives. These special uses of *ául' one* and *ául' fella* are limited to conservative PDE and are on the decline.

Other terms used for male persons are: *chap* (neutral or positive connotation); *boy* (not as frequent as *fella*), in common use a) when a woman or girl talks about her brothers: *The boys always went out together*, b) when a mother talks about her sons: *The boys were always very good to me*, c) applied to babies: *Is it a boy or a girl?*; *lad* refers a) to a man's friends or work mates: *He is going for a drink with the lads*, b) to a male person in the context of nationality: *My wife's sister, she is married to a Scotch lad*, c) to a male speaker talking about his childhood and youth: *When I was a lad, when I was a child*. *Guy* refers to a stranger; *bloke* is used by progressive speakers, it can replace *fella*, but is much rarer. In conservative DE, a woman can use *himself*, referring to her husband: *I was talkin' to himself last night*. *Geezer*, usually combined with *aul'*, refers to a man in general and expresses a certain distance and detachment: *A right aul' geezer*. *He's not a bad aul' geezer*.

Terms referring to female persons: In conservative DE (particularly among male speakers), *girl* is frequently replaced by *mot* (although this use seems to be on the decline, particularly in EDE). *Mot* can refer a) to a young girl in general: *I met this mot last night*, b) to a man's girlfriend: *He went out with his mot*, c) to one's wife: *The mot's expecting me home for tea*. Speakers who use *mot* regularly find that it sounds "endearing"; to speakers that use it only occasionally it sounds "derogatory". The term for 'girlfriend' used by male progressive speakers in their teens and twens is *bird*. *Lassie* for 'girl' is mainly used by older, conservative speakers.

General terms of address: PDE uses *mister* to address a stranger: *Mister, you dropped something*. Conservative female speakers may also use it to refer to their husband. *Missis* can be used in PDE to address a stranger as well as a friend or acquaintance. It is not used to address one's own wife. It is the standard PDE term for *wife*: *I know his missis well*. *My poor missis*. *Missis* is also used to address a married or older shop-assistant. For a young shop-assistant *miss* is used in PDE. GDE and EDE do not use a form of address at all unless the speakers know the person's name.

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Teaching style and the leisure time reading of pupils in the upper standards of some Irish primary schools

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Current debate in Ireland about standards in the primary school gives added significance to research which attempts to investigate the relationships between teaching style and learning outcomes. The research reported here was conducted in 1983 into the relative effectiveness of two different approaches to the teaching of English in upper standards of some Irish primary schools. References have recently been made to the New Curriculum (1971) and the apparent failure of the approaches advocated there to lead to the achievement of an acceptable standard of literacy among a sizeable proportion of primary school children. The study reported here should provide a context in which some aspects of the success or failure of primary school pupils may be viewed. It should also provide added evidence of the complexity of the influences which govern the academic development of the young.

With its focus on child-centred education and its recognition of the English language as a formative influence in the lives of young children, the New Curriculum promised more varied, flexible and enriching approaches to the teaching of English than heretofore. It was envisaged that greater emphasis on individualisation in teaching and the adoption of exploratory rather than didactic approaches to teaching would considerably enhance pupil motivation to learn. In formulating the curriculum, account was taken of more traditional approaches to the teaching of English, and the resulting document indicated a compromise between traditional content and methodology and an acceptance of more innovative and experimental approaches.

Both before and after the introduction of the curriculum, the question of priorities in the teaching of English had been debated.

Fervent voices had been raised to assert the importance of emphasis on the basics in the teaching of English, while others had counselled a more liberal, humane and creative approach to the teaching of the subject (Cox and Dyson, 1969; Plowden, 1967). In the decade following the introduction of the curriculum there were indications that teachers in general had welcomed the new approaches to the teaching of English which the curriculum advocated. In particular, there was a welcome for the apparent improvement in most aspects of the teaching of English (INTO 1976; Fontes and Kellaghan 1977). It appeared that the new approaches to the teaching of English had succeeded. However, there was also evidence that a substantial number of teachers had not been persuaded to alter their approach to teaching, and had retained traditional attitudes and practices. For many teachers the dominant thrust of their teaching was to ensure that their pupils gained the basic skills of reading and writing; for others the personal development of their pupils through emphasis on the creative and literary aspects of the teaching of English claimed most attention.

Recent research indicated that there was a connection between teaching style and pupil outcomes. Some teachers had been identified as having adopted a formal or didactic approach to the teaching of English while others adopted a more informal and exploratory approach to the teaching of the subject (Bennett, 1976; Egan, 1982). In this context it was considered important to investigate the relative merits of two contrasting approaches to the teaching of English in relationship to the promotion of children's leisure time reading habits. Consequently, in 1983 an investigation was undertaken into the relationship between teaching style and attitudes of pupils to reading together with the range and quantity of their leisure time reading and the amount of time devoted to such reading.

To select the population for the study, a questionnaire was designed to elicit contrasting approaches to a range of aspects of the teaching of English. Consequently, in the spring of 1983, all teachers of single-grade, fifth classes in the City of Dublin were invited to complete a questionnaire on the teaching of English. There was a 72 per cent response rate. The population for the study was selected on the basis of the responses of 201 teachers to questions relating to the following: agreement or disagreement about the rationale of the teaching of English, the amount of time spent on English, the emphasis placed on different aspects of the subject by both individual teachers and by primary schools in general and the importance attached to a range of classroom activities such as vocabulary work, grammar, written comprehension, voluntary silent reading, summarising, reading poetry aloud, and dictionary skills.

On the basis of a factor analysis of responses to these questions, two groups of teachers were selected. These two groups, numbering 25 in each, were designated 'formal' and 'informal', one of which placed the main emphasis in teaching English on the acquisition of skills, and the other on the more personal and creative approaches to the teaching of the subject. The terms 'formal' and 'informal' were used in a descriptive and not in an evaluative sense. These 50 teachers and their 1,588 pupils became the participants of the study. A colleague collaborated in the selection of the teachers, and consequently, the investigator was unaware of the categories to which each of the teachers had been assigned as a result of their responses to the questionnaire. Subsequently, teacher assignment to each of the two groups was validated by classroom observation. To establish an overall profile of the pupils, tests in ability, English attainment and attitudes to reading were administered. Pupils were also asked to keep diaries of their leisure time reading and to answer a questionnaire about such reading. The socio-economic status of pupils was determined.

Results of the Study

English Attainment Test

The Drumcondra Level III, Form A, Attainment Test in English was administered to all the pupils in the study (N=1588). The English reading portion of the test consisted of two subtests, one in comprehension and the other in vocabulary, the results from these two tests composing the English score. Table 1 contains the results of the test.

TABLE 1

English Attainment: Comparison Between Formal and Informal Pupils

	Formal			Informal			
Dependent Variables	N	X	SD	N	X	SD	t's
Vocabulary	733	30.84	8.91	804	32.63	7.51	t(1535)=-5.13***
Comprehension	690	28.88	7.66	784	30.94	7.12	t(1472)=-5.86***
English Reading	673	59.24	15.42	772	63.71	13.54	t(1443)=-5.86***
Punctuation/ Capitals	730	23.84	6.93	798	25.54	5.74	t(1526)=-5.24***
Usage/Part of Speech	737	25.07	6.38	793	25.46	5.96	t(1528)=-1.25 NS
Language	729	49.01	11.97	789	52.14	10.25	t(1516)=-3.75 **
Spelling	731	38.04	8.48	802	38.31	7.58	t(1531)=-0.65 NS

* p<.05
** p<.01
*** p<.001

In both of these subtests informal pupils scored significantly higher than formal pupils. Consequently, in English reading, the overall score for the informal group was significantly higher than that for the formal group. The Language portion of the test was composed of two subtests, one in capitalisation/punctuation and the other in usage/parts of speech. There was also a spelling test. In the capitalisation/punctuation subtest informal pupils scored significantly higher than formal pupils. The results for the usage/parts of speech subtest were not significant, both formal and informal pupils scoring approximately equally. However, the overall score in language for the informal group was significantly greater than that for the formal group.

Spelling

In the Spelling test, the results of both groups were not significantly different.

Birkbeck Test 1

The results of the application of the Birkbeck Test I indicated that informal pupils scored significantly higher than formal pupils. Boys scored significantly higher than girls and pupils from upper-middle socio backgrounds scored significantly higher than pupils from either skilled or unskilled backgrounds.

Attitudes to Reading Test

The attitude to reading test was composed of 18 questions. The percentages of pupils who answered the various questions with responses of 'yes', 'sometimes' and 'no are given in Table 2.

Table 2

Attitudes to Reading Test: Responses of Pupils

Attitudes	Yes %	Sometimes %	No %	
1. It is a good idea to spend money to buy books and other things to read	47.02	4.31	48.67	1508
2. I can find out many things from books magazines or newspapers	76.56	1.13	22.31	1506
3. Reading a book is fun for most people	55.12	5.19	39.69	1504
4. Reading is a good thing to do when I have some extra time	64.94	8.45	26.61	1503
5. Telling my class about a book I have read is a lot of fun	36.88	23.90	39.22	1502
6. I would rather read than play most games	9.06	60.25	30.69	1502
7. Reading is just for boys and girls who study all the time	5.38	89.37	5.25	1505
8. Books are usually interesting enough to read all the way to the end	57.08	4.58	38.34	1505
9. Reading is a lot of fun for me	40.56	12.17	47.27	1504
10. I get tired reading after a little while	39.93	27.53	32.54	1500
11. Most books or stories are too long	28.18	31.65	40.17	1501
12. Reading whatever I want to read teaches me many things	60.07	7.20	32.73	1500
13. I wish there was more time for me to read	43.27	24.07	32.67	1500
14. There are many books that I would like to read	87.14	6.00	6.86	1501
15. Books should be read only to help me in school	8.78	81.84	9.30	1503
16. I would rather do something else besides read	29.29	15.38	55.33	1502
17. Some time should be used for reading during summer holidays	57.15	22.09	20.76	1503
18. I like to get books or other things to read for presents	40.53	16.35	43.12	1503

The scores were summed for the answers to each of the 18 questions. The maximum score obtainable was 54, a positive response carrying three points and a negative response one point. A response of 'sometimes' was awarded two points. The results of the test indicated that the mean score for formal pupils ($N=671$) was 41.5 (SD 5.39) and for informal pupils 42.8 (SD 5.19). These results revealed that informal pupils possessed significantly more positive attitudes to reading than did formal pupils, (t 1439) = -4.88, $p < .001$). Girls had significantly more positive attitudes to reading than boys. An examination of the data indicated that pupils form the upper-middle social class had significantly more positive attitudes to reading than either pupils from skills or unskilled backgrounds. It was also indicated that informal boys (X=42.15) had more positive attitudes to reading than formal boys (X=41.0).

The Attitude to Reading Test indicated that a substantial proportion of pupils had negative attitudes to aspects of reading. Almost one-half did not find that reading was a lot of fun for them, and almost 40 per cent did not think that reading was much fun for other people. Almost the same number did not think that books were interesting to read to the end. Only one-third wished that there was more time for reading. Nearly one-half did not think that it was a good idea to buy books.

Pupil Questionnaire

Membership of a Public Library

In answer to a question about membership of a library other than a school library, 60.82 per cent (N=916) of the pupils answered positively, and 39.18 per cent (N=590) answered negatively. In analysing the data, a positive response was coded 1 and a negative response was coded 2. Results of 't' tests indicated that a significantly greater proportion of informal pupils (X=1.36; N=718) responded positively than did formal pupils (X=1.48; N=788). The data indicated that upper-middle class pupils were more likely to be members of a public library than were pupils with fathers in unskilled occupations.

Leisure Time Reading

When asked whether they had read a book fully in the previous month, 73.50 per cent (N=1101) said that they had, and the remainder said that they had not. A positive response was coded 1 and a negative response was coded 2. An analysis of the data indicated that girls (X=1.20) were more likely to have read a book fully in the previous month than boys (X=1.21). Significantly more informal pupils (X=1.22) had read a book fully in the previous month than had formal pupils (X=1.31). Pupils form upper-middle social backgrounds were more likely to have read a book fully in the previous month than pupils whose fathers were in skilled or unskilled occupations.

It should be noted that data on ability, English attainment, attitudes to reading, membership of a library other than a school library, and the reading of a book fully in the previous month were obtained on all pupils in the study (N=1588) in each of 49 classes. The returns from one classroom were too late for inclusion in the study. Data relating to leisuretime reading were obtained on a 25 per cent randomly selected sample of pupils.

Pupils Questionnaire

In the questionnaire pupils were asked to name the books which they had read either fully or partly since the previous Easter, a period of approximately two months, and to indicate which of these books they had read in the previous month. The results are indicated in Table 3

TABLE 3

Average Number of Books Read Since Easter and Last Month

Variable	X	SD	N
No of books read:			
since Easter	5.88	2.784	406
fully since Easter	3.862	2.694	406
last month	2.89	2.566	406
fully last month	1.97	2.229	406

The results of the study indicated that on average pupils read two books fully per month. Girls read 2.4 books fully and boys read 1.94 books fully. If books which were read either fully or partly were counted, girls read 3.31 books and boys read 2.74 books.

An analysis of the quantity of reading done by the pupils indicated that girls read significantly more than boys both over the period since Easter and in the previous month. However, in an analysis of the amount of books which were read 'fully' either since

Easter or in the previous month no significant differences were found for sex, socio-economic status or teaching style.

Categories Used in Analysis of Pupil Reading

In analysing the distribution of pupil reading over the various genres, the following categories were sued: traditional story, pre-1945 fiction (to cater for traditional classics), post-1945 quality fiction (the modern classics), post-1945 non-quality fiction, popular series and non-fiction.

Categories Read

An analysis of the number of categories of books read it was found that girls read more than boys, and that informal boys read more than formal boys. The most read categories in order of the amount of reading were as follows:

1. Post 1945 non-quality juvenile fiction (X=1.57)
2. Popular series (X=1.13)
3. Pre-1945-fiction (the classics) (X=0.86)
4. Post-1945 quality fiction (X=0.80)
5. Non-fiction (X=).64)

The percentages of pupils (N=406) who chose the various categories as their first preference were as follows:

	%
Post-1945 non-quality juvenile fiction	24.14
Popular series	16.75
Post-1945 quality juvenile fiction	13.05
Pre-1945 fiction	12.81
Non-fiction	6.40
Traditional story	5.67

The Reading of the Various Genres

When an an analysis of variance was conducted in which sex and socio-economic status of pupil and teaching style were treated as independent variables, and in which the various genres of pupil reading since Easter were treated as independent variables, it was found that:

a) boys read more non-fiction than girls;
b) girls read more of the traditional classics than boys;
c) girls read significantly more post-1945 quality fiction than boys;
d) pupils from upper-middle class backgrounds read more post-1945 quality fiction than pupils form lower social groupings;
e) informal pupils read more post-1945 quality fiction than formal pupils;
f) no significant differences were found between the groups in the reading of post-1945 non-quality fiction;
g) girls read more popular series books either 'partly' or 'fully' than boys.

Amount of Time Spent on Reading

Diaries were used to discover the amount of time which the pupils spent on reading over a period of one Sunday and two week days after school. The results indicated that about 4 per cent of all the available time was spent on leisuretime reading. If times for meals were excluded, the amount of time would rise at most to about 6 per cent of the available time. Pupils spent about four times more time on television than they did on all reading, and of the 78.84 minutes given to all reading, 46.03 minutes were spent on the reading of books, 16.92 minutes on comics and magazines and the remainder on newspapers. Pupils spent relatively little time on the reading of non-fiction, and they spent more time on comics than on magazines.

TABLE 4

Amount of Leisuretime in Minutes Spent on Various Activities as Recorded in the Pupil Diaries

Activities	Combined	Formal N=156	Informal N=193
	X	X	X
Reading Fact and Fiction	46.03	40.99	50.10
Reading Comics and Magazines	16.92	19.87	14.53
Reading Newspapers	15.89	8.21	22.10
All Reading	78.84	69.07	86.74
Television and Video	268.89	283.81	256.81
Playing (indoor, outdoor) and hobbies	448.72	468.27	432.93
Homework	74.37	66.57	80.67
Aimless activity/ waiting around	266.19	283.14	252.49

An analysis of the amount of time spent on reading indicated that there were no significant differences between formal and informal pupils. According to the pupil diaries, the average amount of time spent on the reading of books over the three days when pupil reading was recorded, was 46.01 minutes, and the average amount of time spent on all reading, including books, magazines and comics was 78.84 minutes. An analysis of the amount of time spent on various leisuretime activities indicated that pupils from the upper-middle class social groupings spent more time on reading than pupils form the other two social groupings; and that girls spent more time on reading than boys. There was no significant difference between the groups with regard to the reading of comics, magazines and newspapers, or watching television. There was no significant difference between heavy and light readers and watching television. On average pupils spent more than six times the amount of time on television than on the reading of books.

Conclusion/Discussion

Limitations of the Study

A number of limiting features of the study have to be recognized. It was realised that the teachers in each of the two groups varied in their degrees of formality and informality, and that each teacher in the study possessed to some extent both formal and informal characteristics. There were differences, too, in the familiarity of the teachers with their classes, insofar as some teachers had taught the pupils in the previous year and others had not. There were limitations associated with the reliability of the responses of both teachers and pupils. It was also realised that in answering questions about leisuretime reading some pupils would have difficulty in determining whether they had read a book 'fully' or 'partly'. With regard to testing, a ceiling effect was found in using the English attainment test which limited its applicability in the study. The use of classroom observation was limited in its duration and scope, and the assessments were made by the investigator along. It has also to be borne in mind that the population for the study was confined to teachers and pupils in the City of Dublin and that the results could not be generalised to the teaching and learning population as a whole.

A comparison of the results of the pupils of formal and informal teachers indicated that informal pupils gained higher scores than formal pupils on English Reading and Language and that formal and informal pupils did not differ significantly on either usage/parts of speech or spelling. In all other aspects of the tests, informal pupils scored significantly higher than formal pupils. The fact that in the present study informal pupils gained better results in 'skill' aspects of English indicates that these features were not being neglected by teachers who put the main emphasis in their teaching on personal development and creativity. The fact that informal pupils performed better than formal pupils on the English Attainment Test would appear to be attributable to ability. However, when sex and socio-economic status of pupil were taken into account there was no significant difference between formal and informal groups on the ability test. These results should be borne in mind in the current debate about the effectiveness of the New Curriculum.

The results of the Attitude Test indicated that informal pupils appeared to have significantly more positive attitudes to reading than formal pupils. There was evidence then that there was a connection between the generation of positive attitudes to reading and informal approaches to teaching.

An examination of the responses to the pupil questionnaire indicated that significantly more informal pupils than formal pupils were members of libraries other than school libraries. There were no significant differences between formal and informal pupils in the amount of reading which they did over the previous month. The results also showed that significantly more informal pupils than formal pupils had read a book fully in the previous month. The influence of social class and sex were evident. Girls were more likely to have read a book fully in the past month than boys, and pupils from the upper-middle social groups were more likely to have done so than pupils from skilled and unskilled backgrounds. Formal boys read least. Boys read more non-fiction than girls. When the range of pupil reading was examined, a small, but significant difference was noted with respect to the preference of informal pupils over formal pupils for post-1945 quality fiction. These results indicated a connection between style of teaching and pupil reading and membership of a library other than a school library.

This study indicated that teachers matter and that approaches to the teaching of English are an expression of their priorities in the teaching of the subject. More research into practices is needed to clarify the influence of such priorities on the act of teaching.

A greater variety of approaches to the teaching of English in the primary school should be developed and piloted to enable us to understand more fully the options which are open to us as teachers of English so as to enable us to achieve the best possible results for each pupil. While pupils will be influenced to read by their environment in general, the quality and diversity of their reading can be more positively influenced by the teacher. It is important to create a context in which books are readily available. It appears to be equally important to attend to the ability of each pupil to read beyond his/her untutored inclinations (Anderson, Hiebert, Scott and Wilkinson, 1985). Teachers should adopt classroom strategies which are calculated to extend and diversity the pupils' reading interests. The study suggests that informal approaches to the teaching of English do not militate against a pupil's progress in mastery of basic skills. It would appear too that the promotion of reading interests both enhances the pupils' facility to cope with the mechanical aspects of English while providing the satisfaction of imaginative experiences.

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Review of Anne McKenna and Eugene Wall, *Acquisition of Irish: Our First Language*. Dublin: The Glendale Press, 1986. 110 pp. £5.00.

Séamas Mac Bhloscaidh states in his foreward to this book (p. 7) that 'the present study represents the beginning of a research-effort which we hope will lead to a deepening of our theoretical understanding of the acquisition of natural language and of ... Irish in particular.' Similarly, the authors themselves conclude (p. 100) with 'the feeling of a great deal left undone with the existing data and with the hope that others may use the language of our two young subjects for further investigation.' In between these two comments lies much valuable information, mixed with the frustration of a work which does not reach its level of promise.

The book is based on material collected by Wall for his M.A. thesis (1977) in Cnoc Fola (Bloody Foreland), Co. Donegal. The speech analysed is from two girls speaking Irish as a mother tongue, aged approximately 1yr., 9mos. (henceforth 1;9) and 2;6, with Mean Lengths of Utterance calculated at 1.45 and 1.35 morphemes respectively. The interactions from which the material is taken were relatively informal and naturalistic; the book includes details of the collection and classification procedures used and an appendix including some of the girls' transcripts. As the authors recognise, the amount of material analysed is not great, nor is the number of subjects, but the material indicates some tendencies which may be compared with other studies of Irish and other languages.

The ages and stages of the two children determine that the corpora consist largely of two-element utterances, which may vary from those with only two adult words (e.g., _Mamaí bhocht_) to longer sequences that include learned subcomponents (e.g., _buidéal beag do babaí_). The one-element utterances of the corpus are ommitted from analysis. The analysed elements are categorised according to a common plan for both speakers: a general guide to the semantic relations expressed (e.g., 'recurrence,' 'non-existence,' 'possessor/possessed,' 'agent/action/object,' and modalities such as 'interrogatives' and 'imperatives/directives') is followed by tables listing the child's utterances in each category. Thus, for example, Table 2:0 (p. 28) tells us that Áine used 28 tokens of the possessor/possessed relationship divided across 23 types, while Table 2:3 (p. 32) gives the relevant examples (_peann Eugene_, _eochair Eugene_, _oh leabhar Eilín anois_, _góga Áine_ 'Aine's shoes,' etc.). The categorisations are based largely on the work of Brown (1973) and Bloom (1970 and elsewhere). The final chapter compares the output of the two children, and makes some attempt to relate their common characteristics to similar studies of other languages.

Of the many points for discussion suggested by this book, space permits me to take up only one: the apparent reluctance of young Irish-speaking children to use Yes/No question forms. Although McKenna and Wall's two subjects frequently used 'C-questions' (e.g., those specified with _cá_, _cé_, _cad_, etc.), neither corpus includes any 'Yes/No' questions of the type represented in adult Irish with interrogative particles (_ar_, _an_, etc.) plus appropriate verbal mutations. Yet Yes/No questions are acquired early in languages such as Japanese (Clancy n.d.), English, German, Russian, Luo, and Samoan (Dale 1972). The well-known exception to this trend is that of Finnish, which lacks the device of intonation for question-marking, and which requires both suffixation and movement to initial position of the questioned word. Even here, however, Slobin (1973: 200) cites the unpublished work of Argoff which reports the use of 'an earlier form of yes-no question in Finnish child speech' by the simple attachment of an interrogative particle (based on an adult morphological model) to the end of the sentence.

Why, then, should Irish be apparently anomalous in this regard? McKenna and Wall initially look for some parallel with Finnish intonation restrictions (p. 93), but having conceded that Irish also marks questions with rising intonation, they suggest that the lack of an equivalent to 'Yes' or 'No' in Irish, requiring instead the repetition of the verb in a morphologically appropriate form, may deter children from asking Yes/No questions due 'to difficulty of processing the answer' (p. 94). Nevertheless, McKenna and Wall also point out that their subjects reply to Yes/No questions appropriately, using both *tá* and *sea* as general affirmative markers (see also Mac Mathúna 1979 in this regard).

Further Irish data and a consideration of Slobin's (1973) universals of language acquisition may shed more light on this matter. Nic Fhionnlaoich (1984: 34) cites a two-word intonation question (*cupan tae*? for *Ar mhaith leat cupan tae*?) from a child aged 2;2, as well as related forms such as *Ceann eile ann*? from the same child three months later. Both Mac Mathúna (1979: 83) and Nic Fhionnlaoich (1984: 42-43) have found a favouring of invariant markers such as *tá*, *sea*, *ní hea*, and English 'Yes' and 'No' in reply to Irish questions; McKenna and Wall (p. 94) briefly indicate similar findings. It may be, then, that young Irish children actually use two-element intonation questions (if rarely), and it may be significant that they seem to show no special difficulties comprehending them, particularly when comprehension is exhibited using invariant markers rather than inflected verbs.

Slobin's (1973: 192-193) Operating Principle A, 'Pay attention to the ends of words' (with its associated Universal A1 predicting that a semantic notion encoded by a suffix will appear in acquisition before the same notion encoded by a prefix) may have special relevance for Irish. Since simple Yes/No questions in adult Irish are formed using a clitic interrogative particle plus an only partly regular phonological mutation in the initial segment of the verb, any special processing difficulty for these questions among young speakers is not surprising. The data of Nic Fhionnlaoich (1984) and McKenna and Wall concerning genitives bear out the importance of this principle: while none of the genitives in the latter study use the adult initial mutation marking genitive case, the earliest age at which this marking appears in the former study is 2;7. The youngest child studied by Nic Fhionnlaoich, aged 2;1, failed to use genitive marking at all, while the two older children (aged 2;7 and 2;10) alternated between forms such as *mo teach* and *do theach.* Conversely, Nic Fhionnlaoich (1984: 40-41) reports that plurals, though not always taking the correct adult form (e.g., *lachannaí* for *lachain*) typically use overt plural suffixes, often correctly and sometimes with classic overgeneralisation using plural markers on singular nouns.

Slobin's (1973) Universal E1 (p. 202), which predicts early acquisition of semantic notions with morphology that is 'more salient perceptually' may relate both to the preference of young Irish speakers for C-questions and to their use of invariant affirmative or negative markers from English or Irish. C-question particles are more perceptually salient than the often elided interrogative particles of Yes/No questions, while an invariant marker such as *tá* or *sea* is not only more salient than the wide variety of means for answering Yes/No questions in adult

Irish, but falls within a plausible extension of Slobin's Universal G3 (p. 207), which predicts that 'semantically consistent grammatical rules are acquired early and without significant error.' In this case, a rule which says "use a consistent marker to indicate a positive or negative response to a question" is more consistent than the mature rule which dictates "use a morphologically appropriate form of the verb in the question." Though any discussion of these points is necessarily speculative at this stage of our knowledge, I suggest that McKenna and Wall's approach is overly particularistic, in both failing to make connections across the data they have collected, and in failing to analyse their empirical observations in terms of more powerful (psycho)linguistic theory than the taxonmies of function on which the book is largely based.

A better editorial policy would have been kinder to the authors' material. More than the occasional '*fada*' has gone missing or is poorly printed, and some passages (e.g. the last paragraph on p. 73) are poorly edited. More seriously, some of the data are indecipherable due to poor presentation. One utterance appears on p. 39 as *tit an leabhar* and as *thit an leabhar* on p. 40: the difference is important in view of the suffix vs. prefix marking issue discussed above. The phonetic transcription [gə'dé:] on p. 68 is a bizarre hybrid: is the second accent mark an interference from spelling or a misplaced palatalisation mark, and what exactly is the first one? A particularly difficult problem arises on pp. 63-64, where child forms such as *tá Dadaí shiúil abhaile* are discussed without sufficient attention to various possible adult models and justification of apparent misspellings. The use of English orthography in the Irish data is sometimes justifiable, but at times creates absolute confusion, as in *bowtie* 'bogeyman,' which I presume is related to Irish *badhbh* but which looks too much like English 'bowtie.'

Some of the English-related data are questionable in this study, anyway, as for example *Hi, 'Sín*, glossed as 'Hi, Roisín,' and *two tractor*, not surprisingly glossed as 'two tractor.' In all cases, some printing convention to distinguish English material is needed, and more phonological information would have made up for the ambiguities of the orthography.

Although this book does not really fill a gap so much as provide a point of departure from which further work may follow, it will still be valuable to anyone pursuing research in the acquisition of Irish and to the field of early child language generally.

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Réamhrá

Tá sé ar intinn againn ó seo amach TEANGA a bheith ar fáil feasta díreach roimh chruinniú chinn bhliana IRAAL i mí Feabhra. Tá mórchuid na gcainteanna a tugadh ag imeachtaí IRAAL i 1987 ar fáil i dTEANGA 8. Ta súil againn go mbeidh tarraingt ar ár léitheoirí ar an ábhar.

An tEagarthóir,
Márta, 1988

Introduction

It is our intention from now on to have TEANGA available just before IRAAL's Annual General Meeting in February. Most of the papers delivered at IRAAL's activities in 1987 appear in TEANGA 8. We hope their contents will appeal to our readers.

The Editor,
March, 1988

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THE ROLE OF PRACTICE IN CLASSROOM LANGUAGE LEARNING

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INTRODUCTION

One of the advantages of the growth of empirical studies of classroom language learning is that cherished assumptions about language teaching can be subjected to scrutiny. Elsewhere (Ellis, forthcoming), I have argued that this is the appropriate way to set about making use of the findings of second language acquisition (SLA) research. That is, what is needed is not research applied but applied research. The starting point in such an approach should not be the research itself but a pedagogical issue of importance. The research provides a means for examining whether the assumptions that lie implicit in pedagogic prescriptions are justified.

This is the approach that will be followed here. The pedagogical issue which is the focus of attention is 'practice'. This construct is an extremely slippery one, however, meaning many things to many people. We shall begin, therefore, by defining what we mean by 'practice'. Following this, various pedagogic claims for practice will be examined and a number of quantitative studies which have investigated the effect of practice on language learning will be considered. The results provided by these studies are inconsistent and conflicting. We will argue that a more qualitative approach - one that examines how 'practice' works out in actual classroom interaction - is needed to illuminate the nature of the relationship between practice and learning. Finally, a number of hypotheses, compatible with the available research, will be advanced regarding the role that practice plays in classroom language learning.

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY 'PRACTICE'?

Most methodologists distinguish two general stages in the teaching of linguistic knowledge; presentation and practice. These stages correspond to Rivers and Temperley's (1978) distinction between 'skill/knowledge getting' and 'skill/knowledge using'.

In order to make sense of the term 'practice', therefore, we need to see it as in opposition to 'presentation'. The purpose of the presentation stage is to help the learner acquire new linguistic knowledge or to restructure knowledge that has been wrongly represented. The teacher's job in this stage of the lesson is described by Byrne (1986) in this way:

> At the presentation stage, your main task is to serve as a kind of informant. You know the language; you select the new material to be learned ... and you present this in such a way that the meaning of the new language is as clear and memorable as possible. (p.2)

The 'practice' stage follows the 'presentation' stage. One of the assumptions of 'practice', therefore, is that the learner already knows the forms that are the target of the practice but needs to gain control over them. The purpose of practice is to activate the new knowledge to the point where it can be used automatically and correctly in normal communication. For this reason the learner is required to engage in extensive production of utterances containing the new structure. In contrast to the presentation stage, emphasis is placed on learner participation and the teacher needs a new role in order to accommodate this:

> You do the minimum amount of talking yourself. You are a skilful conductor of an orchestra, giving each performer a chance to participate and monitoring the performance to see it is satisfactory.
> (Byrne, 1986).

Thus, practice is something that learners have to do in order to make the transition from knowing a feature to using it in real-life communication. A clear analogy exists with learning to play the piano; before the learner attempts to play a whole piece, she practises scales and short phrases.

Helping learners to achieve control over their knowledge requires different kinds of practice. A common distinction found in most training manuals is that between controlled and free practice.

Controlled practice takes the form of various drills which require the mechanical production of specific linguistic forms.
Free practice involves engaging in simulated communication which has been set up to provide opportunities for the use of those forms that have been presented and practised in a controlled manner.
Controlled and free practice are best viewed as the poles of a continuum. The continuum reflects the degree of focus required by the learner. In controlled practice the learner is required to focus more or less exclusively on the correct production of the target features. In free practice the learner is concerned with meaning rather than with form. In between the two poles are kinds of practice (e.g. guided and meaningful or contexualised practice).
It is possible to produce a fairly tight definition of controlled practice, as follows:

Controlled practice

(1) takes place when the learner has already internalised the specific feature which is the learning target.
(2) involves production on the part of the learner.
(3) involves the isolation of a specific linguistic feature.
(4) requires the learner to focus attention on this linguistic feature.
(5) requires the learner to carry out a mechanical operation that leads to correct production of the target feature.
(6) involves the provision of teacher feedback regarding the accuracy of the learner's production of the target feature.
(7) provides the learner with the opportunity to repeat incorrect productions correctly.

Although the list is an obvious one, it is important to be explicit, as only in this way is it possible to carry out a rigorous empirical investigation. Each defining characteristic of controlled practice represents, in fact, a largely untested assumption about the nature of language learning.
Free practice is not so easy to define. The problem lies in establishing clear criteria for distinguishing 'free practice' from

'communicative use'. One possible criterion is the *purpose* of the performance. It can be argued that when the learner is concerned with *learning* the L2, she engages in free practice, but when the learner is concerned with conveying a real message, she engages in 'communicative use'. A similar distinction might be made in the case of the pianist who plays a concerto in his studio as a preliminary to a full public performance. The distinction is not an easy one where the classroom language learner is concerned, however. For one thing, the learner may be engaged in both learning and communicating at the same time. That is, she may be entirely focussed on meaning content but be fully aware that the real reason why she is taking part in the activity is to learn the language. The whole idea of practice is, in fact predicted upon a particular view of what language teaching consists of.

Traditional methodology (the methodology we have been discussing to date) envisages a three part process (cf Brumfit, 1979):

1 Present → 2 Controlled practice → 3 Free practice

A communicative model of teaching presupposes a different process; 'communicative use' provides the basis for any focussed language work:

1 Communicative use → 2 Present → 3 Controlled practice

It is not clear whether any descriptive differences between learner output in free practice and communicative use will occur. If, in both cases, the performance is concerned with the exchange of meaningful messages, one might expect the same type of discourse to arise.

Differences may arise if the learner spontaneously introduces the new features during free practice (i.e. without recourse to any conscious manipulation or editing of output). This, of course, is exactly what is intended by those who advocate the traditional methodology, but the everyday experience of teachers is that new material is frequently not reflected in free practice:

> ... students often seem to master a structure in drilling, but are then incapable of using it in other contexts.
>
> (Haycraft, p. 36)

Studies of the effects of formal instruction on SLA support Haycraft's view (e.g. Felix, 1981; Ellis, 1984; Pienemann, 1984). There are definite constraints on what is 'learnable' and, therefore, on what can be freely used.

If may be that we would do better not to try to draw any distinction between 'free practice' and 'communicative use', but to classify both as 'unfocussed performance'. It would follow that the only real distinction is between focussed and unfocussed performance, as I have proposed elsewhere (Ellis, forthcoming). Focussed performance would include any kind of practice where the learner is consciously attending to the accurate production of specific target forms - irrespective of whether the language exercise is mechanical or meaningful (i.e. contextualised). Unfocussed performance would occur when the learner is oriented towards meaning exchange. Practice, according to this view, would correspond to focussed performance and would be largely analogous with controlled practice, as described above.

All this may seem nothing more than semantic nit-picking, but it is in fact crucially important to come to a clear understanding of what is meant by 'practice'. The term is bandied about in a loose, ill-defined with the result that precise research becomes very difficult and pedagogic prescriptions opaque.

THE PEDAGOGIC CLAIMS FOR 'PRACTICE'

In considering the pegagogic claims we will restrict the discussion to 'controlled practice'. The term practice from now on will be used to refer exclusively to controlled practice.

In traditional methodology - as outlined in the previous section - practice has a clear purpose. Practice helps to make perfect by helping the learner to gain control over new knowledge. This claim is closely associated with the precepts of behaviourist learning theory. Providing that the stimulus is carefully identified with a particular response and care is taken to ensure that the learner produces correct responses 'habit strength' is built up. It is interesting to note that even in an age when behaviourist theory is largely discredited the view that language consists of a set of habits which can be developed through concentrated practice does not die, as this quotation from Gowers and Walters (1983) indicates:

> Repetition practice helps to develop habits. However, in real life we are most able to choose which languages to use and as we are largely non-mechanical beings this makes for a profoundly complex activity. Habit formation is a small, if essential, part of learning to communicate. (p. 83)

For Gowers and Walters the 'small part' which habit formation comprises justifies some fifteen pages describing the teaching strategies needed for controlled practice. A quick survey of the current batch of training manuals (e.g. Hubbard et al, 1983; Harmer, 1984) reveals a similar firm commitment to controlled practice.

It is not necessary to invoke behaviourism in support of practice, however. Cognitive learning theory can also provide a rationale. Seliger (1977) suggests that the cognitive effects of practice counter what Ausabel (1971) refers to as 'obliterative assumption' by which process new material is subsumed within existing networks so that its distinguishing features are lost. Seliger gives the example of the learner who overgeneralizes the inverted word order of nonembedded questions in embdedded questions:

* I don't know how is he going to do it.

Practice serves to draw the learner's attention to the salient features of a new structure so that the essential attributes are not obliterated through overgeneralization or transfer. According to this view, therefore, practice has much the same function as 'presentation' - to develop awareness of linguistic form and in this way to overcome the effects of other, powerful cognitive process. This is rather different from the kind of claim advanced by many methodologists, namely that practice aids control. Presumably a cognitive view places less emphasis on the need for sheer quantity of practice.

Most advocates of a communicative methodology are not prepared to abandon practice. Littlewood (1981) justifies the inclusion of structural practice as 'a point of departure' for the communicative (i.e. meaning-focussed) activities. He justifies his position like this:

> .... we are still too ignorant about the basic processes of language learning to be able to state dogmatically what can and cannot contribute to them. Structural practice may still be a useful tool, especially when the teacher wishes to focus attention sharply and unambiguously on an important feature of the structural system. (p. 9-10)

Littlewood's communicative approach does not really differ from the traditional approach in the sequence of teaching operations it proposes. The difference is only one of emphasis - free practice or communicative use (we have claimed they are synonymous) is allocated more time with a corresponding reduction for controlled practice. Other proponents of a communicative methodology are more radical, advocating a re-ordering of the customary three steps of the teaching process, so that instruction commences with communicative use (cf. Brumfit's model, outlined above). Even here, however, a place is still provided for the controlled practice of those features of which the learner displays a lack of mastery.

There are, however, a number of 'natural' methods which reject any role whatsoever for practice. Prabhu (1987) proposes that grammatical competence can best be acquired if the learners are engaged throughout in meaning-focussed activity. Prabhu set up the Communicational Teaching Project in South India to explore to what extent 'task based teaching' was feasible and whether it promoted the successful acquisition of grammar. Prabhu writes about the project:

> Attempts to systematize input to the learner through a linguistically organised syllabus, or to maximize the practice of particular parts of language-structure through activities deliberately planned for that purpose were seen as being unhelpful to the development of grammatical competence and also detrimental to the desired preoccupation with meaning in the classroom.

Thus Prabhu rejected controlled practice because he believed it obstructed the learner's engagement with meaning and so impeded learning. Instead, Prabhu and his aides developed a series of reasoning-gap activities designed to stimulate meaning-focusssed interaction in the classroom.

To sum up, three different pedagogic positions regarding the role of practice are evident in the current literature:

(1) Practice is necessary to ensure that learners develop correct language habits or to enable them to overcome 'obliterative subsumption'.

(2) Practice is not necessary for language learning but is desirable either as a precursor to communicative language use or as a means of dealing with problems that arise in communicative language use.

(3) Practice is neither necessary nor desirable for language learning and, in fact, can have a detrimental effect.

We can now turn to the available empirical research to see which of these positions it lends most support to.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF THE EFFECT OF PRACTICE

We will begin by examining a number of quantitative studies. These provide conflicting results regarding the effectiveness of practice. We consider why this is and then go on to consider qualitative approaches.

Quantitative Studies

Quantitive approaches entail the collection of data relating to the practice opportunities afforded to different learners (the independent variable) and data relating to the learning outcomes of the same learners (the dependent variable). Scores on the independent variable are then correlated with scores on the dependent variable in order to establish whether there is any significant relationship between the two.

A number of such studies are summarised in Table 1. The results are extremely varied. Some studies (e.g. Seliger, 1977; Naiman et al, 1978; Ellis and Rathbone, 1987) report positive relationships between the amount of practice and learning. One study (Ellis, 1984) reports a negative relationship; that is, those learners who receive the most opportunities for practice displayed the smallest gains in acquisition. Other studies report either no relationship between practice and learning (Day, 1984) or only a very weak relationship (Ely, 1986).

What explanation can be given for these mixed results? One of the problems is that different researchers work with different definitions of 'practice'. For Seliger (1977), for instance, practice consists of any speech act produced by a learner in the classroom. For Ellis (1984) 'practice' consists of nominated opportunities for learners to produce utterances containing the target feature when presented with picture cues. Other researchers operationalize the construct in different ways. It is not always clear whether 'practice' - in the sense we have defined it above - is the target of study or whether it is participation in general. In the case of the latter unfocussed as well as focussed production is included.

Another problem lies in the way that the dependent variable - learning - is measured. Three of the studies (Naiman et al, 1977; Day, 1984; Ely, 1986) employed general measures of proficiency while the other three (Seliger, 1977; Ellis, 1984; Ellis and Rathbone, 1987) obtained measures of the learners' knowledge of specific grammatical features. One possible explanation for the differences in the results obtained in the Seliger and Day studies (which followed similar designs) is the different way that learning was measured. It is also worth noting that in only two studies (Ellis, 1984; Ellis and Rathbone, 1987) was any attempt made to relate practice in the production of a specific grammatical structure to the acquisition of that structure. (see 10a and 10b).

The main problem, however, lies in the difficulty of interpreting correlational statistics. A coefficient of correlation, however, tells us only whéther there is a significant relationship between two variables; it does not tell us about the direction of the relationship. All the studies in Table 1 were designed on the assumption that practice influences acquisition, either negatively or positively. Such an assumption may not be justified, however. It would be possible to argue that it is how much a learner knows that affects the amount of practice she receives. For example, weak learners might find themselves nominated to practice more frequently than strong learners. It would also be possible to argue that the relationship between practice and learning is interactional in nature; that is, the amount of learning influences the amount of practice which in turns affects the amount of learning. The diversity of results obtained suggests that a theoretical model in which practice is treated as a determinant of learning is far too simplistic. The whole relationship is much more complex, subject to the myriad variables that govern classroom behaviour.

Study	Subjects	Practice	Measures of learning	Results
Seliger (1977)	6 adults learning English as L2 in USA; divided into high input and low input generators.	Amount of verbal interaction in the classroom: any student speech act counted as an interaction; initiations and responses scored separately.	Cloze test; structure test; aural comprehension test	Total interaction scores correlated significantly with both structure and and aural comprehension scores; percentage of initiations correlated significantly with aural comprehension.
Naiman et al (1978	Learners of L2 French in Grades 8, 10 and 12 of anglophone schools in Canada	Various measures of classroom behaviour (e.g. student hand-raising; student complete/partial responses; student correct/incorrect responses)	Comprehension test; imitation test	Positive significant correlations between hand-raising complete responses, correct responses and students responding above 10 times and both measures of learning found; negative significant relationships existed between incorrect/partially correct responses and both learning measures.
Day (1984)	26 adult learners of L2 English in Hawaii; divided into high and low input generators	Responses to teacher general solicits; self-initiated turns	Oral proficiency (interviewer assessments of learners' grammatical, pragmatic, and sociolinguistic competence); cloze test.	No significant correlations between classroom participation and oral proficiency or cloze test scores.
Ellis (1984)	13 children learning English as a L2 in Britain	Contextualised opportunities to produce WH Qs; number of practice exchanges per learner	Gains in the accuracy of production of WHEN Qs in an elicitation game played before and after instruction	Children who had fewest opportunities for practice showed greatest gains.
Ely (1986)	72 first year adult learners of L2 Spanish at university in USA; half in first and half	Number of self-initiated utterances in Spanish i.e. volunteering a question or a	Oral fluency in a story reproduction task (= absence of self-interrupted elements); oral correctness (based	Amount of classroom participation of first quarter students correlated significantly with oral correctness.

	in second quarter	response	on error counts in stories); written correctness (based on final written examination)	No other significant correlations reported
Ellis and Rathbone (1987)	39 adult learners of L2 German; beginners	Number of occasions each learner attempted to produce a sentence with with V-END in controlled practice; number of correct V-END sentences	Accuracy of V-END production in an oral narrative; discrete item test of general grammatical proficiency	Number of correct V-END sentences (but not total V-END practice) correlated significantly with V-END acquisition. Both correct and total practice of V-END correlated with general grammar proficiency. Relationship with general proficiency stronger than with V-END acquisition.

Table 1: Survey of quantitative studies of the role of practice in language learning

The results of the Ellis and Rathbone (1987) study, in particular give reason for querying whether the 'practice-causes-learning' model is tenable. They found that the amount of practice in V-END was not significantly related to the acquisition of V-END but was significantly (and positively) related to scores on a disrete-item test of grammatical proficiency. This test did not, in fact, include any items for V-END. In other words, practice in feature x was related more strongly to knowledge of features a,b .... n than to knowledge of features x itself. Clearly a 'practice-causes-learning' explanation does not work here. However, a 'learning-causes-practice' explanation is possible. The learners' general knowledge of L2 German in some way governed the quantity of practice they took part in.

The quantitative research into the role of practice which has been undertaken to date provides a salutary warning of the dangers of nomothetic enquiry in such a complex area as classroom language learning. Such research risks making assumptions about the nature of the relationship between instruction and learning which may be warranted. In formulating researchable hypotheses simplistic cause-effect models of teaching may be invoked - perhaps because such models are implicit in many pedagogic prescriptions - with consequent confusion in the results obtained. A wiser approach is to conduct careful qualitative studies first.

Qualitative studies

Qualitative studies involve the careful analysis of interactional protocols. That is, the researcher examines what is actually said and done in the name of practice. Alternatively, qualitative studies may ask learners to introspect or retrospect on learning processes. Both kinds of research provide insights into a number of key aspects of practice:

(1) The nature of the learner's contribution to practice sessions.

(2) The nature of the teacher's contribution to practice sessions.

(3) Factors determining the distribution of opportunities for practice.

We will briefly consider each of these.

Controlled practice results in three-phase interactional exchanges, in which the teacher initiates, the learner responds and the teacher supplies feedback. Three-phase exchange are not restricted to controlled practice however; they predominate interaction where the pedagogic goal is to elicit a pre-determined response from the learner (Sinclair and Courtlhard, 1975; Pica, 1987). What differentiates IRF exchanges in controlled practice from similar exchanges in more meaning-focussed instruction in the interactional goal. In practice sessions the goal is to perform a specific lingusitic feature correctly. This affects both the learner's and the teacher's contributions.

Studies of classroom interaction in which a learner is attempting to perform a new target structure reveal the difficulties which are often experienced. Ellis (1984b) provides the following protocol in which a 13 year old Punjabi girl is struggling to perform a drill practising markers of plurality:

T: Now, what is this?
(holds up pen)
S: This is a pen.
T: What are these?
(holds up two pens)
S: This are a pen.
T: These are _______?
S: Are pens.
T: What is this?
(holds up a ruler)
S: This is a ruler.
T: What are these?
(holds up two rulers)
S: This is ... are ...
This are rulers
T: These are rulers. What are these?
S: This are a rulers.

13. T: Not 'a'. These are ____?
14. S: Rulers.
15. Rulers.
16. T: Rulers.

The task requires the learner to encode a number of plural markers; (1) the plural demonstrative article ('these'), (2) the plural copula ('are'), (3) the zero article and (4) the plural noun form ('rulers', 'pencils' etc.). As Ellis observes, this learner fails to perform one or more of these markers in each attempt (see Table 2). One explanation of this is that the task of producing plural sentences is beyond this learner's competence. Although the learner probably 'knows' what is required of her she is unable to comply because she has not reached the appropriate stage of development.

Utterance	Missing plurality markers
4	(1), (4)
6	(1)
10	(1), (3)
12	(1), (3)
14	(1), (2)
16	(1), (2)

It is not certain what abilities a learner requires to perform a drill such as one above successfully. Clearly, if the learner already controls the linguistic features which are the focus of the practice, correct production should pose no problem. In such a case, however, the practice is not achieving anything, except allowing the learner to display knowledge that has already been thoroughly acquired. What happens when the learner lack the requisite control, as with the Punjabi girl? Hosenfeld (1976) set out to answer this question by asking learners to report on the strategies they used when performing drills.

She concluded that what was being practised were procedures for getting right answers rather than the grammatical items themselves. Correct responses merely indicate that the learner has accessed the appropriate cognitive strategies for reproducing the target structure: they do not show that learning is taking place.

Qualitative studies, therefore, lead one to be sceptical whether any grammar-learning takes place in controlled practice.

Other qualitative studies have looked at the nature and consistency of the teacher's feedback - in particular what the teacher does when the learner's response contains an error. McTear (1975), for instance, finds that teachers sometimes give up the task of correction and are often inconsistent, sometimes correcting an error and sometimes not. Allwright (1975) points out that teachers, in fact, may have a duty to be inconsistent as they need to respond to individual differences among the learners. Finally, it has been shown (Long, 1977) that the procedures that a teacher uses to correct an error may not always be explicit, so that learners have to interpret the teacher's treatment of error.

The effectiveness of the treatment will depend on whether the learner is able to make the right interpretation. We can see many of these factors at work in the feedback provided by the Punjabi girl's teacher.

We now turn to consider the factors that influence the distribution of practice opportunities in a classroom. Ellis and Rathbone (1987) address this issue. They note that practice may be *volunteered* or *nominated* and that this can influence the learner's production. For example, if responses are nominated in a predictable manner (e.g. alphabetically or line-by-line), learners are able to prepare in advance, whereas volunteered response are likely to be more spontaneous. One factor that influences who teachers nominate to respond in practice sessions is the learners' existing levels of competence.

The protocol below shows what can happen:

1. T: Nun, erm, auf der nächsten Seite. Und warum sind sie in Schirmgeschaft? Mary.

2. S1: Erm, sie sind in Schirmgeschaft, weil, erm (.2.) sie (.) möchten eine Schirm kaufen.

3. T: Was meinen die anderen? Ist das richtig, was Mary sagt? (.3.) Roger, Sie schutteln den Kopf. Verstehen Sie? Sie schutteln der Kopf. Shaking your head. Wie sagen. Sie es? Warum sind sie im Schirmgeschaft?

4. Erm, weil sie einen Schirm kaufen möchten.

5. T: Weil Frau Meyer einen Schirm kaufen mochte. Und Mary sagte, weil Frau Meyer möchte einen Schirm kaufen.

The focus of the practice here is V-END. The teacher begins by nominating S1, who fails to produce a correct sentence. She then turns to S2, who has shown signs (i.e. by shaking his head) that he is both able and prepared to provide a correct answer. This he does. S2 functions as a kind of proxy teacher; he is called on to supply correct answers when other students make mistakes. It is not surprising, perhaps, that it is S2 who receives the most opportunities for practice in his class.
However, teachers probably vary considerably in the implicit principles they follow in deciding who to nominate for practice. Some may try to be egalitarian by ensuring that all students receive equal shares. Others may try to direct practice at those students who are most in need of it.

Purely local factors can play a part. Thus, in the case of Ellis and Rathbone's study, the teachers tended to favour those learners who had elected to continue with German beyond the end of the year at the expense of those students who had decided to give it up. In short, a whole host of factors affect who gets nominated and how often they get nominated.

What factors govern volunteered responses? One factor is the learner's language ability. Learners who already 'know' how to perform a structure are more likely to try their hand. Learners who are uncertain are more likely to hold back. This leads us back to the argument already advanced, namely that it is acquisition that determines practice rather than vice versa. There are other factors, however. The nature of the practice activity can influence whether a learner is allowed to volunteer. In the Ellis and Rathbone study, volunteered responses occurred more frequently in freer practice activities (e.g. when students were allowed to compose their own sentences) than in text book exercises. Even more important is the personal inclination of the individual learner. Some learners dislike being asked to perform in front of their peers and, therefore, rarely volunteer. Other learners are keen to try and feel no anxiety about risking themselves in public. Ely (1986), in the study referred to earlier, provides quantitative evidence of this; he found that risktaking was a significant positive predictor of classroom participation, accounting for nearly 30% of learner variance. Ellis and Rathbone provide evidence from diary studies kept by some of the learners in their study to illustrate the marked difference in attitude to practice that learners hold. One learner dreads teachers' questions:

> I was really tense in this class when she was asking us questions ...
> As usual I was quite frightened when asked questions.
> I was quite frightened when asked questions again. I don't know why; the teacher does not frighten me but my mind is blocked when I'm asked questions. I fear lest I give the wrong answer ...

Another learner, however, has no qualms about making mistakes and welcomes the opportunity to take part in productive practice:

> Again today, volunteers were asked to read a passage. I find it irritating that no-one seems to want to volunteer apart from one or two people. I'd rather volunteer and make an idiot of myself ... I think this is important because I want to learn really quickly.

Quite apart from their general attitudes towards practice, learners can vary in the extent to which they willingly participate on a day to day basis, as a result of purely personal factors or even the time of day. A host of potentially interacting factors determine to what extent and when a learner volunteers answers in class.

These qualitative studies lead us to see controlled practice in a very different light from that shed by the quantitative, pseudo-experimental studies. Practice comes to be seen as a *social* event involving *personal* investment on the part of the learner.

Practice consists of a particular kind of interaction which is negotiated by the participants in accordance with the social and personal factors that prevail in a given teaching context. Once practice is seen in this way, it becomes difficult to seek a direct, causative link between practice and learning. There are simply too many intervening variables. Thus, even practice that meets clear definitional criteria will be implemented variably and have different outcomes.

DISCUSSION

So far we have considered the pedagogical argument for practice and reviewed the empirical research - quantitative and qualitative - which has examined the role that practice play in language learning. We observed that mainstream pedagogy - in the form of both traditional and communicative language teaching methodology - finds a definite place for controlled practice.

The empirical research, however, suggests that the relationship between practice and learning is far more complex than is presupposed in most methodological prescriptions and that there is no clear evidence that practice does in fact promote SLA. Although it would be difficult to come to any firm conclusion on the basis of the limited research that has been conducted to date, it is clear that practice can mean very different things in different classroom depending on the social and personal relationships that prevail between the teacher and the learners. In other words, it is a mistake to treat controlled practice as a monolithic phenemenon.

In this section we will consider a number of other points that bear on the role of practice, drawing more generally on the results of SLA research.

First, the nature of the linguistic feature which is the instructional target may influence whether the practice works or not. Meisel, Clahsen and Pienemann (1981) distinguish developmental and variational features of SLA. Developmental features are features that are constrained by strategies of language processing. They are acquired sequentially because the development of each feature can only take place when the necessary processing strategies have been activated. Pienemann (1984) has shown that formal instruction is powerless to change the sequence of acquisition of developmental features such as German word order rules. He found that only those learners who were ready to learn INVERSION (i.e. were at the immediately preceding stage), benefitted from instruction; learners who were not ready showed no improvement and some even regressed. Variational features are features that are not constrained by language processing strategies and, theoretically therefore, can be acquired at any time. Johnston (undated) argues that because variational features are 'computationally simple' they are teachable. He reports the results of a study designed to teach immigrant German children the copula.

This showed that they responded quite positively, with the rate of omission of copula dropping by over 50% in some cases after a week of targeted teaching of various kinds. Practice, therefore, may have differential success depending on the structure that is the focus of the instruction.

The second point concerns how practice is viewed. In the preceding sections we have viewed it as 'focussed instruction' in accordance with a pedagogical perspective. However, practice could be viewed simply as 'input'. That is, in the course of engaging in practice the learner is exposed to a variety of L2 features, not just the specific feature which is the instructional target. For example, a lesson planned to practice markers of plurality (as in the protocol considered earlier), also exposes the learners to input in the use of the copula:

> What is this?
> This is a pen. etc.

It is possible that such input - although not the focus of the lesson - will facilitate the acquisition of developmental features for which the learner is ready or variational features such as copula. It is also possible that because drills model specific L2 features with high frequency (e.g. Verb-ing) over-learning will take place (cf. Lightbown, 1983). If we view practice as 'input' we have to recognize that what is learnt may not be the same as what is taught; the lesson may have been designed to teach feature x, but the learners do not acquire x, although they do acquire y. Researchers and methodologists may not be comfortable with this possibility, as, once again, it is potentially threatening to the value that is traditionally placed on practice. Also, if we view practice as 'input', we are forced into asking whether the input provided in this way is of equal quality for the purposes of facilitating SLA as input provided through meaning-focussed communication.

The third point concerns the temporal relationship between practice and acquisition. The assumption that underlies pedagogic statements about practice is that the relationship is an immediate one; that is, as a result of engaging in practice, acquisition (at least in the form of a strengthening or automatizing of knowledge) takes place then and there. It is perfectly feasible, however, that practice has a delayed effect. Figure 1 suggests how this might arise.

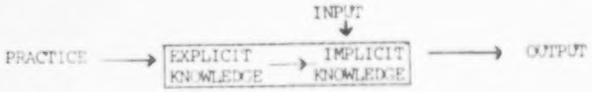

Figure 1: The delayed effect of practice

Practice contributes directly to explicit (i.e. declarative) knowledge, but not to implicit (i.e. procedural) knowledge. Implicit knowledge is dependent on meaning-focussed input which the learner processes in accordance with the current state of her interlanguage. Communicative output draws predominantly on implicit knowledge. However, practice contributes indirectly to implicit knowledge in that the existence of explicit knowledge sensitizes the learner to the occurrence of specific features in the input which otherwise would not be attended to. According to this view of classroom SLA, therefore, practice has a delayed effect. The real value of practice is in enabling learners to formulate declarative knowledge. If this is so, however, we need to ask whether practice is the best way of raising consciousness about the formal properties of a language. Practice is designed to automatize rather than to sensitize and for this reason is time-consuming. There may be more efficient ways (such as problem-solving tasks) of helping learners develop useful explicit knowledge.

The points discussed in this section are all speculative. They should be considered as hypotheses that are grounded in current SLA research and theory. They all lead in the same direction - namely, to question the conventional pedagogic arguments advanced in support of practice.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

One of the functions of applied linguistics is to submit pedagogical assumptions to close scrutiny. In this article we have used both the results of empirical SLA research and SLA theoretical perspectives to examine the pedagogic claims that are frequently made for controlled practice.

The following is a summary of the main points that have been raised:

(1) A model of teaching in which practice is seen as determining learning (the 'practice-causes-acquisition' model) is simplistic and not tenable. Practice is a form of classroom interaction and, as such, is a varied phenomenon subject to a host of social and personal factors. It is for this reason - above any other - that quantitative studies of practice have produced conflicting results.

(2) Frequently, it is acquisition that determines practice, rather than vice-versa. That is, how much of the L2 a learner already knows controls how much practice she gets, as qualitative studies of practice have shown. Frequently the way practice is conducted by the teacher reflects her assessment of the proficiency attained by individual learners. In this way, practice may simply serve to reinforce the learners' and the teacher's preconceptions about who is succeeding and who is not succeeding. That is a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy may be acted out through practice.

(3) Practice is designed to automatize items that are already part of the learner's interlanguage; qualitative studies suggest that it does not achieve this. Frequently learners fail to produce correct exemplars of the target structure and the teacher connives at this. Practice may do little more than develop the strategies needed for reproductive competence.

(4) Even if practice is credited with causing learning, there are strong theoretical grounds for believing that only some grammatical features (i.e. 'variational' features that are computed simply (easily) can be influenced easily by practice. Practice will only facilitate the acquisition of 'developmental' features if the necessary processing prerequisites have been established.

(5) Practice provides 'input'; the learner may select from this input what she is ready and prepared to process, irrespective of what structure is the target of the practice.

(6) The real role of practice may be to raise the learner's consciousness about language form. This consciousness may not be convertable into implicit knowledge immediately but may facilitate it in the long term. There may be better ways of raising the learner's consciousness than practice, however.

We are led to conclude that the old axiom 'practice makes perfect' may not apply to language learning or, at least, not in the way that many teachers and methodologists think it does.

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Tilling Some Irish Lexical Fields

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Introduction

Some of you may recall Professor Kenneth Jackson's comprehensive survey of the progress of Irish language studies during the course of this century, which he delivered at the Sixth International Congress of Celtic Studies, held in University College, Galway, in 1979. Speaking on the theme "The Historical Grammar of Irish: Some Actualities and Some Desiderata", he noted that, in contrast to the areas of phonology and morphology, which had engaged the attention of scholars since the inception of modern Celtic Studies in the nineteenth century, and also in contrast to syntax, which had recently attracted increased interest, the study of the vocabulary of the Irish language continued to be relatively neglected (Jackson 1983). However, his comments related particularly to the study of the change in meanings of words within the language. Criticism of sins of omission in many areas of Irish lexical studies are no doubt quite justified, but, in fairness both to scholars and to scholarship, one should also take stock of what has in fact been achieved. Professor de Bhaldraithe has just been outlining the lexicographical concerns which will continue to profitably occupy scholars of the modern language.

The Royal Irish Academy's Dictionary of the Irish Language = (DIL), begun in 1913, was only brought to a conclusion in 1976: this dictionary deals with the language down to about the year 1650. An etymological dictionary of this same, older, period of the language, Lexique étymologique de l'Irlandais ancien, was begun by J. Vendryes in 1959. Paris-based, it is being published with the support of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. These major dictionary projects have necessarily absorbed quite considerable financial and personnel resources unavoidably so.

For they are the secure foundation on which all Irish-language scholarship rests. Both the reception of the inherited tradition of Irish culture (with its twin manuscript and oral strands) and the dynamic facilitation of language community maintenance and growth would be inconceivable in the absence of these major dictionary projects. The energies of individual scholars have often been profitably directed to the limited lexical objective of adequately presenting the vocabulary content of single texts in notes or indices. And of course, the problems of explanation associated with individual words continue to attract short, but interesting, contributions from scholars in the various journals.

However, it is to be noted that the lexical work so far outlined has been primarily concerned with single words. In the case of the dictionaries, this was virtually inevitable. In the case of contributions to journals, it may perhaps rather result from the lack of awareness of other valid, and valuable approaches. The scholar's spotlight has been beamed on one word at a time. The impingement of the senses or forms of other words on the one currently receiving the attention of the lexicographer would of course be implicitly borne in mind, but not explicitly dealt with. Short notes in journals tend to focus on the exotic elements of vocabulary, those words which, for one reason or another, stand out from their fellows. And so the more structured approaches to vocabulary study, which have become commonplace on the continent in this century, have had remarkably little impact on Irish studies - a state of affairs I would be inclined to trace back to the founding of the School of Irish Learning in Dublin in 1903. Ironically, it was the very success of the effort to found Irish-based institutions to foster the study of the Irish language and its literature which gradually served to reduce the influence of outside scholarship. An excellent philogical tradition of text editing evolved here in Ireland, but this may have been at the expense of closing off the ventilating ducts which would have brought us the invigorating air of novel developments in more genereal linguistics.

It is not significant that it was a Swiss scholar, Heinrich Wagner, who successfully undertook the collection of synchronic dialectal material in the linguisitc geography approach and equally significant that his field-work, carried out 1949-56, has not been replicated since, neither within particular dialect areas, nor indeed for individual points of enquiry? (cf Wagner 1958-69). Similarly, it is an American, Nancy Stenson, who has analysed material from western Irish, grouping recorded informants into four periods by date of birth, mid-19th century, late 19th century and mid-20th century, and thereby illustrated morphological changes in the verb and noun, which have taken place over a relatively short period of time (Stenson 1982).

All of this preamble, as you may well have been surmising, is by way of apologia for my own work in the lexical field tradition. The lexical field approach of Jost Trier and Leo Weisgerber holds that lexemes are not autonomous semantic units, having their senses in isolation, but rather that the sense (and denotation) of each lexeme is determined by its relationship with whatever other lexemes join with it to make up the greater whole of a lexical field, and beyond this, ultimately the vocabulary of a language. In the translated words of J. Trier (1973):

> "No word spoken exists on its own in the consciousness of the speaker and hearer to the extent that one might conclude from its phonetic isolation. Each word spoken calls to mind its opposite in concept. And still more than this. In the totality of all the relations of concept which are brought forth by the speaking of a word, that of the opposite in concept is only one and it is not by any means the most important. There are a host of other words, to a greater or lesser extent close to the spoken word in concept, which spring up.
>
> They are its relatives in concept. They form among themselves and together with the word spoken an organized whole, a structure, which one may call a word-field or a linguistic sign-field (sprachliches Zeichenfeld). The word-field is apportioned in a symbolically meaningful manner, a more or less closed complex of senses, the internal division of which is represented by the organized structure of the signfield in which [the word-field] is provided for the members of a language community ... The individual words are set in the word-field, the work-cloak, the word-covering in the form of a mosaic and - in regard to their number and positioning - they set out the borders within the block of concept and divide it up."

I should now like to illustrate some aspects of the application of the lexical field approach to a variety of semantic areas in Irish starting with the expressions for some meterological phenomena. Wagner's map headed "it is raining" (1958, I, p. 221) shows *fearthainn* and *báisteach* in complementary distribution as verbal nouns in Munster, while Ulster is represented by another verbal noun, *cur*. *Tá sé ag báisteach* and closely related variants predominate in counties Cork and Kerry (an exception is pt. 15 in Cork with *fearthainn*) and in the south Connacht region. *Tá sé ag fearthainn* is to be found in east Munster and the more inland portions of Connacht.

Co. Mayo provides a characeristically complex picture as *tá sé ag cur* is to be found there along with both *tá sé ag fearthainn* and *tá sé ag báisteach*. *Báisteach* and *fearthainn* occur for "rain" alongside *ag báisteach* and *ag fearthainn* "raining", respectively, while *fearthainn* is used in Donegal alongside *ag cur*. The restricted distribution of *cuir* "put" as an auxiliary verb with *báisteach* and *fearthainn* to express "it is raining" is noteworthy as this is the form most favoured by non-native speakers of Irish and the restoration movement in general. Examples are, however, to be found in Cork and Mayo: the co-existence of forms both with and without *báisteach* at points 51 and 54 in Mayo seems particularly instructive: this synchronic pattern suggests that diachronically *tá se ag cur* derives from *tá sé ag cur bháistí/tá sé ag cur f(h)earthainne*, the verbal noun meaning "rain(ing)", having been dropped as redundant.

Confining ourselves just to the Old Irish terms for "rain", we are confronted by words quite different from those in general use today. *Flechud* o, m., was the usual, semantically unmarked word for "rain" at that time. "Light rain" was expressed by *bráen* o, m., while *folc* o, m., meant "heavy rain".

However, the expression of "it is raining" by *feraid flechud* provides us with a link to Modern Irish. In Middle Irish *ferthain* i, f., was the verbal noun of this verb *feraid*. The observation that the demise of Old Irish *flechud* was accompanied by the rise of the verbal noun *ferthain*, which used to govern it, as a replacement, which has given us one of the two regular Modern Irish words for "rain", lends virtually conclusive support to the suggested evolvement of northern *ag cur* from, let us assume, *ag cur f(h)earthainne*. Within Irish, there is also evidence for the substitution of the more colloquial *ag stealladh* "pouring" for earlier *ag stealladh báistí* "pouring rain". And of course the very choice of English equivalents just quoted has no doubt already prompted you to call up the relevant cards in your mental filing index. Parallels abound in English and in other European languages. One can cite colloquial English *it is lashing* and *it is spilling*, Mod. German *es giesst* and *es schüttet* "it is pouring", as well as Mod. Swed. *det öser ned* "it is pouring down". Welsh also has examples which I shall be referring to shortly. The rise of the second Mod. Ir. word for "rain", *báisteach*, in the Middle Irish period is none too abundantly attested, but it occurs at least towards the end of that stage of the language, say late 12th century. Of course a lexical interloper of a mere 700 years standing can expect short shrift from our more conservative scholars. Witness the following comments of the redoubtable Fr. Richard Henebry (1909, p. 544), a native speaker of Irish from the Decies, Co. Waterford:

> As to slang, bogha báisdighe is a word for the rainbow, but the expressions stuagh nimhe and bogha ceatha are infinitely better, especially the first, which is the Irish expression. Báisdeach is a very poor derivative from bádhadh, "drowning," and never held a respectable position in Irish. It is about as classic as if one said bogha steallta in the same sense.

Now, ironically, Fr. Henebry has probably been led to this erroneous conclusion by his accurate etymological analysis and by his hyper-sensitive appreciation of the nuances of meaning in the regional dialects. Báisteach comes from the stem báid- of báidid "submerges, drowns" and the suffix -sech, which would have given first *báidhsech, then let us say *báisdhech and finally báistech (i.e. through the stages of metathesis and delention of d = later dh). It is not a word which Fr. Henebry would have had from his own dialect, and his comparison with stealladh is apt, and might profitably be heeded by the many current speakers, who have difficulty in adjusting to anything but the most informal of Irish language registers.

You may be wondering whatever happened to OIr. flechud "rain". Well it actually survived as fliaghey, the usual word for "rain" in Manx Gaelic. And interestingly, the Manx for "it is raining" was ta e ceau equivalent to Irish tá sé ag caitheamh, lit. "it is casting, throwing"), paralleling well tá sé ag cur and the other Irish expressions quoted.

Turning our attention briefly to "snow" and "it is snowing", it is noteworthy that Scottish Gaelic seems to have specialized the use of cur in relation to "snowing", a development which proceeds regularly from the widespread occurrence in Middle Irish of cor with reference to "snowing". Applying the insights gained from observing the semantic regeneration within Irish of expressions for its "it is raining", it has proved possible to supply plausible etymologies for the more problematic cases. For example, I think it likely that the none too common OIr. ladg, Mod.Ir. laogh (DIL), ladhg (Ó Dónall 1977) "snow" derives from a root *la-, to be found in tarla, do-rala. Even more satisfactorily, was its contribution to an analysis of the Welsh evidence. W. mae'n bwrw, mae hi'n bwrw, lit. "it is pouring, throwing, casting" has dispensed with the word for "rain" itself, glaw.

This contrasts with the specialization of Mod.W. *odi*, *ôd* as "snowing, snows" in one area of N.E. Wales, although the verb *odi* originally meant "casts, throws" and was followed by *eira* "snow". The unusal expression for "it is snowing" is *mae'n bwrw eira*.

Thunder and lightning

The expression of "thunder" and "lightning" in Irish provides a fine example of the innovation within continuity which one can find spanning more than a thousand years of the Irish lexicon. Let us juxtapose, from the Milan Glosses *Ml*. 96 c 11 *intainid & intorainn*, lit. "the lightings and the thunders", and from Tomás Ó Criomthain's *An tOileánach* (1973, p. 228) *splancacha agus toirneacha*, lit. "(lightning-) flashes and thunders". The similarities are striking: in the two citations the plural occurs with reference to both phenomena, and the order of reference is the same - "lightnings" precedes "thunders" (both aspects contrasting with English, one may note). The words for "lightning" are different: in fact there would seem to have been constant seeking after new means of stressing the awesome power of lightning; but this has been done by drawing on words from specific semantic areas. *Tine* "fire" has at all times been an available productive element which may be qualified by a suitable semantic companion indicating the type of "fire" meant or may itself qualify some more or less metaphorically employed word. The expressions for "thunderbolt" bring out this point as well. At any rate, "fire" and "light" have supplied most of the expressions for "(flash of) lightning". Examples are OIr. *teine* "fire", later Mid. Ir. and early Mod, Irish *teinntech* and *teinntrech* "lightning", Mod. Ir. *splangc* "flash", *lasair* "flame", *solas* "light" and *lasóg*, another derivative of *las-* "light, fire".

The surface diversity of words for "(flash of) lightning" contrast with the uniformity of expression of "thunder". OIr. *torann*, o, m., gave way to Mid.Ir. *torann* a, f., and finally to late Mid.Ir, and Mod.Ir. *toirneach* a, f., all of which derive from the same root.

Water expanse

Switching our attention from meterological phenomena to the physical environment, it will be seen that the two tables below conveniently summarize the results of an investigation of the words for "water expanse". However, just before we discuss the tables I should like to make a few remarks about the four most common words for "the sea, ocean" in Old and Middle Irish, nemely *muir*, *ler*, *fairrge* and *ocían*. *Muir* i, n and m., later f., would seem to be the least marked of the four principal words, being described in *DIL* as "The sea in wide sense, both of sea as opposed to land and of particular tracts of ocean with special designations, occasionally of inland seas, ..." The custom of explaining *ler* o, later attested as m., later also with gen. sg. *lera*, "sea, ocean", in the Early Modern Irish glossaries suggests that the word had slipped out of general use as an unbound lexeme. But, even in Old Irish, *ler* is most frequently met with in poetry. Of course, the phrase *tar ler*, later *thar lear* "beyond the sea, (from) across the sea" is common at all periods of the language. Perhaps prompted by Thurneysen's plausible etymology of *fairrge*, ingeniously deriving it from **foirs(n)ge*, abstract noun from *fairsing* "ample, broad, spacious" lists the senses of *fair(r)ge* ia, f., as I "extent, expanse (?)" and II "the open sea, ocean", but only provides one example of sense I. *Ocían* meant "the ocean, generally of deep sea as opposed to shallower water near land". For instance, the Atlantic Ocean is referred to in *ond ocian thiar co muir sair* "from the ocean in the west to the sea in the east" (*Fianaig*. 30,17), which is a neat justaposition of the reputedly boundless ocean in the west and a known, limited sea in the east.

'x' denoting "attested/positive", "-" denoting "not attested/wanting".

Table 1

	First attested in	Inner-Irish formal development	Loan	Has close Celtic cognates	Has close western IE cognates	Has close general IE cognates
linn	OIr.	-	-	x	x	-
loch	OIr.	-	> [illegible]	x	x	-
inber	OIr.	x	-	x	-	-
gabul	OIr.	-	-	x	x	-
gabél	OIr.	x		-	-	-
cúan	Mid. Ir.	-	-	-	x	-
muincenn	OIr.	x	-	-	-	-
muir	OIr.	-	-	x	x	x
ler	OIr.	-	-	x	x	x
fairrge	OIr.	x	-	-	-	-
ocian	Mid. Ir.	-	< Latin	-	-	-

Table 2

	Inland pool, lake, etc*	Coastal inlet	The sea	Inner-Irish semantic development	Element in placenames**
linn	x	x	x	x	x
loch	x	x	-	x	x
inber	-	x	-	x	x
gabul	x	x	-	x	x
gabél	-	x	-	x	-
cúan	x	x	x	x	x
muincenn	-	x	x	x	x
muir	-	-	x	-	x
ler	-	-	x	-	-
fairrge	-	-	x	x	-***
ocian	-	-	x	-	-

* Including gabul in the sense "branch of a river".

** Reference may be made to Hog. Onom. for examples in the cases of gabal (s.v. gabal, gobhal) and cúan.

*** One attested instance only.

The relative richness of the Old and Middle Irish material extant allows one to trace quite finely the interrelation of inland, coastal and open bodies of water. One may note considerable overlapping of the three categories chosen, especially in marked texts such as poetry. However, the fact that one is sometimes dependent on placenames for attestations of a particular sense is a reminder of the limitations of our corpus of Early Irish, as regards both range and extent, as well as an indication that the placename element may represent an earlier usage. Only two of the eleven words studied are first attested in Middle Irish (**cúan**, **ocían**). Only four shown specifically inner-Irish formation (**inber**, **gobél**, **muincenn**, **fairrge**). No evidence of insular substratum influence has emerged in the investigation of this wordfield. There is, on the other hand, much evidence of cohesion within the Celtic languages and, more significantly perhaps, within the western grouping of Indo-European languages. The links with Indo-European languages further afield are rather tenuous: the roots of the Early Irish and western Indo-European words are indeed widely represented in the Indo-European languages in general, but the the extension employed and the senses assigned are seldom directly paralleled. This distinctiveness of the western Indo-European grouping as regards the wordfield "water expanse" is supported by the substratum influence which may be postulated for the cognates of OIr. **loch** and **muir**. The loan of **loch** to Welsh and the borrowing of **ocían** into Middle Irish for Latin show much later language contact in the same region of Western Europe.

In the case of the lexemes which denote and describe physical features it would also be instructive to contrast the distribution in the narrative or free text with that in the placenames occurring as fixed components of the same texts. I here examined the evidence of the Milan Glosses (Ml.) and **Bethu Phátraic** (ed. K. Mulchrone) (Trip.^{2}) as regards substantives in the wordfield "heights", concentration on the two most important lexemes **tulach** "hill" and **slíab** "mountain, mountain-range; moor".

This study is part of a wider attempt to achieve a synthesis of the Continental wordfield approach and the philological tradition of Irish scholarship: it seeks to construct general wordfield surveys and studies on the type of firm textual foundation which has been the basis of so much of the Irish contribution to Celtic studies.

In the following listing the number of occurrences of a lexeme in free composition is given first with the number of occurrences in placenames enclosed afterwards in brackets. In the case of **ard** and **dígas** occurrences as adjectives are included, otherwise reference is made only to substantives. Ml. yielded the following results:

ard "high place, height; high" 7(-)
ardae "height" 1(-)
dígas "height, high" 7(-)
dígsa "height"1(-)
mullach "topmost part, top" 1(-)
sliab "mountain, mountain-range; moor" 18(6)
tulach "hill" 3(-)

The corresponding figures for Trip.[2] are:

ard2(32)
ardae-(1)
benn "peak, summit"2(-)
brí "hill"-(4) and Brega (5)
cnocc "hill"-(1)
cnuchae "hillock" 3(-)
crúach "mountain, mountain stack" 2 (-) and crúachán 9 (8)
druimm "ridge, hill"2(29)
escir "ridge"1(-)
mullach 1(1)
slíab 11 (11) and sléibide (adj.) "mountainous" 1(-)
temair "high place, eminence, hill"-(28)
tulach 17 (9)

It is clear from the combined evidence of placenames elements, knowledge of the situation of places mentioned in Trip.[2] and lexemes referring to heights that a great variety of social activity was conducted on elevated ground. In a very real sense then the citations containing **tulach** are of central importance for an appreciation of this account of Patrick's life, and its depiction of the type of society to which he belonged. **Slíab**, on the other hand, is used of higher, rougher ground, inaccessible and difficult to traverse. Accordingly, **slíab** is not associated with communal functions but with the solitary activities of individuals.

Most importantly, because they are far removed from man's everyday life and because their summits are held to be close to heaven, mountains are thought to be on the border of this world and the preternatural other world: it is on them that holy men of this world make contact with heavenly beings and have mystical experiences.

We may note briefly the kinds of community activity associated with hills in the texts in question. Patrick regularly founded churches on high ground. He also baptized on a hill. Charles Plummer (1910, I p. clxxiv) has already observed that "Curses and blessings are given from a height, in order that they may fall with full effect on the objects [or persons!] at which they are aimed". However, it seems to me that such a practice may result primarily from the use of hills for a variety of religious and secular purposes of communal importance. Hills would also appear to have been normal places of habitation.

Two stories concerning the mountains Slíab Líacc in Co. Donegal and Crúachán Aigle in Co. Mayo, now anglicized Slieve League and Croagh Patrick, respectively, illustrate the role of mountains as boundary points, touching and linking this material world and the other world, the preternatural world. Bishop Assicus, Patrick's bronze craftsman, is the subject of the first account:

> "However, Assicus came in retreat to Slíab Líacc in Tír Bogaine and he was seven years on an island there and his monks were searching for him and after exertion they found him in the mountainy glens and they took him with them out of there, and Assicus died among them in the wilderness and they buried him in Ráth Chunga in Seithi". (Trip.[2] 1080-4).

The significance of this tale would appear to be that Assicus' monks considered that the length of his sojourn on the mountain and island and in the remote mountainous area was excessive and they intended to bring him back with them to return to living among men in society. It is a case of humans feeling that the normal equilibrium of heaven and earth was being upset by the holy man, who acts as contact between the beings of both worlds, staying too long in the marches.

In the second story it is the heavenly beings who are incommoded by the presence of a saint on a mountain. They show themselves quite incapable of countering the bargaining power which the saint acquired by his position on the doorstep of Heaven, as it were. It is in fact the remarkable account in Betha Phátraic of Patrick's forty-day stay on Crúachán Aigle and the extended negotiations which he successfully conducted there.

Soon after Patrick's wish to settle in Arched Fhobhair had been rejected by the angel the eighty-five line account begins (Trip.[2] 1289-374): "Patrick went on to Crúachán Aigle on the Saturday before Lent. The angel came to speak to him, and said to him: 'God will not give you what you seek, for he considers that it is oppressive and selfish and that the requests are great.' 'Is that his intention?' said Patrick. 'It is,' said the angel. 'It is my intention,' said Patrick, 'that I shall not go from this mountain stack ("ni reg-sa assin chruachán sa") until I shall be dead or until all the wishes shall be granted". (Trip.[2] 1289-94). So the scene is set. Patrick was depressed and troubled in spirit and this ominous conflict with God loomed from the beginning. In fact, Patrick's experiences on Crúachán Aigle were traumatic. The narrative continues: "Patrick was then on Crúachán in bad spirits without drink, without food, from the Saturday before Lent until Easter Saturday, like Moses son Amrae."(Trip.[2] 1295-7). "Then at the end of those forty nights and forty days the mountain was filled against him with flocks of black birds, so that he could not distinguish sky or earth". (Trip.[2] 1300-1). "He chanted maledictory psalms against them. They did not go from him as a result of it. Then his anger towards them increased. He struck his bell against them so that the men of Ireland heard its sound and he threw it at them so that its gap broke out of it, so that that is called Bernán Brigte. Patrick then weeps so that his face and his cloak in front of him became wet. No devil came to the land of Ireland after that until seven nights had passed.

The angel came then to comfort Patrick and it cleaned the cloak and brought white flocks of birds about the mountain stack and they were singing sweet tunes for him. 'You shall take that number yonder,' said the angel, 'of souls from pain, and the equivalent of that which your eye reaches on the sea.' 'That is not a matter for me to boast about,' said Patrick, 'My eye can not reach far on the sea.' 'Then you shall have what is both on sea and on land," said the angel.' (Trip.^{2} 1302-13). 'Is there anything else which is obtained for me besides that?' said Patrick. 'There is,' said the angel, 'seven to be taken every Saturday from the pains of hell until doomsday.' 'If anything were given to me twelve men would be greater.' 'You shall have it,' said the angel, 'and depart from the mountain stack.' 'I shall not depart,' said Patrick, 'for I have been tormented, until I be appeased.' 'Is there anything else which may be given to me?' said Patrick."

And so the dialogue between the angel and Patrick continues. Each offer of the angel ends with the exhortation **agus dingaib din chruachán**, "and depart from the mountain stack" and Patrick invariably responds "**Ni dingéb, ... ol rom chráided, co ndom digdider**". "I shall not depart, for I have been tormented, until I be appeased." These formulaic expressions occur (with slight orthographic variation) six times in all, i.e. at lines 1326-8, 1330-1, 1333-5, 1337-9, 1345-6, and 1353 (where Patrick's reply is shortened to "I shall not depart"). For a while the inducements are offered by the angel: seven sould to be taken from the torments of hell every Thursday and twelve every Saturday; Ireland to be submerged under the great sea seven years before doomsday. But then the initative passes to the saint, with the angel enquiring what else Patrick might seek: he wants Ireland to be free of Saxons settling permanently there. And then the offers and the demands alternate. Eventually Patrick requests that he himself be allowed to be the judge of the men of Ireland on the day of judgment.

At this stage the celestial negotiator fears that he may have exceeded his brief and decides to refer the matter back to the Lord: "Perhaps that thing is not obtained from the Lord,' said the angel. 'Unless it is obtained from him, then the departure from the mountain stack will not be obtained from me from this day until doomsday, though it be so, watch will be kept there by me'. The angel went to heaven. Patrick went to say mass. The angel came in the evening. 'How is it!' said Patrick. 'It is thus,' said the angel. 'All the creatures, visable and invisable, prayed about the twelve apostles, and they obtained it; the Lord said, there did not come and there will not come after the apostles a man more amazing than you as regards your hardness (literally "save for thy hardness", so DIL M 4.25-6). What you prayed for you shall have ... 'A blessing on the generous king who gave it, said Patrick, and this extra-ordinary episode ends with the saint's use of the future impersonal form of do-ingaib: "dingébthar din chrúaich". "The mountain stack will be vacated". (Trip.[2] 1323-74).

Conclusion

With regard to the list of relevant studies by the speaker, provided by way of Appendix, this paper has drawn on some of the more striking results obtained, particularly in the first five articles. The articles themselves give a more comprehensive picture of the benefits of the lexical field approach. It has not, however, been possible to do more than hint at the advantages of applying the approach in the cultural sphere of the last three articles.

I should now like to make some brief, general comments by the way of conclusion. The lexical field approach has been around too long for it to be wise to make the kind of extravagant claim on its behalf which a more novel methodology might excite. But I do think that, at the very least, it can provide a framework within which synchronic similarities and dissimilarities and diacronic patterns can be clearly observed.

The lexical field approach is immediately applicable to vocabulary study, but it can also be adapted to the analysis of individual texts or groups of texts, thus helping us to gain important semantic and cultrual insights into the way of life and thinking both of whole communities and of their intellectually more gifted members.

APPENDIX

Lexical Field Studies

On the Expression of "Rain" and "It is Raining" in Irish, *Ériu* xxix (1978) 39-57.

"Snow" and "It is Snowing" in Irish and Welsh: A Semantic Study, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* xxix 66-79.

On the Expression of Thunder and Lighting in Irish, in W. Meid, H. Ölberg, H. Schmeja (eds.), *Sprachwissenschaft in Innsbruck* (Innsbruck 1982) (Innsbruck 1982) 95-106.

Continuity and Innovation in Early Words for "Walter Expanse", in W. Meid (ed.), *Studien zum Indogermanischen Wortschatz* (Innsbruck 1987) 83-99.

Old Irish Heights and Wordfield Potential, to appear in *Studia Hibernica* 24 (1988) c. 20 pp.

On the Expression and Concept of Blindness in Irish, *Studia Hibernica* 19 (1979) 26-62.

The Designation, Functions and Knowledge of the Irish Poet: A Preliminary Semantic Study, *Anzeiger der phil. -his. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 119. Jahrgang (Wien 1982) 225-38.

An Introductory Survey of the Wordfield "Knowledge" in Old and Middle Irish, in W. Meid and H. Schmeja (eds.), *Philologie und Sprachwissenschaft*. *Akten der 10. Österreichischen Linguisten-Tagung, Innsbruck, 23.-26*. *Oktober 1982* (Innsbruck 1983) 149-57.

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THE OPEN DOOR: TERMINOLOGY IN A LESSER-USED LANGUAGE

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Questions of terminology have traditionally been discussed in relation to the needs of the more widely-spoken European languages: English, French, German, Spanish, Russian, etc. The use of these languages by international organisations and multinational concerns gives further impetus to the study of terminology problems in the so-called 'languages of wider communication'. The efforts of the multilingual European Communities to find linguistic equivalents in nine working languages for the various concepts needed for the transaction of business have been well documented. With the exception of Danish, the working languages of the Communities have been widely-spoken languages until recently. The accession of Greece has added another lesser-used language to the linguistic network, posing a further challenge to translators and terminologists.

Yet one may well ask what today is a lesser-used language? With the exception of English, Russian and Spanish, are not all European languages lesser-used languages in today's world? English is now the standard against which other languages are compared, often - unfairly - to their disadvantage. For English is the vehicle through which new concepts, emanating mostly from the United States, are expressed and disseminated world-wide. The all-pervasive Anglo-American culture reinforces further the dominance of English; it pays the same degree of attention to French or German language and culture as it does to Irish or Welsh! Thus it is not surprising that most of the new concepts make their appearance in an English dress, for which equivalents must then be sought for use in other languages. It follows that both widely-spoken and lesser-used languages are all in the same situation viv-a-vis English.

Is terminology provision more difficult in small languages such as Irish, than in a more widely used language such as French? (As will be shown later, there is a certain similarity between the problems faced by both languages, especially in the case of Canadian French). The answer, based on experience of the Irish situation, is no. More crucial than the fact of being a minority language is the type of national culture of which the language is the expression. A country with a long history of industrialisation and applied science will obviously have less difficulty with modern terminology than a country with a pre-industrial culture. The degree of economic and industrial development attained within the national culture, will, it is submitted, influence the effectiveness of the response made to the problems of modern terminology.

Owing to Ireland's geographical position, between Britain on one side and North America on the other, Irish speakers face the full force of Anglo-American culture and ideas - the Irish David facing the Anglo-American Goliath, or so many Irish speakers see their language, resisting the full brunt of transatlantic assaults! And how have these affected Irish? If its position is precarious, it is certainly not owing to inability to withstand the power of English in the field of new terminology, as can be seen from the number of terms donoting new concepts which have entered the language in the last twenty years. The number of specialised vocabularies issued by the Department of Education's terminology committees continues to grow. All in all, then, Irish has shown that it is able to meet the challenge of English in the sphere of terminology.

So far from being at a disadvantage because of the pervasiveness of English as the linguistic vehicle of new developments, it can be argued that Irish indirectly benefits from the challenge. The geographical position of Ireland and the constant exposure of Irish speakers to English familiarises them with new concepts and ideas at an early stage of development. Irish benefits as it is continually 'stretched' in a way that prevents stagnation and complacency. This is an advantage not always enjoyed by other languages geographically and culturally more removed from the United States of America.

Cultural Problems

Let us now turn to the Irish terminology scene and discuss some of the cultural difficulties which can arise.

With the exception of the northeastern part of the country, large-scale industrialisation did not take place in Ireland until the sixties of the present century. The Gaeltacht areas, located mainly in the underdeveloped rural areas along the west coast, benefited from the economic and social changes inherent in industrialisation. Language planning in the modern sense was then in its infancy, so that the need for a linguistic component in economic and industrial development plans was not generally realised. Some of the resulting linguistic problems have been highlighted elsewhere (Mac an Iomaire, 1983).

While Irish has a long tradition of linguistic borrowing from English, loanwords underwent complete assimilation. In recent times, however, especially among the younger generation, English words tend to be used in unassimilated form. The situation is analogous to that of French speakers in some areas of rural Canada. In one such area, it was found that the older generation could name all the parts of the equiment they used in their time, while the younger speakers were unable to do so; they needed to know the English terms to deal with English-speaking salesmen, and French terms had simply not been provided (Senior & Longpré, 1987).

Users of terminology

Who then are the actual and potential users of terminology of Irish?

1) Rural speakers residing in Gaeltacht areas. Many will have had only primary school education. While the older generation numbers many competent speakers, the speech of the younger generation is increasingly influenced by the social and economic changes experienced in rural areas and by exposure to English. Popular reading materials in Irish are almost non-existant and

English fills the void. Literacy in Irish suffers as a result. It has been suggested that new terms would be accepted by this group if available when new equipment and procedures are first introduced (Mac an Iomaire 1983 : 15).

2) Urbanised speakers. They consist of highly competent speakers, Gaeltacht and non-Gaeltacht. Some live in Gaeltacht areas, but a significant number now live in urban areas. The majority will have received third-level education and many will have studied Irish to degree level (third-level education generally contributes to urbanisation at least of the mind). Competence in spoken Irish is reinforced by a high degree of literacy. Many would be able to make their own contribution to terminology provision. Criticism of new terminology might well be voiced among these speakers.

3) Learners. This category includes not only persons studying Irish but also those who learned it at school and have had little contact with it in adult life. While sympathetic to Irish, their ability is not such as to allow them to use it with confidence. Such persons generally accept new terminology without question.

The ideal term

It may be helpful to summarise the main requirements for term selection and formation as outlined by specialists in terminology (Dubuc 1980; Picht & Draskau 1985) and ISO 704: 1987. They are, briefly, that the ideal term should be

- linguistically correct, that is, in accordance with the syntactic rules of the language;
- accurate. It should if possible be self-explanatory;
- concise and as short as possible without obscuring the meaning;
- productive of derivatives.

Picht and Draskau (1985) also recommend other factors for consideration:

- 'sociolinguistic factors which may result in a rebuff for the user;
- consideration of the difficulties and advantages connected with the revision of a terminology which, though defective, is well established;
- the degree of 'internationalness''(p. 117).

Let us now look at some examples of Irish equivalents of specialised terms in the light of the foregoing. With the exception of E & F below, all are taken from a bilingual vocabulary project in the field of librarianship and information undertaken by the present author.

The subject field

Librarianship is an old and respectable profession, the companion and support of learning through the centuries. Up to the sixties, librarians were generally viewed as scholarly, unworldly and conservative; their work served mainly the interests of the learned or of popular education. All this changed when the new science of information, with its attendant jargon, suddenly invaded the quiet precincts of libraries. The language of the new discipline was thus grafted on to the established terminology of librarianship. The advent of computers and automated routines in libraries further accelerated this trend.

It has been said of the terminological dictionary that 'neither its content nor its structure and methods are exclusively, or even predominantly, determined by purely linguistic considerations' (Opitz 1983). Dubuc (1980) defines terimology work as 'L'art de repérer, d'analyser, et, au besoin, de créer le vocabulaire pour une technique donnée dans une situation concrète de fonctionnement de façon a répondre aux besoins d'expression de l'usager'. The user's needs are paramount'... la terminologie doit être axée sur les besoins de l'usager'. These principles are reflected in the aims of the present project:

1) to facilitate communication and the exchange of information;
2) to consider the views of users on the appropriateness of the terminology.

Sources used

It is often helpful to find out how languages other than English deal with specialist concepts. Unesco's *Vocabularium bibliothecarii* (Thompson, 1962) is invaluable for librarianship. Unfortunately it predates both the introduction of automation in libraries and the formal study of information. Other works consulted were bilingual and monolingual dictionaries and specialist glossaries for definitions (Meadows et al., 1984; Prytherch, 1987; Young, 1983).

The Examples

A) International versus established native term

There exists a certain prejudice against the use of English loanwords. Yet most of these are not English in origin; they are loanwords from other languages which English has successfully assimilated. They frequently have an international character in that they share with other European languages a common Graeco-Roman root. Yet too often they are perceived as English rather than international terms, sometimes resulting in the choice of native terms which often lack specialist connotations in the eyes of users. This is a practice which frequently militates against communication for specialist purposes.

Perhaps it is time to ponder the remarks of Jørgensen to the effect that influence of one language on another is rarely seen as enrichment of the minority language. Yet a language that borrows a great deal from another is alive and well, especially in countries undergoing industrialisation (Jørgensen, 1987).

English	Irish: Native term	Specialists' preferred term
Archive(s)*	cartlann	aircív
Archival	-	aircíviúil
Archivist	cartlannaí	aircíveoir

*Fr. archives, Ger. Archiv, Russ. архив

The 'international' term, suggested by specialist users, is a transliterated version of the English source word. The medial *ch* /c/ sound has been retained, tho'palatalised to conform with Irish usage. Consideration might also be given to an alternative form 'airchív', using Irish medial palatal *ch* /ç/ resulting in a very familiar sound to Irish ears, which is also much closer to the German and Russian forms.

The native equivalent is well established. It lacks an adjectival form, but the problem is solved by the use of the genitive.

There could be no question of dropping the well-established native term. Although more restricted in meaning (as pointed out by specialist users), it has long since acquired all the connotations associated with the 'international' term. However, the fact that the specialists have declared their preference for the 'international' term guarantees its inclusion in the projected vocabulary.

B) Adapting a source-language word into the target language

English	Irish
Browsing	brabhsáil
Browser	brabhsálaí

The concept has not so far been employed in Irish. It denotes an activity carried out exclusively in libraries and bookshops. No equivalent has been found in other languages. There would seem to be no solution other than that here adopted.

C) Use of a corresponding term in the target language to designate a new concept

English	Irish
Bookstack(s)	cruach(a) leabhar

'Cruach' an old Irish word meaning stack or rick, is found in placenames (Cruach Phádraig, Na Cruacha Gorma) and in rural life (cruach mhóna = stack of turf). It is usually associated with outdoor life. Here, however, a determined effort has been made to house-train it, bearing in mind how carefully sods of turf, like books, are placed in stacks!

D) Transliteration

English	Irish
Fiction	ficsean
Non-fiction	neamhfhicsean

The distinction between fiction and non-fiction is a very important one in public libraries. The concept is usually rendered by means of definition in other languages. It was felt that a tidier solution should be sought for Irish. The word 'finscéal', meaning a tale, could be used, but it has a literary flavour and brings to mind tales of Fionn and the Fianna and stories and legends from the older literature. A neutral term covering all the types of novel found in libraries, irrespective of merit or subject, was needed. It was therefore felt that transliteration was indicated for the first concept, and native prefix + transliteration (including lenition of the second element of a compound noun as Irish usage prescribes) for the second.

Foreign loanwords in sixteenth and seventeenth century texts retain the suffix *-ion* unchanged as in *dicsion*, *direxion*, *mdinision*, etc., a practice favoured by the present author especially if it were to result in a new category of indeclinable nouns being added to the language. Present day rules of transliteration prescribe the form *-ean*, however. Other modern examples of this suffix are *dicsean*, *ndisean*, *pinsean*, etc.

E) Calque

English	Irish	French
Hardware	crua-earraí	matériel
Software	bo[illegible]	logiciel

The source words do not satisfy the criteria for the ideal term as they are not self-explanatory. This is a characteristic of many American terms in recent years which simply give no indication of the concept at all. They are at best jargon, at worst slang, which is untranslatable.

There was much discussion of this pair of terms in France. At first, the American terms were used in parenthesis. Then consideration was given to French equivalents. Louis Armand suggested 'la quincaille' (quincaillerie = hardware, also slang term for cheap jewellery) and 'la mentaille'. These certainly give the flavour of the originals, but they also share in their deficiencies as terms. The solution finally agreed upon by the French authorities is, in this writer's opinion, satisfactory and much superior to the source words.

The Irish solution, predictably, was a calque, which is in common use for some years now. Given the widespread use of the source words, it would probably have been difficult to gain general acceptance for more ideal equivalents which would take time to provide. It was decided to 'follow the crowd' in this instance.

F) Competing terms

English	Irish
Data base*	bunachar sonraí
	bunstór sonraí
	bonn sonraí

*Fr.: Base de données

The Irish equivalents were all generated independently of each other. The first appears in an unpublished vocabulary of computer terms compiled under the auspices of the Department of Education. The meaning of 'bunachar' is given in Ó Dónaill's dictionary as base, foundation, money put by, nest-egg. It is not a commonly used word, however, and would not be familiar to many users.

Both 'bun' (base, bottom) and 'bonn' (base, foundation) appear to be more obvious choices; both are in common use and immediately comprehensible even to learners. The last term was the first to appear in print (in the newspaper 'Anois'). It is also a shade more accurate than 'bun', as well as being more concise. These considerations here combine to award the palm to 'bonn sonraí'.

It is hoped that this *aperçu* has given some indication of the type of problems encountered in term provision in Irish, together with suggested solutions.

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A Systematic Approach to Terminology for the Translator

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The NIHE runs two degree programmes, the International Marketing and Languages programme which is a joint business and languages degree programme and the Applied Languages programme which is designed to train future translators and interpreters. While both involve the teaching of LSP, we intend to focus here on the Applied Languages degree programme and, in particular, on the role of terminology within the programme.

Our aims and objectives are to produce graduates with good linguistic ability and a range of other very important skills, not least the ability to adapt and work, in any number of specialised fields. By 'good linguistic ability' we mean both oral and written fluency in the LGP of mother tongue and at least two foreign languages. However, as translating and interpreting generally involves facilitating communication between people with special interests, be they commercial, legal, financial or scientific, our graduates must also be equipped with the special skills required to work within these areas. As it would have been foolish of us to attempt to cover every possible field where our graduates might find employment, we decided to focus on just a few, namely the fields of economics and science and technology. Clearly, it would be impossible to teach students the entire LSP of these areas and, even if it were possible, new terms are constantly being created, making this type of task a never-ending one. Therefore, we do not aim to teach them everything they ever wanted to know about economics or science and technology. Rather, we tend to place greater emphasis on the methodology of terminology and documentation than would normally be the case in, for example, a business and languages degree where the student is only concentrating on LSPs within the business sphere.

Students of specific disciplines such as engineering, medicine or law unwittingly acquire the special language of their field during the course of their studies. The acquisition of the special language is therefore, to a large extent, passive. Furthermore,it is unlikely that the subject specialist will ever have to acquire the special language of an area with which he is unfamiliar. Not so the translator, who will, again and again, be called upon to deal with areas which are totally new to him or her and he/she will generally have to make a conscious effort, not only to understand the jargon of a given field but also to obtain a thorough understanding of that field.

Our students, as previously mentioned, already have access to the fields of economics and science and technology through courses offered by the Schools of Business Studies and Applied Physics. Students attend courses in these areas for six hours per week over a period of two years. Access to the special languages in French and German is provided through specialised translation courses which they take from second to fourth year. Although we deemed this approach to be on the whole satisfactory, we felt that we should also include a specific terminology element. Not least because of the aforementioned problems, namely that our students need to learn the methodology of LSP in general even more than they need to learn any specific LSP. It is of particular importance for the translator to know how best to store the terminology in a systematic fashion for future retrieval.

A terminology component has become essential because many of the traditional tools which a translator uses are no longer adequate. Take, for example, specialised dictionaries of which there are very many but which frequently prove inadequate, for a variety of reasons.

Nowadays, it is not unusual to find that a word does not appear in any dictionary. Whereas in the past special languages evolved more slowly and dictionaries were on the whole able to keep up with developments as a result of revision taking place every number of years , it has now become virtually impossible for conventional specialised dictionaries to reflect the latest state of the art particularly in areas like information technology and other rapidly expanding fields. Translators, therefore, have to spend time trying to determine the meaning of a term by locating the word in context in specialised documentation. If this is not to be a waste of time, the translator must also have some way of storing this information for future use, once it has been found.

Standard monolingual specialised dictionary entries tend, on the whole, to offer a definition of the term but do not usually show how the term is used. For example, the entry will not contain any information relating to the preposition(s) or verb(s) which generally accompany the term. This sort of information is vital for the translator.

Standard multilingual specialised dictionaries, on the other hand, do indeed give a translation of the term and possibly even some information regarding its use but frequently do not provide a definition, thereby complicating the process for the translator who has to go elsewhere to locate the meaning of the term.

Another problem which translators may encounter is that there may well be no shortage of monolingual and bilingual specialised dictionaries covering the field in question but the bilingual dictionaries may not be in the language pairs which the translator requires.

And then, of course, few translators actually have the resources to own all of the specialised dictionaries which they may require in the course of their career. Furthermore, if they are not living in the vicinity of a well stocked library, they will not even have access to any dictionaries that do, in fact, exist.

There is one final factor in relation to dictionaries which we should mention and which is of particular significance for the translator. Namely, dictionaries are ordered alphabetically, rather than conceptually. Thus, even if the translator manages to locate the definition of a term, he/she may still have no idea how this term fits into the overall context of the field.

These observations apply, in particular, to freelance translators working on their own. But what of the staff translator working for a large firm? Will he/she too find that specialised dictionaries have their shortcomings? Probably not to the same extent as he/she will probably be able to consult with subject specialists within the company. Nonetheless, in large firms employing a number of translators who may be called upon to work together on a long document, it makes sense to have a specialised glossary for in-company purposes. Moreover, if the glossary is to be useful to new recruits to the service, it should contain more than just a list of foreign language equivalents for terms. The same applies to translation agencies which have regular clients. If their regular translator is unavailable to do a translation job and another translator has to step in, his/her task will be greatly lightened if a terminological glossary is available. Furthermore, consistent use of vocabulary is also ensured.

What makes the terminological approach so attractive is that it enables students and translators alike to acquire an understanding of a given field and grasp the terminology of the field at one and the same time.

Terminology according to the Collins English Dictionary has two meanings: 'the body of specialised words relating to a particular subject' and 'the study of terms'.(1) More important, however, from the point of view of the applied linguist is Prof. Felber's definition - " The field of knowledge dealing with concepts and their representations (terms, symbols, etc.)".(2) This definition has its origins in the General Theory of Terminology developed by Prof. Eugen Wuester of the Vienna School of Terminology in the 1920s. Wuester was an Austrian who studied engineering in the 1920s and was struck by the need to standardise and classify engineering terminology. He was all too aware of examples of communication problems caused by subject specialists from the same field using different terms to refer to the same object or process even within the same language community. The chaos experienced by an engineer or translator operating between two languages under such conditions can be easily imagined!

Wuester realised that if useful glossaries or indeed dictionaries were to be developed the shortcomings of traditional lexicographical work would have to be overcome. He studied the work of de Saussure and the linguists of the Prague School amongst others and combined aspects of contemporary linguistic theory with his own knowledge of technical language to develop a theory which was designed to improve communication in technical areas. In 1931 his doctoral thesis entitled "Internationale Sprachnormung in der Technik, besonders in der Elektrotechnik" (3) appeared and contained the nucleus of his theory of terminology applied to the question of international standardisation of terms within the field of engineering. Basically, what made Wuester different from those who had gone before him was his conviction that one should adopt a concept-based approach to terminology problems. The next stage is to identify key concepts within a given field for which there may be one or more terms in any given language. These concepts should be clearly defined by subject specialists who should also be in a position to assign the appropriate term(s) to each concept. Where more than one term exists, the specialist should indicate which is the preferred term (something which is decided according to strict criteria) so as to prevent a terminological free-for-all. This, in fact, represents the first stage in terminological standardisation. This sort of work must be conducted on a mono-lingual basis as it is clearly not the case that all languages share the same concepts and, consequently, terms which exist in one language may have no true equivalents in another - a point which is often not clearly conveyed by bilingual or multilingual dictionaries.

Wuester got away from the idea of alphabetical listings of words with minimal indications of usage and advocated a new method of classification which would provide the reader with a term plus definition plus detailed information on the interrelationship between it and other terms from the same field. Such interrelationships are best expressed, according to Wuester, in a hierarchical system of concepts. This approach to terminology has obvious advantages for the translator who can build up detailed bilingual terminology records which accurately reflect the similarities and differences that exist, for example, between two apparently synonymous terms: e.g." divorce" in English and French or " Rechtsanwalt" and solicitor or barrister or indeed the German "Akademiker" which simply means graduate and the more elitist English use of "academic".

You will appreciate that we at NIHE are keen that our students of translation should apply Wuester's approach to their LSP work rather than approach it it in some ad hoc fashion. It is in their second year that our students encounter substantial amounts of LSP for the first time. They spend a total of 2 hours per language per week doing specialised translations from scientific/technical and economic/legal fields. These students are also attending classes taught by our Physics and Economics colleagues and are therefore acquiring a number of English LSPs within a theoretical framework while they are being exposed for the first time to Fr and Gr LSPs through the practical experience of translation work.

Students left to their own devices might well endeavour to cope with specialised translation texts by resorting first to general bilingual dictionaries. As the deficiencies became obvious they would turn, of necessity, to more specialised ones if available. Shortcomings in these bilingual dictionaries too, would result in increased reliance on monolingual specialised dictionaries and encyclopediae etc. After such tedious and often fruitless research, it would become clear to them that there has to be a better way.

Having spent hours or even days researching some obscure term, students will certainly want to record information on it for future use. They could well slowly but surely build up their own files and documentation. But we feel a well tested systematic approach such as Wuester's is likely to be of more benefit. There is clearly no point in always recording new data in a haphazard way particularly with new technological developments making it increasingly likely that these future translators will sooner or later have the chance to store their terminological files on computer.

In year 1, students learn about basic computing using micros and Vax terminals. They also attend courses offered by library staff on research methods and documentation. So when they come along to second year courses on terminology they are already sufficiently computer-literate to appreciate the potential of computerised terminology management. The second year course combines theory with practice and is based on documentation from the field of commerce so it is hoped that students will also find themselves passively acquiring a substantial amount of information and vocabulary relating to the commercial world in addition to what they learn about terminological principles and methods. Basically, what we do is divide the teaching year into two and spend one hour per week in the first half explaining the problems the translator encounters with traditional lexicographical sources and pointing out the need for an organised approach to terminology management. The theoretical introduction concentrates to a large extent on the General

Theory of Terminology as developed by Wuester and extended by his successors at INFOTERM, the International Information Centre for Terminology in Vienna. We discuss ways of gathering and ordering knowledge and point out the merits of various filing methods from index cards to terminology data banks like Siemens' TEAM. We stress the need for well thought out formatting of term record sheets, the importance of being able to update records quickly and the advantages of standardised record sheets for on-line use if the translator wishes to exchange data with colleagues possibly as part of an informal/formal network.

Once the students have an overview of the history of terminology and current trends and are clear about those conventions which can help them to conduct successful terminology work, we proceed to the second stage. Here we are trying to apply theory in a very practical way. Students are asked to gather monolingual documentation relating to specific areas in the business world. The documentation is then evatuated and filed systematically on a monolingual basis. The next step is to identify key terms and establish by consulting subject specialists and by reference to contextual use the meaning of these terms and their role or position within a system of concepts. Monolingual systems of concepts/terms are compared and concept/term correspondence between language pairs is noted. Finally, a glossary is drawn up which provides an English concept plus definition plus FR/GE equivalents as well as examples of each of the terms in context. Where exact equivalence does not exist definitions of the related FR/GE terms are given so that the area of intersection is clear, e.g. Fr:president and Gr:Praesident or Gr:Beamte and En: civil servant.

As a result of this training all terminology work carried out by a student is recorded and students avoid wasting time on something that they looked up at some time in the past but subsequently forgot. The results of this work will, in future, be recorded and sent to the BT12 data base at the Copenhagen School of Economics. BT12 is one of the many projects organised by INFOTERM in Vienna. BT12 is the International Bibliography of Terminological Theses and Dissertations and is endeavouring to gather information about all unpublished specialised glossaries which have been completed in any country to date. This centralised information can be accessed by people requiring terminological information of a specialised nature. It is hoped that the availability of such information from BT12 will preempt unnecessary duplication of research work in the field of terminology.

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Lexical constraints on syntactic analysis

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ABSTRACT

Current research within the field of computational linguistics suggests that a grammar formalism must provide not merely for the generation of parse trees but also for their lexical-semantic interpretation. A prominent example of this type of two tiered theory is Lexical Functional grammar (LFG) wherein the legitimacy of a parse is determined by the application of lexical constraint equations to the nodes of the parse tree. The parse tree represents the constituent structure of an expression while a collection of constraint equations define its (grammatical) functional structure. If the equations, which are feature-value pairs, can be sucessfully merged then the parse tree is legitimate. This processs is known as *unification* and it consists of copying feature-value equations from lower level nodes up to higher level nodes in the tree. If a contradiction is encountered it is treated as a constraint violation and the parse is rejected. This paper explains the basic principles of the theory and the respective roles of constituent and functional structures. In particular the implications of functional structures for the semantic interpretation of an expression are examined and a number of problems involving adjuncts are presented. The paper concludes with a brief treatment of interrogative phenomena within a slightly augmented LFG and concludes with suggestions as to further research. This research has been supported by ESPRIT P527, an advanced information processing project.

1.0 Introduction

One of the main thrusts underlying the development of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) was the desire to move away from a transformational paradigm which postulated that virtually all surface structure phenomena were only explicable in terms of some series of *transformations* of a purported deep syntactic structure. Instead LFG assumes that a nontransformational account of sentential structures can be given in terms of a suitably augmented phrase structure grammar (Kaplan & Bresnan 1982). The resulting grammar is composed of two layers (a) a context free grammar, and (b) a series of lexical feature-value equations which annotate the nodes in the phrase structure trees generated by the CFG. In terms of the Chomskian hierarchy of formal languages the augmentations define the class of LFGs as weakly context sensitive which is not optimal for computational requirements as it entails that an exponential amount of time will be needed to solve the parsing recognition of a string problem. So far there are no known efficient, i.e. deterministic, algorithms for grammars with this quality (Berwick 1982; Barton *et al* 1987). However in what follows primary attenion is directed at some of the, perhaps, more accessible linguistic claims of the theory with only passing reference to its formal language properties.

2.0 The structure of LFG

A CFG alone is obviously a fairly crude grid by which to analyse an expression, before the analysis can be considered even partially satisfactory some internal details of the grammatical properties of the terminals is necessary. At a facile level for example a minimally adequate analysis would be expected to represent subject-verb agreement. A number of attempts have been made to augment CFGs to supply precisely this degree of detail, the most well known of these results is probably the Generalised Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG) of Gazdar *et al* (1985). It is not possible to give many details of GPSG here but it is important to note the instances in which it is like and unlike LFG. Formally GPSG is a CFG allowing one complex level of representation for an expresion. The syntactic categories recognised in GPSG are composed of [*feature feature-value*] pairs and a number of theory specific conventions govern their instantiation on a phrase structure tree. Superficially this may suggest that GPSG and LFG have many common properties but this is not the case, excepting the usage of a CFG. LFG insists on two specific representations of an expression. The first is generated by a surface parse of an expression giving a phrase structure tree (or set therof in cases of ambiguity) referred to as the *constituent* structure, the c-structure; whereas the second representation produces the *functional* structure, f-structure, which describes the predicate-argument relations present in the expression between verb, subject, object, etc. Each element or node of a c-structure rule (a CFG production) has an associated f-structure equation. The primary function of the f-equations is to encode agreement principles known as cooccurrence restrictions. Consider the standard rule below:

$$S \rightarrow \underset{\uparrow \text{SUBJ} = \downarrow}{NP} \qquad \underset{\uparrow = \downarrow}{VP}$$

The f-structure equations are interpreted straightforwardly as follows. The first one ($\uparrow$ SUBJ = $\downarrow$) associated with the NP node states that the value of the SUBJ feature is found at a node below that node and the pair must be copied up to the root node S, (the $\uparrow$ variable signifies the root node as the final destination for the feature information). The process of copying, or merging, feature information up from lower nodes to the root node is intrinsic to the feature-value pair matching procedure known as *unifciation*. Using the above rule plus the two below allows the construction of simple subject-object sentences.

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NP → DET N

NP → N

VP → V N

↑ OBJ = ↓

For example,

The boy kissed Mary.

is a simple subject-verb-object production. The following lexical entries (written as f-structures) are associated with each terminal in the production.

the: DET, (↑ SPEC) = A
(↑ NUM) = SG

boy: N, (↑ NUM) = SG
(↑ PERSON) = 3rd
(↑ PRED) = 'boy'

kissed V, (↑ TENSE) = PAST
(↑ PERSON) = ALL
(↑ PRED) = 'kiss<(↑ SUBJ)(↑ OBJ)>'

Mary N, (↑ NUM) = SG
(↑ PRED) = 'mary'

The following f-structure is produced:

SUBJ [SPEC A]
[NUM SG]
[PRED 'boy']
TENSE Present
OBJ [NUM SG]
[PRED 'mary']
PRED 'kiss<(↑ SUBJ)(↑ OBJ)>'

In the above root f-structure redundant features (duplicates) have been deleted leaving a legitmate functional description of the expression. The expression below, however, gives rise to an f-structure which lacks this coherence (due to disagreement of subject-number-verb disagreement).

The boy hate Mary

because the lexical entry for *hate* specifically excludes the 3rd person form of *the boy*.

hate: V, (↑ TENSE) = PRESENT
(↑ PERSON) = ALL/ex3rd
(↑ PRED) = 'hate<(↑ SUBJ)(↑ OBJ)>'

A phrase structure analysis is legitimate therefore if and only if a coherent f-structure can be derived for the expression in question. It is in this sense that the lexical-functional equations can be said to constrain syntactic analysis.

The f-structure of an expression which results from a successful unification procedure describes its predicate-argument relations in terms of the main verb form being applied to an argument list, i.e. *verb<(↑ arg1),...(↑ argn)>* . Not unexpectedly this situates the f-structure as the primary input to a semantic module. Consequently, the semantic interpretation of an expression is conditioned by the functional equation associated with the main verb. In many cases no problems arise, for instance verbs such as 'give' have a lexical entry uniquely specifying the subject, object and indirect object argument list. Thus the lexical form below provides for the functional analysis of sentences such as (ignoring tense feature)

John gave a card to Mary

give: PRED 'give<(↑ SUBJ)(↑ OBJ)(↑ OBJ2)'

The existence of lexical forms for ditransitive verbs such as 'give' ensures that the builiding of the process of constructing an f-structure for an expression in which one is embedded is straight-forward. Functional representations are adequately expressive when dealing with relatively simple constructions but a number of problems arise when attempts are made to extend the analysis to interrogative constructions with adjunct attachments.

3.0 LFG as an SQL

One of the main objectives underpinning a computational implementation of a grammar is that it be used in as natural a manner as possible for tasks such as database querying. The interface between the questioner and the database offers the opportunity for framing requests in natural language (or a restricted subset thereof) which are in turn translated into a Structured Query Language (SQL) command. For instance, a request such as,

> "Give me the home address of all students with surname Murphy"

generates the folowing SQL statement,

```
SELECT   type.add
   FROM  type.student
   WHERE type.surname = "MURPHY"
```

The example sentence is complex to analyse in the LFG framework and the full f-structure is not listed here. Instead the skeleton of the functional analysis is laid out. Firstly, the CFG rule **S → V NP** if it can be successfully applied is a good heuristic test for a verb-initial question (it could be argued that the above sentence is an imperative. However, from the recipient's perspective interrogative and imperative have the same force). Consequently the top level feature of the f-structure records that a question is in focus. The resulting form contains the following:

```
?-(SELECT    arg1
             FROM     arg2
             WHERE    arg3)
```

Earlier it was mentioned that the f-structure acts as the input to a semantic module, and from a computational perspective this entails mapping into an SQL of some sort. In what follows an explanation of how this is effected for a limited number of cases is given and a number of current difficulties listed.

Firstly, if the semantic interpretation of a sentence is to be almost entirely determined by the main verb and its argument list bindings then a number of ancillary constructions such as prepositional phrases and adjuncts are not bound to the list. As adjuncts often carry important locative or temporal information concerning the action of the main verb it is expected that this must be reflected in any semantic analysis of a construction in which they occur. Admittedly, the f-structure format of LFG while being very general and expressively powerful cannot of itself deal with adjunct attachment, (Kaplan & Bresnan 1982). Consequently, the semantic 'fulcrum'must be shifted from the f-structure to a level of representation giving a "cleaner" semantic structure. This structure is generated from the base f-structure's PRED form for the main verb with ancillary arguments listed as follows

Predicate	'verb'
arg1	x1
:	:
argn	xn
adj1	y1

Linguistically, such alterations may appear *ad hoc* but if a grammar is to be of use in an implementation precisely such adjustments must be made. In the scenario outlined here each argument to the predicate *after* the first one is a condition on the satisfaction of the first argument. This has a direct analogy with the SQL conditional forms of WHERE and FROM.

4.0 Conclusion

While in theory constructing a translation procedure taking an f-structure as input and generating an SQL command as output is possible, (Halvorsen 1983), the inability of f-structures to handle adjunct attachment in terms more formally desirable than those discussed above suggests that a number of *ad hoc* methods are unavoidable. Furthermore, with increasing syntactic complexity it may not be the case that the generated f-structures actually serve a useful mediation role between surface syntax and the SQL command. Our own research to date suggests that it is wasteful in all cases to generate f-structures forsome fairly predictable and limited range of interrogative forms encountered in the user interface. Instead the approach favoured is to generate a skeletal f-structure which acts as input to an SQL command generator. There are other interrrogatives however embracing wh-phenomena for which this approach has yet to be successfully extended. This remains the object of our current research.

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Review of Sean M. Devitt, Learning a Foreign Language Through the Media. Dublin, T.C.D., CLCS Occasional Paper No.18, Autumn 1986. 69pp. and Meriel Bloor and Thomas Bloor, Languages for Special Purposes: Practice and Theory. Dublin, T.C.D., CLCS Occasional Paper No.19, Autumn 1986. 34pp.

S. Devitt's aim, in the first of these papers, is to convince second language teachers that authentic materials can be used most effectively in the classroom even with students at the very beginning of the process of language learning. In the second paper, Bloor and Bloor write:

> "The tendency on most courses has been to use original or only slightly adjusted texts for listening and reading, even with students whose English is minimal and even, in some cases in our experience, with beginners" (p. 11).

Indeed the use of original source materials is now at the basis of most second language teaching and LSP course design. The theoretical approach though, is different in the two papers: S. Devitt looks at those theories of linguistic ouput in first and second language acquisition which give support to his argument for the use of authentic texts, whereas Bloor and Bloor challenge established theories of linguistic input (Krashen, 1985) and the Common Core Hypothesis which has been ignored by most LSP practitioners.

(A very useful diagram illustrating the LSP model shows how no speaker can have command of the common core independently of a variety).

Bloor and Bloor explain that practice in LSP teaching differs considerably from that proposed by teaching theorists who too rarely refer to the various approaches in LSP. They discuss several examples of ESP courses from the point of view of methodology. Not only are most ESP courses specific in the way they select contexts of language use but they also include a task- oriented approach. In such approaches students are involved in meaningful use of the target language and several pages in the paper focus on the importance for the learner of a certain command of the ways in which the grammar of a language works to perform specific functions in specific contexts. They give interesting examples of this and show that the development of language capacity in learners is closely related to their experience of language in specific use; that is, linguistic competence comes from language in use and language in use means language used in specific situations. To this, they attribute the success of LSP teaching.

Bloor and Bloor conclude their paper with a discussion of the relationship between language acquisition, learning and teaching and point to the fact that language teaching in most cases involves much more than providing the optimum circumstances for acquisition. Some aspects of language have to be taught, even to native speakers and the teacher of second languages is also responsible for those aspects of language use.

The role of the teacher is one aspect which is not discussed in S. Devitt's paper as he focusses mainly on the learner. According to this author and the theories he reviews, the learner possesses a vertical structure of conversation which is firmly in place before the development of a horizontal structure that is, the way in which words are strung together meaningfully. Furthermore, crucial to successful conversation is shared experience and shared knowledge of the world as well as linguistic knowledge. S. Devitt shows convincingly with the use of a Danish text how knowledge of the topic as well as knowledge of the structure of the discourse enables the reader to get the general sense of the text even with very little knowledge of the language. However the learner could not always be presented with texts relating to known topics and process materials are needed to help the reader. S. Devitt describes seven different types of activities, i.e. process materials (or exercises) designed to facilitate access to the texts (content materials). These activities are varied and focus on different points of language structure; activity No 5 introduces the radio broadcast to be listened to without transcript. It must be said at this point that it would have been useful to mention whether, these activities were tested in classroom situations, how much time approximately was involved and whether as claimed by the author, the beginner students were able to cope with the account of the story as given on the radio. Activities 6 and 7 are interesting because they go beyond the level of the sentence to the level of discourse, where the text is looked at as a whole. But, as mentionned before, the reader feels that the role of the teacher would be crucial for the beginner particularly. Surely the teacher is also a valuable resource in the language learning process!

The last part of the paper presents the now well known (at least to teachers in Ireland) Authentik project. Authentik presents many advantages, not least the regular supply to teachers of press cuttings of interest to young people and varied process materials of help to teachers. Authentic also affords a means of remaining in contact with the target language and culture for years to come, as well as a way of constantly improving one's level of command of a language rather than loosing a hard won competence. There is no doubt also that it must be satisfying and motivating for any learner from beginner to more advanced, to be able to have access to real items of a foreign language and culture rather than learning with contrived texts written by authors wishing to put across grammatical points or lexical items presented out of context. It is to be regretted, however that the Irish version of Authentik had to be discontinued last April because of lack of demand by Irish teachers.

While S. Devitt's paper will be of use to language teachers who will want to put into practice some of the activities described, the first paper is particularly thought provoking for applied linguists, whether one accepts or rejects the position of its authors, who argue that "applied linguistic theory in some respects lags behind ESP practice". However, as a non ESP practitioner the reader would have liked to see some mention of or reference to linguistic evaluation of some ESP courses which would convince us of their success, if, as the authors claim, we are to draw lessons from the practice and theory of LSP for general language teaching.

Finally I would find it useful if the CLCS papers included a table of contents.

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Review of Markku Filppula, *Some Aspects of Hiberno-English in a Functional Sentence Perspective*. Joensuu: University of Joensuu Publications in the Humanities, No. 7, 1986.

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Those who keep up with Hiberno-English research will be familiar with the work of Filppula, some of which has appeared previously in *Teanga* (Filppula 1981) and in the proceedings of the First Symposium on Hiberno-English, held in 1985 (see Filppula 1986). The current work, based on the author's doctoral dissertation presented in University College Dublin in 1986, is Filppula's most complete statement on the nature of the thematic structure of Hiberno-English varieties, particularly as they relate to other forms of English and to the Irish language. Since this work is the most detailed empirical study of Hiberno-English outside Ulster which has been published since Henry's very different studies of 1957 and 1958, presenting an original approach to problems of Hiberno-English syntax that have been noted generally by other authors but never treated systematically, it is unfortunate that it will probably receive only limited circulation in Ireland.

Filppula starts with a brief but informative historical introduction that traces both the history of Hiberno-English scholarship and the origins of English in Ireland generally. The second chapter deals with the concept of thematic structure, surveying both the Prague School's Functional Sentence Perspective and Halliday's concept of functional structure. Filppula's treatment of this material, as well as his treatment here of presupposition and entailment, stands on its own as a good introduction to key concepts which are often confused by problems of overlapping or unclear definitions, problems of translation, etc. This section concludes with an overview of thematic structures in Irish and English, in which it is argued that whereas English shows a variety of devices for performing what Filppula (p. 61) terms 'thematic movement ... operations' (e.g., 'tough movement,' *there* insertion, and the passive), focusing in Irish is restricted almost entirely to copular sentences. This distribution, according to Filppula, has the consequence that English has fewer restrictions on non-clefted thematicisations than Irish, while Irish has correspondingly fewer restrictions on the use of clefts than are found in varieties of English outside Ireland. Filppula illustrates this argument (pp. 61-68) with examples of grammatical and ungrammatical left-dislocation in Irish, the use of emphatic inflection, the extended use of cleftings with the copula, and the use of non-clefted classification sentences with the copula, illustrated by (1)-(5) respectively:

(1) Na buaichillí agus na cailíní a rabh an lá saoire acu,
bhí siadsan tuirseach ag siúl na sráideannaí ó mhaidin

?*(2) Na Sasanaí, thainig siad go hÉirinn sa mblian 1172

(3) Is fearr mo mhacsa ná a macsan

(4) Is ag déanamh a chuid ceachtannaí atá Tadhg
[cf. English **It's doing his lessons that Tim is*]

(5) Is cailín óg Máire
[cf. English **It's a young girl is Mary*].

The heart of Filppula's investigations lies in his work with 23 informants from various parts of Ireland, selected on fairly traditional grounds such as age, basic education, and a relative lack of social or geographical mobility. Three different areas were selected, representing a continuum of recency for vernacular Irish usage in the community: (i) the Caherdaniel area of Co. Kerry plus various localities around Liscannor Bay in Co. Clare, (ii) the localities of Killough, Calary, Downshill, Kilpedder, and Toneygarrow in Co. Wicklow, and (iii) inner-city Dublin. The informants, 21 of whom are male, are described in an appendix which also lists British English informants whom Filppula used to provide data for comparison with his Hiberno-English corpus. All the informants have English as their 'first or native language.' Speakers in the Clare/Kerry group showed varying degrees of proficiency in Irish, with informants having parents or grandparents who were native Irish speakers, while the other informants had little ability in the language. Filppula's basic corpus of approximately 90,000 words collected from informal interviews has been supplemented by recordings from the Department of Irish Folklore in UCD and from RTÉ radio. The provenance and style of this supplementary material, which brings the corpus to a total of roughly 154,000 words, is similar to that of Filppula's core recordings.

Space does not permit a detailed discussion of the various types of thematic operations discussed by Filppula; the general conclusion, however, is that Hiberno-English allows for a wider and qualitatively different range of constructions than British English. Thus a sentence like

(6) It was all thatched houses was here one time

from a Kerry informant was judged unacceptable by all of Filppula's British English informants. Similar results were obtained for examples such as

(7) It wasn't as many run off and [en]listed either [Wicklow]

and

(8) No, I wouldn't say it is any o' them has moved [Wicklow],

although sentences such as

(9) I wouldn't think there's any o' them has moved at all [Wicklow]

were generally accepted by the British English informants (pp. 162ff).

Even within Hiberno-English, however, there are divergent patterns of use. Filppula demonstrates that the overall pattern of variance from British English is strongest in Clare/Kerry, less strong in Wicklow, and weakest in Dublin. Though this differential distribution does not hold with equal strength for all the subtypes which Filppula discusses, it is sufficiently general to provide impetus for Filppula's claim that the root of the Hiberno-English pattern lies in the Irish language.

It is on this latter point that I would base my only substantive query of Filppula's work. Filppula's approach juxtaposes two facts which are not in dispute: (1) that significant differences exist across the various Irish areas under study and between Hiberno-English and at least some varieties of British English, and (2) that the differences within Hiberno-English correlate roughly with the recency of vernacular Irish usage in the community. The nature of the relationship between these two findings is what is still problematical. Bickerton (1977) has demonstrated both the crucial role of speaker interaction in governing word order choices within language contact situations and the limitations of substratum hypotheses. For Bickerton (1977, p. 64), the development of contact varieties 'must consist of internalizing rules for which there is no evidence in terms of linguistic outputs. If such rules are not induced from primary data, they must be derived directly from the human *faculté de langage*,' i.e., through the operation of linguistic universals. Though Filppula provides numerous examples of Irish constructions which parallel those of Hiberno-English and which he therefore takes to support the view (p. 164) that 'the existence of Irish parallels for most of the peculiarly HE [Hiberno-English] constructions makes it reasonable to conclude that substratum influence has taken place,' Filppula has not presented any alternative accounts of the data for consideration.

The works of Silverstein (1972), Bickerton (1977 and elsewhere), and others working in a broadly creolist framework strongly suggest that the search for the origins of today's Hiberno-English, in any given subdialect, may lead not only to structurally parallel sentences of English and Irish (which in themselves do not prove much), but to the process of interaction itself. The question of universal vs. monogenetic origin could probably not be disentangled without a more rule-oriented approach than the one Filppula has adopted. Dik's Functional Grammar (Dik 1978), for example, explicitly incorporates thematic operations of the type Filppula discusses into the grammatical system, thus enabling a clearer picture of the relationship between purely syntactic word order principles and those which rely on theme, salience, givenness, and other more pragmatic notions. Since the role of thematic operations is conceived of on a universal basis in Functional Grammar, the insights of this theory (and probably others) could provide a basis for exploring alternatives to the substratum hypothesis.

A rule-based approach could also provide an efficient way to examine factors such as the historical changes in British English word order restrictions which form a relevant antecedent to Filppula's data base. Such changes could be seen in a sociolinguistic light to account for differences in the rate of imposing word order restrictions in different parts of Ireland and Britain, the role of prescriptivism in shaping contemporary patterns, and similar questions. Criticism on these points is not meant to imply that Filppula should have written a book fundamentally different from the one he has produced, but rather that the theoretical side of the work is simply too complacent in accepting 'substratum' as an explanatory principle rather than seeing it as a metaphor for a cluster of complex grammatical phenomena.

This book, then, while not focused on theoretical arguments, is an important part of the basic core of published material on Hiberno-English. Even the substratum question, with its limitations, has been addressed with more thoroughness, originality, and good sense than some other recent treatments (e.g., Lass 1986). The scholarly mechanism is good, in that the data are well presented and documented, the bibliography is comprehensive, and the book itself is well produced. For the reader seriously interested in Hiberno-English or thematic structure, this book is well worth the trouble of obtaining it.

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Réamhrá

Tá 6 pháipéar a tugadh ag an siompóisiam a bhí againn i mí Mhárta, 1988 faoin teideal "Mother Tongue Education in Ireland" san eagrán seo de TEANGA. Tá an páipéar le Liam Mac Mathúna dar Teideal "Tilling Some Irish Lexical Fields" ar cuireadh leagan neamhcheartaithe de i gcló trí neamhaire i dTEANGA 8 ann chomh maith. Tá súil againn go mbeidh tarraingt ag ár léitheoirí ar an ábhar.

An tEagarthóir
Eanáir, 1989

Introduction

Six of the papers delivered at the symposium entitled "Mother Tongue Education in Ireland" held last March, appear in this edition of TEANGA. Also included is the paper by Liam Mac Mathúna entitled "Tilling Some Irish Lexical Fields" an uncorrected copy of which inadvertently appeared in TEANGA 8. We hope the contents of all the papers will appeal to our readers.

The Editor
January, 1989

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(Tilburg University/Nijmegen University)

Language Teaching in a Multilingual Context: Some Reflections on the Concept of Mother Tongue Education (1)

1 Paradoxes of language teaching in institutionalized contexts

1.1 Introduction

In February 1988 we participated in the 'Symposium Deutschdidaktik', a symposium on the methodology of German teaching, in Bielefeld (FRG). We were there on behalf of IMEN. IMEN stands for International Mother Tongue Education Network and mother tongue stands for (varieties of) Dutch, French, German, English etc., depending on the country in question (see section 2.2 for a detailed discussion). IMEN is a fairly small, informal group of people who work at universities in some ten European countries and who are engaged in research into mother tongue teaching and partly also in training programs for mother tongue teachers. IMEN organises one or two workshops per year, an international conference every three years, and it publishes the Mother Tongue Education Bulletin (in collaboration with AILA's Scientific Commission on Mother Tongue Education) and a series of books called Studies in Mother Tongue Education (2).

The Bielefeld Symposium allows us to illustrate on the basis of our personal experience one of the paradoxes which crop up if one thinks about language teaching based on concepts of mother tongue education. These paradoxes occur if one discusses, for example, such language teaching

1 in an international context,
2 in a national context, and
3 in a school - i.e. institutionalized - context.

We will discuss the three paradoxes in the following sections.

1.2 The 'Symposium Deutschdidaktik': different mother tongues

The English that is used by non-English participants in international conferences often sounds different from English-English. Sometimes this difference may even lead to difficulties in understanding the content of what people want to say. Individual listeners' reactions to this deviant language use are closely connected with personal histories and especially with their experiences in the field of language, language use and language teaching, and therefore they are not easy to predict. It seems to be no wild guess, however, that at least some people in an audience will think to themselves: 'Oh well, English isn't his mother tongue, so what can you expect?'. The situation at the Symposium Deutschdidaktik in Bielefeld, however, was a bit more complex than this general conference picture. The organisers of the symposium had expressly invited IMEN to make a contribution to one of the twelve Sections in the Symposium, namely that on Comparative Education in the field of Mother Tongue Education. At first there seemed to be considerable interest in that section: before the symposium, some forty out of 274 participants said that they were interested. But in the end, only nine German-speaking people took part in the IMEN section, four of whom were by the way directly connected with IMEN.

In spite of the fact that the organisers had consciously tried to internationalize the symposium and despite the fact that ten per cent of the participants were foreigners, the conclusion has to be that the internationalization had largely failed. According to the organisers, the decisive factor was that instead of German, English was the official language in the international section. Again according to the organisers, German scholars in the field of mother tongue education generally know so little English that they simply don't dare to participate in a section if English is the official language. The question remains of course to what extent these are attitudinal rather than proficiency problems.

It is very difficult to get a clear picture of all the factors which, especially from a German perspective, have contributed to the failure of this attempt at internationalization. Being non-English speakers ourselves, we know that fear of English can play an important role, that one has to resist the temptation to simply continue in ones's native language when presenting a paper, and that, especially in the discussion, one cannot always put into words exactly what one wants to say. But our experience has taught us that at least within IMEN, all these barriers can be overcome. On the one hand, because there is apparently a strong will to communicate about the same subject, mother tongue education, which leads to far-reaching linguistic tolerance. And on the other hand, because at least in our conception of 'mother tongue' one of the meanings of the mother tongue is so dominant that it could remove the tension between language as a means of communication and language proficiency in a norm-oriented activity, even in an international context. To put it differently: We dare to overcome our fear of English, because our concept of the mother tongue not only includes a telephone conversation which one has with, for example, relatives in a local dialect, but also a lecture in non-native English at an international conference. We suppose that a 'concept of the mother tongue' which allows this range of variation will sound extremely peculiar. And we will be the first to admit that such a concept is a product of utopian thinking which can hardly, if at all, survive the confrontation with social reality. The 'failure' of the Bielefeld meeting may serve to illustrate this point. Before restricting the utopia of this concept of 'mother tongue', let us first highlight three aspects of this utopia. Fundamentally important for this utopian concept are:

1 a symmetrically constructed will to communicate;

2 which can bear the test of time, that is to say, which continues to exist even if it is never entirely satisfied;

3 and which is truly based on the possibility to have a rational discussion about truth, rightness, and authenticity.

1.3 Paradoxes of language teaching

1.3.1 Introduction

Let us now give a few examples of the paradoxes which arise if elements of this utopia - which can often be found in some form or another in articles on language teaching - clash with social reality, especially with the social reality of our (language) teaching.

1 Symmetrically constructed communication is by definition not found in institutional contexts. It is after all characteristic of institutions such as 'state' and 'school' that for a mere survival they are structurally dependent on the exercise of power over their participants; mother tongue education as symmetrically constructed communication at school is therefore a paradox.

2 In our Western society and particularly in the economic sector of that society, time is usually counted in terms of money; so time is defined as a scarce item. Time should therefore be spent efficiently, also in education, and mother tongue education as a communicative education is therefore a paradox.

3 In social reality and particularly in the political and economic sectors of social reality, the promotion of interest plays a very important role. Social institutions including the educational system play a very important part in that promotion, especially in the promotion of vested interests. Promoters, even of 'non-vested' interests, have generally-speaking no need for rational discussion of their truth, rightness and authenticity; the better they manage to keep such issues out of discussion, the better their interests are served. Mother tongue education as rational discussion, especially at school, is therefore a paradox.

1.3.2 The paradox of mother tongue education for the 'fatherland'

It is obvious that the fear of English as the official language has played a very negative role in the Bielefeld attempt to internationalize the discussion on mother tongue education. But according to us, it is conceivable that another important reason was that although the Bielefeld symposium was about mother tongue education, that mother tongue was explicitly equated with German - witness the name of the symposium: Symposium Deutschdidaktik (German teaching methodology). Whoever has an international discussion on mother tongue education will undoubtedly be confronted with a concept of mother tongue education in which a specific meaning of the mother tongue is dominant, i.e., mother tongue as the language of the fatherland, an identifying symbol, shaping the nation state. And whenever that concept of 'mother tongue' takes up a central position in mother tongue education, an international discussion will not be very fruitful but rather threatening.

Language as a symbol of national identity does not go together with the principle of symmetrically structured communication, neither externally nor internally. Related to the outside world, to other states, this concept implies an emphasis on an unbridgeable communication gap between languages, languages which are supposed to be anchored in a unique historical culture which is shaped by an unimpeachable truth, rightness and authenticity. For the insiders, this concept requires the creation of an unbridgeable communication gap between the language varieties used within the geographically determined area of the nation state. Externally, that gap should be maintained; internally, it should be expelled by the establishment of a compulsory norm, admitting only one variant, with the result that other variants become socially stigmatised. Obviously this norm-variant largely coincides with the written language and the culture of the dominant social groups.

1.3.3 The paradox of mother tongue education for literacy

There would be no point in discussing this problem any further. We know that the mother tongue as the language of the fatherland is a topical and public issue in Ireland. At the same time, it is clear that in Ireland, too, mother tongue education is connected with what is called "the unique language needs of (...) students, their so-called 'scholastic' needs" (as it is put in the 1988 Curriculum and Examinations Board Discussion Paper Language in the Curriculum, p. 32). The precarious position of the mother tongue in the relationship between pupil, fatherland and school (which is also recognisable from a Dutch perspective) is formulated in the first recommendation in that same discussion paper: "Proficiency in the mother-tongue is a concern that extends beyond the confines of the English or Irish lesson, affecting as it does the total development of the child continuously through the school cycle" (op. cit. p. 36). If in this quote we replaced 'English' by 'standard Dutch' and 'Irish' by 'Frisian' or 'a regional or social dialect' or 'a non-indigenous ethnic minority language', it wouldn't be difficult to find a similar quote in a Dutch discussion paper on language education.

Inasfar as it is possible to form a judgement on the basis of the few publications on Ireland which we have read, an apparent difference between Ireland and the Netherlands (excluding Friesland) seems to us to be that in the Irish documents on mother tongue education, the relationship between pupil and school is formulated with an emphasis on the pupil's problems as a member of an indigenous language minority, while in the Dutch documents, an emphasis is on the problems of pupils who are members of a non-indigenous language minority and (less explicitly in recent times) members of a social minority group.

But the main concern seems to be (both in Ireland and in the Netherlands) to teach all pupils a differentiated 'scholastic literacy' under the heading of mother tongue education. The problem then is that 'scholastic literacy' by means of which pupils are supposed to acquire necessary knowledge, imposes similar restrictions on the acquisition of that knowledge, just as the standard language imposes restrictions on mother tongue development. It seems sensible therefore to dwell on the concept of 'literacy' and on the way in which (mother tongue) education makes that concept operational and usable.

As Stubbs (1980) puts it, "it is useful to remember that (...) literate is simply ambiguous in everyday English, as (...) is clear from usages such as: (1) to be fully literate, you have to know the

classics; (2) students are not literate these days: they can't spell".
Surprisingly, Stubbs does not explain why he considers this ambiguity to be limited to everyday English: according to our observations the dominant definition of literacy contains the full potential meaning of and between the two statements. The former, representing the one pole on the continuum, refers to "wideness of education" (op. cit., 14), originally the indigenous prerogative of the aristocracy. The latter, being the other pole, refers to the ability to read and write at least on a "mechanical" level, which in the nineteenth century, with the start of popular education and the introduction of compulsory education witn the minimum requirement of literacy for all, was a powerful means to moral regulation of the masses (cf. Grace 1978). Wondering whether this, by and large, holds true in our times, one should, for instance, note Anyon (1980), especially concerning her observations on language arts pedagogy, which inescapably lead to the conclusion that "in each of the classrooms (...) students are learning class specific behaviour for both understanding and adapting to the world of work and the larger society. Students appear to be developing a potential relationship to different forms of work, including domestic labor and in doing so they are acquiring a specific form of symbolic capital" (cited in Fitzclarence & Giroux 1984, 471).

By this very epitome on power and social control (cf. Young 1971) and their covert relationships with literacy and schooling in general, we do of course not mean to suggest that nothing has changed in the past 150 years. As a matter of fact the aristocracy lost its dominant societal position a long time ago and its definition of the hierarchy of legitimate knowledge (at the top of which knowledge of the classics was situated) was partly replaced by a technocratic definition, although Stubbs' observation makes it clear that it has not disappeared completely. What really is at stake here, is an illustration of the position that regards schools (being the definite mediators of literacy) as "sites in which contradictory cultures and social relations are subordinated to the imperatives of a dominant culture, one that functions as the mediating link between dominant class interests and everyday life" (Fitzclarence & Giroux 1984, 467). Unfortunately we do not have the opportunity here either to explore this position - clearly developed by the so-called new sociology of education (cf. Young 1971) - in any great detail or to illustrate much more concretely "the way in which schools legitimate dominant forms of culture through hierarchically arranged bodies of knowledge that make up the curriculum, as well as the way in which certain forms of linguistic capital and individual rather than collective appropriation of knowledge get rewarded" (Fitzclarence & Giroux 1984, 467).

From this position we just want to emphasize the inescapable internal contradiction that is implied in the current claim to educate for literacy by teaching the mother tongue (of all pupils) especially in multilingual and multicultural contexts. For, acknowledging the assumed intimate relationship between mother tongues and cultural identities, that claim confronts especially the language teacher with the dilemma of either legitimating or resisting dominant forms of ideology and culture. If language teachers are going to take seriously the need to develop workable alternatives in order to implement that claim, they have to recognize the struggle in which they will get involved over defining what counts as legitimate language and knowledge forms, over what constitutes the distinction between normality and deviance, and over the struggle as to what counts as acceptable social practice. Furthermore they will have "to investigate historically the nature of the teaching field itself and how it has evolved under conditions through which racial, gendered and class-specific practices have become part and parcel of the teaching profession" (Fitzclarence & Giroux 1984, 475 - 476).

As a matter of fact a language teacher definitely cannot count on the policy-makers' official support, as it is ultimately their interest to sustain the dominant culture, which by definition is deeply rooted in the administrative structure. Therefore teaching literacy through teaching the mother tongue implies (at least in our opinion, which agrees with the broader plea for a transformative critical pedagogy) first of all developing forms of knowledge and classroom social practices that *work with* the language experiences that students bring to school. This demands taking seriously the language forms, styles of presentation, dispositions, forms of reasoning and cultural forms that give meaning to student experiences. Secondly, this nevertheless also implies the need to work on the language experiences that students bring to the school, in the sense that it becomes clear what students need to learn outside of their experiences, so they can break the chains of domination and subordination as they work on their own personalities, as well as on the objective forces that bear down on them daily (cf. Fitzclarence & Giroux 1984).

In our opinion a very important piece of evidence in this respect is Shirly Brice Heath's (1983) rather provocative research report on language, life and work in communities and classrooms, entitled Ways with words (cf. also Brandt 1985). Although she worked along with students and teachers to find ways to make the gulf between the children's families and the school the object of conscious attention and study, aiming at and devising educational approaches that allow students to act in a literate way by integrating the ways of community and school, Heath's conclusions are not very encouraging. Literally Heath (1983, 368) writes: "But structural and institutional changes in the schools and patterns of control from external sources, such as federal and state governments, have forced many of the teachers described here to choose either to leave the classroom or to revert to transmitting only mainstream language and culture patterns." Heath's experiences reflect that dominant definitions of literacy are very hard to kill, despite the best educational intentions. Therefore it seems to be appropriate to look askance at official proposals to strive for litercacy by teaching the mother tongue. It seems to be more realistic and at least much fairer with respect to linguistic and cultural minority groups, to consider every proposal and attempt to rethink the definition of litercay, related to the practice of mother tongue teaching and schooling in general, as a covert endeavour to counteract an attack on vested interests as experienced by dominant groups, unless the attempt is clearly based on the claim (in Heath's words) "that a radical restructuring of society or the system of education is needed for (that) kind of cultural bridging (...) to be large scale and continuous" (op. cit., 369). Equally, the growing awareness of the multicultural character of Western society, as for instance proclaimed by the Dutch government, seems to be best interpreted merely as a neat administrative reaction, allowing some individuals from minority groups to ensconce themselves in the existing power structure. As a result the often highly esteemed cultural and linguistic identity of such groups is doomed to disappear or to deteriorate to pure folklore.

1.4 Conclusion

Against this background, roughly defining schooling as an activity which is oriented to the protection of vested societal interests, though leaving marginal scope for alternative interpretations and practices, especially in a multilingual and multicultural perspective, we are inclined to evaluate the possibilities of mother tongue education in a somewhat ambiguous way. This ambiguity is reflected in our preliminary conclusions.

1. Concerning literacy as an aim of language teaching there are, from a historical point of view, at least two discernible dominant definitions - forming as a matter of fact the extremes of a continuum - which both treat the written word as a force to integrate youngsters into a specific societal group, and to segregate groups from each other. At the one end of the continuum one finds the most highly valued definition of literacy which has to do with breadth of education, among other things operationalized as knowledge of the ancient and/or national classics, reflecting an aristocratic definition, as readjusted by the rising bourgeoisie during the nineteenth century, in order to fit in with their meritocratic culture. At the other extreme of the continuum is a definition of literacy which has to do with moral regulation of the masses, mainly operationalized as mechanical reading and writing skills in standard language.
2 Being not indigenously and potentially literate in the dominant sense, speakers of indigenous and non-indigenous minority languages or dialects are supposed to shed the idiosyncrasies of their languages and the cultural practices of their social or ethnic group, to cross over to the dominant ways of literacy, as defined in and fostered by written standard language.

3 Teaching the mother tongue must be interpreted:

- either as a mere blind, promoting the flexibility of the process of societal integration in order to maintain vested interests, along which failures of reading and writing are not in the end considered failures of technology, but failures of group membership,
- or as an incentive to reconsider fundamentally the nature of mother tongue education, leading in the end to a radical restructuring of the educational system.

2 Trying to define 'mother tongue' and 'mother tongue education'

2.1 Introduction

We hope to have made clear in our introduction, that it would be worthwhile to investigate extensively the historical and current meanings of the notion of 'mother tongue' in relation to the history of institutionalized language teaching, be it in multilingual contexts or not. It would probably turn out that this notion can be described and analysed from a number of different angles and that it has indeed been given a number of different meanings. Similarly it would probably turn out that these meanings are intricately intertwined, even though it would not be too difficult to indicate in specific cases one dominant meaning, with the other meanings remaining implicit. The same seems to be true for 'mother tongue education'. In this case too different perspectives are possible and actually used. As far as we can see systematic and extensive research into the conceptual basis of 'mother tongue' and 'mother tongue education' has not yet been carried out. The sections to follow contain a first attempt (cf. also Gagné et al. 1987).

2.2 On the concept 'mother tongue'

In the following we will analytically distinguish between three views of 'mother tongue'. We will refer to these as a primary-socializational, a politico-cultural and an educational concept of the mother tongue. We are aware that in doing so, we exclude from the discussion a historical or structural linguistic meaning of 'mother tongue' as "an original language from which others spring" (Oxford English Dictionary, p.659), and perhaps still other meanings. In the socializational concept of mother tongue (MT1), a major part is played by primary language acquisition, which runs parallel to primary socialization. The concept refers to language "teaching" by parents and/or other direct attendants, traditionally often the mother, without any participation of school or other institutions. It almost goes without saying that in many, if not most, cases MT1 different from the official, national or standard language of a country or language area. In fact MT1 is the only real mother tongue in the literal sense of the word.

The second concept of mother tongue to be discussed here is the politico-cultural one. This concept (MT2) is closely related to national or regional identity formation or to state formation. The awareness of a common 'mother tongue' plays an important role in the endeavour to establish and continue the awareness of a common fatherland, national or fedral state. A fatherland needs a mother tongue and education has to supply it, especially by teaching a so-called 'standard language', sometimes also referred to as 'cultivated language'. Very instructive examples of the extremely important role that the concept of mother tongue has played can be found in the history of the formation of national states in Western Europe, particularly the formation of the German states in the nineteenth centurary (cf. Edwards 1985).

In the politico-cultural meaning of 'mother tongue' the integrating and separating functions of language and of language use at a nation-wide level are very much in the foreground. On the one hand, a supra-personal, 'integrating' language, i.e. a 'refined' mother tongue, has to be found, which is often looked for in a literary tradition, handed down orally or in writing by an elite, from which a norm is derived. Deviations from that norm are discarded as insignificant or banned, mainly through (language) education. On the other hand, nationally and culturally determined variations in languages have to be strongly emphasized in order to profile sharply the national, cultural political identity and loyalty of a national group of language users as opposed to other nations. However, it will be clear that this struggle for politico-cultural identity through the social construction of a mother tongue takes place at all possible levels: continental, national and regional. As a result, the conflict between national integration by means of teaching a standard language and regional separation by supporting a regional variety can cause considerable friction. Therefore, the promotion of a mother tongue to a national language has to be defended externally against other national languages, and internally against tendencies towards regionalism by propagating or even enforcing a dominant language as the standard language. Both the integrating and the separating function of a mother tongue are particularly well illustrated by the case of Dutch in Flanders, the Dutch speaking part of Belgium. In a process of national and social emancipation in the nineteenth and twentieth century a variant of Dutch developed as the standard language and as such contributed to a Flemish identity, different both from French and Netherlands Dutch: at the same time it played a unifying role withing Flanders (cf. Jasparet 1986).

In the educational concept of mother tongue (MT3) finally, the accent is mainly on the intertwining of knowledge of the 'real' world (in terms of its social construction) and language and language use: language is the symbolic representation of that knowledge. The extent to which the nature of the knowledge (as represented in language) that someone has acquired during his/her socialization deviates from the nature of the academic knowledge that he/she is supposed to acquire, appears to influence the learning process in formal education: the smaller the differences, the more easily the academic learning process appears to progress and vice versa. Differences in knowledge are often operationalized by means of differences in language use between different regional or social groups. As the external democratization continues, especially in secondary education (i.e. as more and more children from various, completely different social and regional groups are supposed to acquire the same, ever more specialized knowledge), the number of learning problems seems to increase. As a result, for more and more children there will be a gap between their 'mother tongue' (as a socializational concept) and the language in which they are supposed to acquire this knowledge: the school language. Education necessarily fails in its purpose to produce a prescribed level of achievement in all pupils. Nevertheless, most industrialized countries appear to be greatly in need of skilled workers, or at least have been since the 1950s. That is why that gap has to be bridged in education.

The educational concept of mother tongue education at the same time implies a certain attitude towards the question whether every pupil should have the right to at least start, and to continue as long as possible, the learning process in school in his/her mother tongue or home language, even if that may lead to a partial redefinition of school knowledge and of the school as an institution. The problem here mainly consists in the linguistic distance between the languages and language varieties in use and especially the variety used as a school language. In general the linguistic distance between what is called a standard language (the politico-cultural concept) and its regional or social varieties (the socializational concept) is felt to be much smaller than that between a national language in use including its varieties and non-indigenous ethnic minority languages (community languages; ancestral languages). This question of ethnic minority languages in relation to education has made itself felt quite clearly in Western societies during the last few decades. As a consequence, a growing number of political measures relating to language and education are proposed, that guarantee pupils of ethnic minority groups the possibility of getting classes in their mother tongue or at least of using their own mother tongue to acquire school knowledge. It should be noticed however that 'mother tongue' here in some cases refers to the socializational concept (making use of the home language in teaching and learning) and in others to the politico-cultural concept (ethnic minority standard language teaching as a subject).

It should be pointed out again that the analytical difference in meaning between the three concepts of mother tongue discussed so far probably does not accord with the use of 'mother tongue' taken for granted in ordinary speech. It is likely that the everyday concept of mother tongue, in principle, contains all three and even more aspects of meaning at the same time. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility of one being considered as dominant in specific cases.

2.3 On the concept 'mother tongue education'

Given the preceding analysis, it will be obvious that the phrase 'mother tongue education' causes a serious terminological problem, at least conceptually and in relation to different philosophies of education. What are the possible meanings of 'mother tongue education'? We will try to answer this question by using the analytical notions of 'mother tongue' developed earlier, which have led to a socializational (MTE1), a politico-cultural (MTE2) and an educational (MTE3) concept of mother tongue education.

According to the meaning of MT1, the socializational concept, mother tongue education would be the teaching of and learning through language at school, aiming at the development and elaboration of the language that the pupil has already acquired and learned as his/her native or first language during his/her infancy, his/her primary socialization. As a matter of fact, this ideal-typical definition of mother tongue education is far from being the existing practice either in regular mother tongue/standard language teaching, or in so-called bilingual education, or in ethnic minority language and culture teaching as a school subject for immigrant children.

All over the world, a closer look at what is actually going on in classrooms where so-called mother tongue education is in progress shows that, at least from the pupil's perspective, this heading covers a wide variety of possibilities. Most countries in the world can be characterized as multilingual in one way or another (cf. Hudson 1980). In most cases, however, there is only one language allowed for learning and teaching in mother tongue education in schools, namely the dominant or national standard language of the country or language area in question. Needless to say many children in many countries do not have this particular language as their native language, and are not therefore really taught in their mother tongue (MT1) and such children do not receive mother tongue education when attending so-called mother tongue education classes. An example can illustrate this point a little further.

Despite its size, the Netherlands has a great deal of language variation, which makes the use and meaning of mother tongue education in relation to the MT1 concept, when actually referring to teaching practice, very confusing (for multilingualism in the Netherlands cf. Extra & Vallen 1988 and Kroon & Sturm 1988). According to the meaning of MTE1, mother tongue teaching would mean that dialect speakers all over the Netherlands would be taught and allowed to learn in their own regional or social dialect. For children from the province of Friesland (in the North of the Netherlands), mother tongue education would have to be offered either in the standard Frisian language (the only indigenous language variety with language status), or in standard Dutch, or in a Dutch or a Frisian dialect. To complicate things even further, for Moroccan immigrant children in the Netherlands, MTE1 would mean education in Berber or Moroccan Arabic, depending on what they speak as a home language, and so on. Only for children who have standard Dutch as their first language, can mother tongue education in Dutch schools really be MTE1. Even in so-called bilingual education and in ethnic minority language teaching, MTE1 seems to be the exception, the rule being education in mother tongues in the politico-cultural sense, i.e. in standard languages.

Similar examples could be listed for many countries. They are to be found not only in the Old World, but also in the New World and especially in the developing countries in the so-called Third World, where the issue of mother tongue education has its particular characteristics and difficulites, which in most cases stem from their colonial past (cf. Pattanayak 1986). Such examples should at least make it clear that using the phrase 'mother tongue education' in countries or language areas where, in addition to a standard language, various indigenous and non-indigenous minority languages and dialects are spoken by the inhabitants, is not at all as unproblematic as it would appear. As long as mother tongue education appears to be mainly or almost exclusively concerned with the politico-cultural concept of mother tongue, i.e. with the dominant standard language of the country or language area under consideration (in some cases the country of origin), and no attention is paid to the 'native' mother tongues of the pupils involved, it would in fact be better to speak of standard language education. Even if, as in the case for example in the Netherlands, there are legal possibilities within schools for ethnic minority language teaching and indigenous minority language (Frisian) teaching as a subject, it will often turn out that in practice it is not MTE1 that is taught. Practice shows that what we have here too is in most cases MTE2 in some form or other. The fact, to give an example from the UK, that Urdu is taught as a community language in secondary education to children with a Pakistani background does not mean that it is their mother tongue. Although Urdu is the national language of Pakistan, it has in many Pakistani families Panjabi as its home language complement. Teaching Urdu to Panjabi speaking children in England therefore is in fact simply another form of MTE2 - just like English. Apart from (ethnic) minority language teaching as a subject, there seems to be an interest, especially in primary education, in allowing children to use their mother tongue in the teaching learning situation. And (at least in the Netherlands) there are also legal possibilities to use Dutch dialects and indigenous and non-indigenous minority languages and varieties as a language of instruction in order to facilitate the learning process. In these cases too it has to be carefully checked wether MT1 or MT2 is used.

In the Dutch example given above, it was said that only for children in Dutch classrooms who speak standrad Dutch as their mother tongue, would the lessons that are scheduled as mother tongue education (Dutch) really be mother tongue education. This statement in fact is only half of the truth, because it does not take into consideration the implications of the educational concept of 'mother tongue' given before. Also for Dutch speaking children, the language of education is a specific variety that does not totally coincide with their mother tongue, because of its specific subject and instruction-oriented characteristics and because of its strong emphasis on the written language. The language of education is a technical language that uses its own 'lingo' with respect to the subject that is taught and with respect to the way in which it is taught. Mother tongue education therefore is not limited to the subject of language. This insight leads to a 'languge across the curriculum' approach. This in fact is an MTE3 interpretation of mother tongue education, meaning that not only language teachers, but also for example history teachers are involved in mother tongue education.

2.4 Conclusions

Combining our findings from sections 1 and 2 we reach the following conclusions:

1 Unless there are radical changes in our Western society and hence in our educational systems, education offers but few, if any, possibilities for collective social mobility with the preservation of the cultural identity. Characteristic of the current educational system is the use of monopolies on valid knowledge and (linguistic) skills, whose rightness and authenticity are hardly, if at all, justified or indeed justifiable on rational grounds.

2 The use of monopolies manifests itself in arbitrarily selected norms on the basis of which individual pupils are evaluated. On the one hand, this norm makes it clear to most pupils that they cannot and will not live up to this norm, which comes down to a legitimation of their future social positions. And on the other hand, it means that some pupils will obviously live up to the norm, while others will have to adapt themselves and work hard. Both monopoly and norm help to preserve and reproduce the status quo, although they do allow some degree of individual social mobility.

3 Monopolies and norms can be used in (mother tongue) education since teachers have internalised them (because of their socialisation and more in particular their professional socialisation) and since they have become part of the teachers' routines. The organisation of education is such that the educational practice has largely developed into routines. Routines are impervious to change and hardly accessible for reflection.

4 The use of the phrase 'mother tongue education', when actually referring to the teaching of a standard language, should be avoided. Such a phrase is misleading and, as a matter of fact, incorrect, because the standard language frequently is

not the mother tongue of the pupils who are attending school. 'Mother tongue teaching' then appears to be just a euphemism for teaching a national language in its standardised form. And this conceals and at the same time enfeebles the pursuit of alternatives to mother tongue education. Granting mother tongue teaching facilities to minority groups (i.e. ethnic minority language teaching) must ultimately be considered as a means of fostering integration of these groups into the dominant structures in society. Minority groups of whatever kind have little to expect from education if they aim to solve their collective problems of discrimination.

5. It is a matter of course that monopolies and norms are hardly susceptible to change. On the basis of the conceptual analysis of mother tongue and mother tongue education which was presented earlier on, it is possible to ask critical questions about the existing practice. Teachers who work in that practice have little opportunity to do so. So in that respect, research into mother tongue education could render those teachers a service by:

a) registering and analysing their practice;

b) offering them comparative knowledge which has been gained from historical and comparative research;

c) offering joint interpretations of the practice of these teachers.

3 Research in Mother Tongue Education

3.1 Introduction

From the foregoing it may have become clear that we consider it difficult to discuss mother tongue education in a systematic and scientific way. Not only is there as yet little conceptual clarity, there are moreover no clear criteria available for making choices, choices in the field of aims and activities for instance. This lack of conceptual clarity and choice criteria poses problems in curriculum development, teacher training programmes and especially in the daily teaching practice. But this lack also poses problems for research into mother tongue education. After all, educational research often pretends to yield relevant results for the teaching practice. But educational research too is affected by the crisis which pertains to all the social sciences, namely that the relevance of their results is contested time and again.

In the following sections we want to deal with two research projects in the field of mother tongue education in which we are engaged. First of all we will illustrate the kind of research that is being carried out by the Nijmegen Research Group on Mother Tongue Education. The Nijmegen Group is mainly concerned with historical and schoolethnographic studies on the subject content of Dutch as a mother tongue.
The second research project that we will comment on is the work of the International Mother Tongue Education Network. The IMEN, as was said before, is a network of researchers at a number of European universities who are conducting empirical interpretative research in the field of the subject content of the mother tongue and/or standard language curriculum. The research perspective of the IMEN group is basically a comparative one. Its ultimate aim is to internationalize research and discussions on mother tongue education in order to make nationally and/or culturally determined definitions of mother tongue education accessible for international comparison, reflection and innovation.

3.2 The Nijmegen Research Group on Mother Tongue Education

3.2.1 Introduction

In the Nijmegen research project we have reached the conclusion (as others have done before) that there is primarily a need for empirically-based, descriptive knowledge of mother tongue education. And so we are looking for answers to the following questions:

1 What can be observed in mother tongue education classes?
2 How are those observations interpreted by all the people involved, i.e. teachers, pupils and researchers?
3 How do these observations relate to reality?

These questions may at first sound pretty simple, but actually the contrary is true. It is impossible to give a full survey here of all the ins and outs of this kind of empirical-interpretative research. For its epistemology it draws heavily on the so-called symbolical interactionism as it has been developed in anthropology. That same orientation can be recognised in its choice of research methodology, which is taken from ethnographic research and in which participant observation, ethnographic interviews and the content analysis of documents take up a central position. In the following we take just one example from the Nijmegen research. It comes form a case study on writing instruction (cf. Kroon & Sturm 1987).

3.2.2 A case study in writing instruction

At a school for primary education in the Netherlands (6 to 12 year olds), we interviewed and observed a 'good' teacher working wholeheartedly together with curriculum developers on a project on mother tongue education. This project, established by the National Institute for Curriculum Development, aims at an innovation of subject content in mother tongue education in ordinary classroom practice. One could say, in rather abstract terms that the project focuses on integrating language arts skills across the whole curriculum. The emphasis is on the functional aspects of language teaching and learning. On the one hand, fostering effective communicative behaviour in everyday life (defined as an important aspect of social competency) is aimed at. On the other hand, developing language proficiency is considered a means to facilitate the total learning process at school. The intentions of the project members, including the participating teachers are in one way or another, obviously related to a child centred ethos, to recently developed theories on language, language in use and communication in general, and to a more or less progressive pedagogical and social ideology.

The teacher appeared competent as regards formulating his innovative intentions and the related adequate 'theories', especially in the field of mother tongue teaching in general, and their implications for practice. In his case we were searching for the characteristics of writing instruction, writing assignments, writing guidance and the assessment of children's written work in the context of the curriculum project he was participating in. In the first, non-directed interview the teacher seemed to maintain an almost deadly silence on these topics, although he was well informed about the focus of our research. Therefore, we felt compelled to examine rather directly and in detail his rational and actual purpose for developing writing abilities in children. Urged by our questions in the more structured interviews which followed, he revealed notions like 'the writer's sense of audience' and 'the pupils' intentions as writers'. He emphasized the importance of the context of work in the classroom and the broader one of the out-of-school life as shared with the teacher and classmates, the necessity of attractively displaying children's writing, and so on. At the same time he alluded to apparent problems in putting these 'theoretical' notions into practice.

In our research we audiotaped a series of the teacher's writing lesons. We transcribed these lessons and discussed the transcripts with the teacher. From the transcripts and the discussions it became fairly clear that in his teaching of writing, especially considering his writing guidance in more or less informal contexts, but also in his writing instruction, his attention, albeit more concealed, was primarily directed to surface criteria for traditionally acceptable composing: length (equally a massive problem for the pupils, as their verbal interaction showed), presentation, paragraphs, spelling and punctuation. Even if, in the course of classroom action, it appeared unavoidable to approach more or less deep criteria - in his accounting system labelled as communicative aspects of writing - he obviously found it very difficult to say anything likely to be of value to his pupils. (Here it should be acknowledged that we did not find any operational indication as to how to care for feedback in a communicative approach in the documents we analyzed.) As far as deeper criteria seemed to be at work in his writing lessons, they seemed most probably derived from his own experience as a pupil. As evidenced in our reconstruction of his life history, unlike his present ideas of teaching writing formulated within a communicative conception, his experiences in learning to write were related to an established practice of Dutch teaching, likely based on a 'liberal arts' conception. Within that conception learning to write globally means observing classical-rhetorical prescripts, diluted in the course of time, and reproducing vague, rhetorical examples, as such beyond recognition for an average teacher and/or pupil. To make a long story short, in our case study we were confronted with a gap between the rhetoric of teaching writing as reflected in the teacher's interviews and the 'reality' of teaching and learning to write, as documented in our classroom observations.

In our opinion, that gap has to be interpreted in terms of conflicting subject paradigms. Such a paradigm of mother tongue teaching refers to a view of subject matter content, in terms of topics, activities and legitimations (cf. Reid 1984), which is shared by both (educational) experts (such as linguists, literati, educationalists) and practitioners, banding together in a loosely organized educational community. As members of the same paradigmatic community they share common values, assumptions, goals, norms, language beliefs and ways of perceiving and understanding the educational process, i.e. the process of mother tongue education. According to the proposal of Tuthill & Ashton (1983, 9) the term "educational paradigm" refers "to a paradigmatic view of the world that is shared by both educational scientists and practitioners", whereas the related term "educational community" refers "to those educational scientists, teacher educators and classroom teachers who share a common paradigmatic view of the educational process". As Ball & Lacey (1980) have shown in their research on mother tongue education, one can distinguish several paradigms of mother tongue education historically, one of them being more or less dominant in a given period and/or in a given (sub)culture, the others being at best an alternative or, at worst, nearly invisible. Furthermore, Ball & Lacey (1980) defined a school, and more specifically, the English Department, as an arena where among teachers several paradigms of mother tongue education are negotiated mainly around two fundamental questions: What ought to be done in mother tongue education? and What can be done in mother tongue education, given the actual circumstances?

Taking the notion of conflicting paradigms as a starting-point, we interpret a gap between a teacher's accounting system and his substantive practice as a gap between two competing paradigms. For instance, in our case study, the innovative paradigm as proclaimed and supported by the curriculum project is primarily a source for answering the 'ought'-question, and, perhaps, for changing the answer to the 'can'-question. While the paradigm internalized by the teacher during his secondary and professional socialization governs his classroom practice, albeit on a rather unconscious level.

In order to elaborate this tentatively developed interpretative framework and at the same time to determine its potential for understanding the complexities of teaching the mother tongue, it will be clear that ethnographic research of schooling has to be complemtented by historical research (cf. Goodson & Ball 1984; Ball & Goodson 1984; Smith 1984). On the other hand, comparative research can reveal the specificity of culturally bound perspectives on mother tongue teaching (cf. Herrlitz & Peterse 1984). So, by means of detailed analysis of the history of mother tongue teaching within and across several (national) and (sub)cultural areas, materials can be collected which may provide an answer to the rather interesting question: What paradigms of mother tongue education are to be reconstructed so as to account for the very complicated situation in mother tongue education. As Barnes et al. (1984, 380) conclude in their last chapter of Versions of English: "Empirical reality in education is chary of lending itself to simplification: the teaching we saw varied in complex ways which could not all be accounted for. Although in schools we were able to locate five tendencies which we called 'versions', few teachers could be allocated unambiguously to one or another without misrepresentation".

We are fully aware that this rather short description of an extensive case study and its interpretation would hardly contribute at this moment to develop a deep understanding of the intricacies of mother tongue education as sketched in sections 1 and 2 of our paper. At the same time we are aware that our type of research does not allow for far-reaching conclusions: developing an interpretative framework is not the same thing as shaping a shared understanding of the intricacies of teaching a mother tongue in practice, nor is it the same thing as bridging the gap between rhetoric and practice. As a matter of fact, ethnographic research on schooling, be it historical and/or comparative in character, cannot meet a need for nomothetic knowledge and related 'if-then' -advice. It aims at communicative understanding as a basis for communicative action. In our Dutch research on innovative curriculum development in mother tongue teaching, the notion of historically defined competing subject paradigms, which are active within and across teachers, developers and researchers, appears to afford understanding of what is happening in classrooms. At least, that seems to be a possibility to, jointly coming to grips with classroom reality, as perceived by the participants.

We are therefore inclined to conclude that it is worth a try to generate by research a body of descriptive knowledge on mother tongue education. With our present knowledge that is at least one way to understand what is happening in mother tongue education.

3.3 The IMEN Research Program

3.3.1 Introduction

If one looks at mother tongue education from an international perspective, one is likely to discover that the debate on research and curriculum development in this field only marginally crosses the boundaries of language areas or cultural communities, often national states. The development of general and therefore international theories and concepts, which is common in other scientific fields, has scarcely started in the field of mother tongue education. As a result, attempts to initiate an international discussion on mother tongue education have generally met with relatively little success. This seems to be at least partly due to the fact that, although on the surface much in the field of mother tongue education seems similar if not identical, below this surface, the meaning and function of apparently general concepts are to a large extent culture-specific and may differ considerably from country to country - sometimes even without the participants in the discussion being aware of it. This state of affairs is of course bound to hamper a fruitful exchange of views considerably (cf. Kroon & Sturm 1987).

This situation may be illustrated by means of the example of grammar teaching. Traditional grammar, modelled on the classical tradition, plays an important role in mother tongue teaching in Europe. Almost as universal as its existence is the criticism of the role of traditional grammar in mother tongue education. In spite of these similarities, however, an international comparative discussion on traditional grammar teaching and its criticism runs into terminological and conceptual difficulties. In the Federal Republic of Germany for example, the innovative concept "Reflexion über Sprache" (Reflection on Language Study) has a place within the framework of "Grammatikunterricht" (Grammar Teaching) and is basically an attempt to broaden the concept of grammar teaching and to dissociate it from its classical models. In The Netherlands, on the other hand, the term "Grammatica" (Grammar) in recent discussions almost invariably refers to traditional grammar or syntax, and is associated with such activities as parsing. In the Dutch context, therefore, the equivalent (more or less) of "Reflexion über Sprache", "Taalbeschouwing", could hardly be regarded as one element of the larger subject of grammar teaching, as it is in the Federal Republic of Germany (cf. Herrlitz 1984).

Parallels between concepts in mother tongue education, such as "grammatica", "grammar", "Grammatik" and so on, which, notwithstanding their similarity, mean different things in different countries, suggest a degree of homogeneity which in reality does not exist in mother tongue education, whether we look at its contents, its pedagogical traditions, the sciences it draws upon, or the circumstances under which it takes place. This seeming homogenity, in fact conceals the basic problems involved in an international discussion on mother tongue education. In general, mother tongue education is to a large extent culture-specific and embedded in the values and traditions of the national culture. Therefore an international discussion must go hand in hand with an intimate knowledge of the nature of the interconnection between culture and mother tongue education in each country involved (cf. Herrlitz & Peterse 1984).

Against this background the general aim of the IMEN research program can be characterized as trying to provide a meaningful insight into theory and practice of mother tongue/standard language teaching in the country of interest and its interrelationship with cultural context and heritage-insights that are also accessible for experts from outside. Such insights into characteristic meaning structures of mother tongue education of a specific culture can serve - so we hope - as a reliable foundation of a general theory of mother tongue/standard language teaching that exceeds the limits of a specific national tradition and therefore allows also a more distant view on mother tongue education of the own culture, its characteristics and limitations, it' incoherencies and ideological implications (cf. Herrlitz 1987).

Within this general aim the IMEN research program concentrates on the subject content of mother tongue/standard language teaching. This predominance of subject content is based on the fact that in our view one of the major characteristics of socialization in schools is the division into well defined subjects. Because this central influence of subject content is hardly discussed, and is not at all put in an intercultural perspective, it is placed in the core of the IMEN research program.

In order to reach its aims the IMEN research program mainly consists of three phases, known as the Rhetorics Project, the Portraits Project and the Case Study Project.

3.3.2 The Rhetoics Project

In the first phase of our research program, we concentrated on a systematic comparative description and analysis of recent developments in the theory and rhetoric of mother tongue education, mainly on the basis of documents such as textbooks, handbooks for teacher training, curriculum documents, et cetera. The IMEN correspondents from the countries involved were asked to describe the state of the art in mother tongue education in their country over the past ten years or so in terms of current or dominant paradigms and competing, innovative paradigms. Researchers from nine European countries (Italy, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, Turkey, The Netherlands, Denmark, England and Flanders, the Dutch speaking part of Belgium) participated in this comparative enterprise. They all gathered in an international conference in Veldhoven, The Netherlands, in 1983, in order to present and discuss their research reports. These reports were organized following four major questions that were at the heart of a carefully developed guideline:

1. Which was the dominant paradigm of mother tongue education in your country around 1970?

2. Were there any competing paradigms, and what was - in theory and in practice - their position?

3. How could the development of competing paradigms until 1982 be characterized?

4. Which paradigm of mother tongue education in your country do you consider promising for further development of the field?

The research reports (cf. Herrlitz et al. 1984a and 1984b) show that the stages of development or tendencies in the rhetorics of mother tongue education in Europe can, in fact, generally be described in terms of a traditional stage of development or concept of mother tongue education (a so-called canonical or dominant situation or paradigm) and several lines of development leading away from it. The following historical development or paradigm shift - admittedly stated in rather crude terms - seems to have been taking place in almost all countries under investigation.

Around 1965 a 'canonical situation' dominated mother tongue education in Europe. This situation or paradigm had the following characteristics:
- teaching practices in all schools and at all levels were modelled on mother tongue teaching in the highest grades of the classical gymnasium or grammar school;
- mother tongue education was primarily literary education; central to it was the literary canon which was traditionally accepted as the cultural heritage in the respective speech communities;
- complementary to the teaching of literature a form of grammar (i.e. parsing) was taught which was modelled on classical grammar;
- in all systmes of mother tongue education a form of written composition was taught, which, typically, was unrelated to forms of

written communication normally used in society.

Around 1970 this dominant paradigm came under attack from progressive educationalists throughout Europe. This attack on traditional teaching concepts and methods, which went on more or less unhampered by cultural contexts or socio-political counterforces, created a general need for reform. Although the traditional situation was to some extent broken up it was not replaced by a new canonical situation. It would be nearer the truth to speak of a number of currents of innovation, which engendered political and educational debates and controversies, and which finally led to more or less far-reaching reforms. One of these currents of innovation, which in one form or another is present in almost all the countries under investigation, is the so-called communicative paradigm.

Incidentally, at present there are indications in some countries of another change in the field of mother tongue education, set in the context of a return towards a more conservative political and social climate in Europe. The slogan of this change seems to be "Back to basics", meaning back to basic skills (in language proficiency) as the major concern of mother tongue education, and away from progressivism and concerns with emancipation and social issues which are supposed to lead to declining standards and illiteracy. It is hard to tell at the moment to what extent this movement is, or is going to be, a general trend, and whether or not it will lead us back to the canonical situation of the sixties.

3.3.3 The Portraits Project

In its second phase, the IMEN research programm concentrated on the documentation of the practice of mother tongue education in the countries involved and on the reconstruction of meanings which characterize the process of teaching and learning in mother tongue/standard language education. As a relatively simple and direct means of documentation, we chose the teacher's diary. This means that the IMEN correspondents were to ask a teacher to write a diary during his/her first two weeks of mother tongue education after the 1985 Christmas holidays in the seventh year of schooling (i.e. in most European countries the first year of secondary education), and to concentrate mainly on the subject matter content of standard language/mother tongue education. This diary should not only contain a description of the mother tongue educational reality from the teacher's point of view, but also his/her comments on the documented classroom events.

The IMEN correspondent, in addition, had to make a so-called Portrait out of the diary notes of the teacher by adding further information on the general and specific context in which the diary had to be understood. This includes among other things:
- information about the educational system of the country, about the position of mother tongue education within that system, and about the major principles of mother tongue education;
- information about the teacher, his/her training, his/her views of mother tongue/standard language education;
- a general impression of the school and the class in which the diary was written;
- the correspondent's comments on the diary, its representativeness, its peculiartities and the like;
- in an appendix: teaching materials, syllabi, written work of the pupils and a short bibliography.

In order to enable the teacher-diarist and the IMEN correspondent to do their job properly extensive sets of guidelines for both were developed (cf. Kroon & Sturm 1988).

The Portraits Project was carried out in nine countries. The resulting portraits (from Hungary, the Federal Republic of Germany, Turkey, The Netherlands, Denmark, England and Flanders) and diaries (from Italy and France) were discussed at a conference in Antwerp, Belgium, in December 1986 (cf. Sturm 1987 for a report and Delnoy et al. 1988 for the conference papers). In our opinion, one of the main results of the Portraits Project has been the concretization in terms of real classroom activities, of the paradigms in mother tongue education that were found as a result of the Rhetorics Project. The starting point of the Portraits Projects, namely the idea that teacher diaries give a meaningful insight into specific cultures of mother tongue education practice in Europe, was fully confirmed. The description of a certain 'case', together with the teacher's and the correspondent's comments, succeeded in clartifying how in the framework of a national school system a characteristic concept of mother tongue education is put into practice.

This general finding can be illustrated by a discussion that came about when the protraits from France and England were compared in a working group at the Antwerp Conference (cf. Kroon & Sturm 1987). Elucidating her portrait of twelve lessons of English mother tongue education, a teacher from London was enthusiastically telling her group about the way in which she occupies herself during her lessons with combatting inequality and discrimination based on race, sex and social class. She seemed to devote most of her English lessons to that subject. Most of the texts, discussions and essays that are dealt with in class, too are about that subject. Listening to this story, her colleague from France became increasingly restless. From her point of view, such a content of English lessons had harly anything to do with language teaching. It turned out that she did not regard combatting racism, sexism and social inequality as legitimate aims of mother tongue education. Language teaching in her view, should be primarily concerned with language, the oral and written, the structural and communicative command of that phenomenon, measured against a relatively strict norm of correctness. The only way to make both practices or versions of mother tongue education understandable in an international comparative perspective, is to unravel and make explicit the frames of reference that underly them. The English version of mother tongue education turned out to be closely related to ideas about multicultural education, the French version to ideas about the intrinsic importance of French as the national standard language. As long as the frames of reference of the English and the French teacher are not made explicit, the example from London would probably leave an impression "that it is in fact social criticism instead of mother tongue education", whereas the Paris example could have been interpreted as demonstrating an Acadêmie Française-like snobbery.

By giving this example we do not want to suggest in any way whatsoever that English mother tongue education can now be characterized as for example 'egalitarian' (whatever that means) or that French mother tongue education could be defined as 'elitist': empirical-interpretative research does not pursue generalizable knowldege in that sense. What is important in a comparison of the French and the English situation is to discover which social reality the teacher and the pupils construct in mother tongue education and on the basis of which culturally determined value orientations they do so. To that end the empirical-interpretative researcher in comparative research should be able to give up his/her own perspective on mother tongue education for some time and change it for that of 'the other'. As far as we can see the Portraits Project succeeded in enabling researchers to take this 'different' perspective. As such the results of the project provide an indispensable complement of the findings that were reached in the Rhetorics Project.

3.3.4 The Case Study Project

In its third phase the IMEN research program has tried to develop its route from theory to practice still one step further. Having depicted the rhetorics of mother tongue education and teachers' interpretations of practices in this field, both in an international comparative perspective, we now want to conduct case studies in the practice of mother tongue education. Such case studies are characterized by the following features (cf. Herrlitz 1987):

- they are conducted by (participant) observers who have to document their case on different dimensions and who have to interpret it in a controlled way;
- documentation and interpretation have to account for different viewpoints: they have to confront not only teachers' and learners' perspectives, but also rhetorics with practice and progress with tradition;
- they have to contain more than one dimension of data collection and interpretation: they should combine data from different sources and interpretations from different perspectives to form a reliable picture of the case in question;
- they have to be comparative in the sense that at least at one point in the process of interpretation, judgements from a specialist outside the culture in question have to be provoked.

As far as the element 'judge from outside' is concerned we distinguish two different models of cooperation: the 'help model' and the 'cooperation model' (cf. Sturm 1987). The first model implies the 'assistance' of a researcher from abroad who is not involved in any specific IMEN case study in progress; the second model implies a cooperation between researchers doing similiar case studies in several countries. Both models are supposed to contain three levels of commitment: full assistance/cooperation by research visits, working together on the site, advisory assistance/cooperation by research visits oriented towards analysis, interpretation and comparison, and correspondence assistance/cooperation, mainly by mail.

So far there are four initiatives for comparative case studies. In these research projects cooperation in one form or another has been planned between researchers from:

- Belgium (Flanders), Italy and The Netherlands on the identification of culture-specific characteristics of and similarities between the rhetorics and practice of mother tongue education in secondary education (cf. Blankesteijn & Sturm 1988);
- Sweden, England and The Netherlands on reading literature in secondary education (cf. Malmgren 1988);
- England and Hungry on writing, literature, language teaching or oracy (cf. Parker 1988);
- Fedral Republic of Germany, England and The Netherlands on what pupils really learn in mother tongue education (cf. Haueis & Willenberg 1988). Apart from these initiatives a so called duo-portrait project is carried out between The Netherlands and Hungary (cf. Angyal & Van der Ven 1988). All these plans will have to be carried out between now and 1990, the year in which the third IMEN conference will take place, with as we hope also a delegation from Ireland reporting on the practice of mother tongue education in their country.

4 Conclusion

The research into mother tongue education which we have sketched against the background of concepts and an initial attempt to formulate choice criteria displays a number of obvious limitations. First of all, this kind of research aims primarily at the content of the school subject, its interpretation and the use that is made of those interpreted contents in the practice of mother tongue education. There are of course other matters at play in education, but this particular aspect of the educational reality seems worthwhile in itself, also in view of our expertise, as researchers, of course. In our research into the subject content of mother tongue education the following three questions are crucial:

1 What does the school actually want to teach its pupils?
2 What does the teacher want to teach; what does he/she do in the classroom?
3 How does the institutionalized educational process link up with the pupils' natural learning through language?

These three questions derive their importance from the educational principle that education as such should contribute as little as possible to the reproduction of social inequality - keeping in mind, of course, that education on its own cannot produce social equality.

One could wonder, especially looking from an Irish point of view, why we have mainly limited ourselves in our research to the communicative aspects of language and learning and barely took into consideration aspects which are to do with the relationship between language and ethnicity and nationality. This is probably due to the fact that our research takes place in a situation in which (to quote Edwards 1985, 111) "the languge of daily use is (...) also the variety which carries and reflects group culture and tradition". According to Edwards "among minority groups, or within groups in which language shift has occurred in the reasonably recent past, the value of language as a symbol can remain in the absence of the communicative function". On the one hand, the need for language as a symbol in the absence of a communicative function can also be observed in minority groups in the Netherlands. For the time being, we tend to interpret this need in the Netherlands as an educational and therefore legitimate need: in our utopian concept of mother tongue education, Edwards' observation can be reserved: the language variety which carries and reflects group culture and tradition (including nationality and ethnicity) can also be the language of learning. That is why we think that mother tongue teaching has to deal with all the existing language varieties in a particular geographical area. As far as our international orientation is concerned: mother tongue education should not contribute to segregate people on the basis of their class, sex or race, nor should it divide them into peoples and nations.

Notes

1 This text is a slightly adapted version of a paper read at the Symposium in Mother Tongue Education in Ireland, Teachers' Centre, St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra, Dublin, Ireland, 4-5 March 1988; we want to thank Bud Khleif for his valuable comments on an earlier draft.

2 More information about IMEN: IMEN Secretariat, c/o Dr. Ariënsstraat 3, 3551 GB Berghem, The Netherlands. The Series 'Studies in Mother Tongue Education' includes until now: Herrlitz et al. (eds.) 1984a and 1984b, Kroon & Sturm (eds.) 1987 and Delnoy et al. (eds.) 1988.

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Working with Books, a Curriculum Development Project for Reading Instruction and Literature Teaching to Children of 4 to 12 Years Old.

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In this contribution I will first of all give a description of the reading instruction as it is taught at most Dutch primary schools. I will also mention my objections to that approach. Then I will indicate which factors have been considered in the literature as possible causes of reading problems and which recommendations have been made in that same literature with respect to the organisation of reading instruction. And finally, I will sketch the reading instruction which we are currently developing with the teams of our project schools.

In our project 'Working with Books' we are mainly concerned with improving the pupils' motivation to read. The primary aim of reading instruction is that pupils should not only learn to read but also continue to be motivated to read. However, we have found that a number of pupils lose that motivation because of the way in which reading instruction is taught (a similar point was made by Tom Mullens).

Primary education in the Netherlands does not succeed in making a reader of each and every pupil. Each year there are a number of first graders (6 to 7-year-olds) who do not manage to master the decoding process sufficiently. As a result, they either have to repeat the first year, or they end up with a remedial teacher, or in the worst case they are ***relegated*** to a school for mentally handicapped children.
There are also children, about ten per cent of all pupils, who do learn to decode and do master the technical skill, but who are neither able nor willing to assimilate written information for themselves. They leave school as ***illiterates*** or functional non-readers.

In the Netherlands, too, a lot of research has been carried out into the failure of reading instruction. But so far, only few results have been obtained that can contribute to the solution of this problem. The reason for that is that a coherent theory of reading has not yet been developed. According to Michael Stubbs, the subject is tackled from various angles in various (socio-) scientific disciplines, such as psychology, (ortho)pedagogy and (socio)linguistics. These approaches have often been self-contained; only rarely do they refer to work that has been done in other disciplines. This then leads to contradictory definitions of reading and reading proficiency, so that research results are incommensurable. Moreover, too vague a distinction is made between what experienced readers do and what children do when learning to read.

As I said before, because reading instruction does not manage to make a skilled and motivated reader out of each pupil, and because we cannot yet make use of scientific research results or experimental programmes in order to improve reading instruction, we have looked for possibilities in teaching practice. To that end, we studied reading instruction in the classroom and analysed some reading methods which are much used.

1. Reading instruction in the Netherlands

Some people believe that the reading process runs from small subparts to one bigger whole. First, one reads letters; from these letters one then forms words, word groups and sentences. And only then is it possible to grasp the meaning of the text (bottom-up model).

Others are of the opinion that reading is a psycholinguistic process, an interaction between language and thought. The decoding of written information is supported by the knowledge which the reader already has of the sentence patterns and of the subject (top-down model).

A third view of the reading process combines elements from both these models, that is to say, a reader sometimes reads merely to convert letters into sounds, using his/her previous knowledge (interaction model).

In the Netherlands there are two programmes for elementary reading which are used in nearly all the primary schools. The first programme ('Lettertown') takes a bottom-up conception of reading as its starting point and is based on a skills approach. The second, 'Learning to Read Safely', is based on the interaction model and on a psycholinguistic approach.

The top-down model has not been implemented in a programme. However, a few primary schools use it, basing their reading instruction on ideas put forward by Freinet, Dorish Nash or the Swedish LIGRU project.

In our country there is a rather strict separation between elementary and what we call secondary reading instruction. In the former, children learn to decode, i.e. to convert letters into sounds. Elementary reading instruction starts in the first form, when the children are 6 or 7, and it ends by Christmas of that same year.

Then follows secondary reading instruction, in which the theoretical conceptions of reading are much less clearly present. There is hardly any systematic programme. Reading instruction largely consists in the application of a number of activities, such as group reading, level reading and forum reading. But there is no clarity as to which aims or skills are pursued and developed.

The main component of this type of reading instruction seems to consist of reading texts and answering questions about these texts. However, there are some experimental programmes in which the reading process has been subdivided into various parts, such as summarizing, close reading and so on, which are learned as subskills.
The conclusion to be drawn from these experimental programmes is that this type of task-oriented approach can have only a limited function in learning to read, since reading is more than an addition of skills: it also appeals to the reader's knowledge.
Secondary reading instruction distinguishes the following goals:

1. increasing the technical reading skill; the children practise reading aloud, while paying attention to a correct pronunciation, a good intonation and tempo
2. comprehensive reading; the children have to read a text and answer a number of questions about it.
3. close reading; the approach is the same as that in comprehensive reading, but no fictional texts are used. Moreover, the children often receive an additional task, viz. to make a summary of the text.
4. developing a positive attitude towards reading and reading materials; in the programmes and handbooks, this aim is considered the ultimate purpose of reading instruction. However, there are hardly any indications or exercises that can be used to achieve this purpose.

2. Some objections to this approach

There is a gap between the way in which children at kindergarten (4 to 6 years old) are introduced to books and the way in which they are introduced to reading at the age of 6 or 7. In kindergarten, a lot of attention is paid to reading out from a book, story telling and offering picture books. The children are given the opportunity to react to what they see and hear. The teacher makes it possible for the children to go deeper into the story by means of all kinds of creative activities. Moreover, every kindergarten has its own book corner, where a child can look at a picture book if it wants to. The working method in kindergarten is differentiated and individualised.
In primary school, learning to decode plays an important role. It usually takes place in class teaching and according to one specific programme. Reading instruction heavily emphasizes the training of the technical skill and is one-sided cognitive. As a result, the children build up a wrong definition of reading.
Most children will answer the question 'What is reading?' as follows: 'it is reading out nicely without making mistakes' or 'it is reading silently and answering questions'. Hardly ever will they say: 'it is learning something about a subject' or 'it is enjoying a story'.
There is indeed a vast gap between the way in which texts are dealt with in reading classes and the way in which adults deal

with texts outside school. After all, who would practise converting letters into sounds regularly in order to read aloud correctly - except perhaps if one is supposed to prepare and read a paper at a conference. And when does one have to answer questions about a text?

Skilled readers who can manage the written language adequately outside school know the answers to the following questions: 'What can I read and why should I do so?', 'What is then the best thing for me to read and where can I find that?' and 'How can I read as effectively as possible?'.

Reading instruction does not teach children to find the answers to these questions. The school already has a cut-and-dried answer: it is obvious why you should learn to read: you should learn and practise it in order to increase your skill. What you should read is determined by the textbook or the teacher. And how you should read is determined by the exercise or assignment in the textbook.

This could well be one of the reasons why pupils, who have no experience in reading outside school and who do not gain that experience either from reading instruction in school, are not able to make the link between reading instruction and reading outside school. And as a result, they are neither able nor prepared to read for themselves at home.

3. Factors which are considered possible causes of reading problems and some recommendations for improving reading instruction

If one studies the (predominantly Dutch) literature on reading, one finds a number of factors which may cause the reading problems of certain pupils:

- they get stuck on the verbal level, they have no imagination;
- they read very inefficiently and are not strategy-sensitive;
- they have too little linguistic and general development;
- they lack the flexibility to unravel the meaning of a word by spelling, guessing, associating or combining;
- their knowledge of reality does not match with the language system;
- they do not know the function of signal words etc. and do not make a connection between sentences, paragraphs and so on.

Recommendations for reading instruction

- Through education the pupil should experience that new information can be processed and remembered more easily if it links up with the knowledge that has already been acquired; the pupil should learn that not every word in a text is important for an understanding of that text as a whole.

- The pupil should learn to make connections between sentences, paragraphs and larger text parts.
- The pupil should learn to determine his/her reading aim and to choose an efficient strategy to achieve that aim.
- Functional reading instruction should aim at developing the following skills:
  - the ability to determine the main line of thought;
  - the ability to make connections between aim and means, cause and effect;
  - the ability to make references and inferences;
  - the ability to increase conceptual knowledge.
- Reading instruction should be based on language as a logically coherent series of conventions and it should aim at providing the pupils with an insight into the language system and these conventions.
- Reading instruction should not so much emphasize the checking afterwards, but rather the instruction beforehand. That is to say, before the pupils actually start reading a text, the teacher should give them more information about the purpose of their reading task and how it is best carried out. What a teacher could do, for instance, is to demonstrate how s/he would go about in a similar situation.

4. The reading didactics of 'Working with Books'

In our project we have tried to make a connection between reading instruction and the way in which reading takes place outside school. The reason why we have emphasized the development of a positive attitude towards reading and the reading material is that so far, very little attention had been paid to these matters. We have drawn a distinction between Reading in Education and Education in Reading.

Education in reading aims at teaching the pupils those skills and techniques that are necessary for reading both literary and referential (i.e. non-fictional) texts. But it is merely a means of helping the pupils to read independently. They should not be given the impression that reading is nothing but the practising of skills. Therefore learning and practising should be kept to a minimum; the pupils really increase their skills by applying the above two, i.e. by reading. And that is why reading in education is so important. It is the school's responsibility to offer the pupils the experience of reading in the way an experienced reader reads. And that means that the children should regularly be given the opportunity to read what they want, without any questions or tasks being attached. They may choose a book from the class or school library, but also from their homes and from the public library. However, it is also the school's responsibility to teach the children what kinds of books there are, which is why we consider the reading circle very important. What is more, the teacher's reading out a story may help the children discover what there is to be read: it brings them into contact with stories and with language use which they themselves would not be able to understand yet. Listening to a story and reacting to it stimulates their reading experience. In the reading circle, they are given the opportunity to verbalize their reading experience and to tell their classmates about a book which they found worth reading. Thus they hear from each other what kinds of things are being read, which can help them choose their own books. Moreover, by means of all kinds of activities the teacher may bring the children into contact with books.

As far as comprehensive reading is concerned, we believe there is more to be gained from asking the pupils to read a text and discuss it with others than from answering questions about it. We expect that various creative activities can help the children assimilate the content of a story. In order to teach them to gather information by means of reading, we use texts which they need for other school subjects. Thus the pupil knows why s/he should read this or that text. This so-called 'reading in the content areas' (i.e. reading for other school subjects) should make it clear to the pupils how they should go about if they want to find out something. What we do is to give them a number of texts and to discuss these according to a five-steps model:

1. to mobilise previous knowledge;
2. to formulate an expectation with respect to the content of the text and to determine a reading strategy;
3. to read the text;
4. to penetrate to the content of the text, e.g. by making 'guiding remarks';
5. to evaluate the text and the way of reading.

It is our intention that the pupils experience a way of dealing with texts and they learn to adapt their way of reading to the text and to their reading aims.

During 'reading in education' the pupils learn that reading is a personal encounter between the text and the reader. During 'reading in the content area' they learn that reading can be useful if they want to find out something and that reading does not necessarily have to be intensive. Thus they will be motivated for education in reading in which attention is paid to various reading strategies. Practising reading skills need not be a matter of endless hours and can also take place during other lessons in other school subjects. Practising reading skills can have a very positive effect if the pupils know what they are practising and why and if it does not take too much time.

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ORACY : A new challenge in English Teaching

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> "The content of the examination must provide for a range of experiences of (a) oral communication ....." (Department of Education and Science, 1985)

For many English teachers in Northern Ireland, particularly those whose work has hitherto focused on 'O' level examinations the above prescription is among the most innovatory and challenging aspects of their new General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) syllabus. It is so, not because oral work has not previously been a matter of concern to them, but because oral communication has only minimally featured, or has not featured at all, within the syllabi for which their students have been prepared. As a result oracy has not received the full attention which it warrants.

While voices have been raised in opposition to this development (Robson, 1985) mainly on the grounds that it is unnecessary and is likely to be a distraction from what they regard as the essential concern of English, i.e. literary studies, most teachers will welcome the recognition which oral work is now being afforded. Such recognition underlines the importance of oral communication alongside the two other basic aspects of English, reading and writing. Oracy has become the natural twin of literacy to those concerned with the English curriculum.

The consequent issues facing teachers lie in addressing the question of what precisely oracy entails, and in constructing curricula which will ensure appropriate attention to what it does entail.

In this paper I am addressing some of the basic theoretical and practical questions about oracy in the hope that curriculum planning in this area will take account of the central role of oracy in language development.

The nature and scope of oracy

When Wilkinson (1965) coined the term 'oracy' to describe a person's "general ability in oral skills" he commented (p 11):

> The spoken language in England has been shamefully neglected ... teachers and educationalists have not considered it important .... the ability to put one's own work next to another of one's own in speech, to create rather than repeat a skill which everybody is exercising most of the time, has not been regarded as worthy of serious attention.

Coincidentally Wilkinson's comments came at a time when educationalists were beginning to take note of some significant research within linguistics. In the intervening years this research has contributed immensely to our understanding of the role of language in children's general development and has now led to the 'neglect' Wilkinson wrote about being positively tackled.

Probably the most notable outcome of the research has been the deepening appreciation of the role language plays in children's intellectual, affective, social and cultural development. In their early years it is spoken language almost exclusively which plays this role. Even later, when the written language also exercises influence, the spoken language, because it is the primary means of communication, remains for most people the dominant linguistic influence on their development.

Precisely how language exercises its influence is still a matter of controversy. Agreement is difficult to discover between the various commentators and researchers. However, the views of one eminent researcher in the field, Gordon Wells, may well commend themselves to many teachers of English. Wells (1981) has called attention not just to the development of the various structural features in children's speech, as many researchers have done, but, more significantly, to the overall quality of what they actually say.

According to Wells it is not a question of how much language children hear or use, nor whether the various structures they use are simple or complex, or at what stage these structures appear. It is, rather, a child's capacity to use language effectively as he/she interacts with others, particularly with adults, that is the most significant feature of language development. Wells (ibid p.115) places a special emphasis on the collaborative nature of this development, saying that:

> Right up to the early years of schooling and beyond, the adult is the more skilled participant, with a responsbility for helping the child to develop and extend his communicative skills, at first pre-verbally, then verbally, and later in written language. But at each stage the child has a contribution to make, stemming from his own interests and directed by his own purposes. The sort of interaction that will be most beneficial for his development, therefore, is that which gives due weight to the contribution of both parties, and emphasises mutuality and reciprocity in the meanings that are constructed and negotiated through talk.

In other words, Wells is pointing out that for young children, just as for older children and adults, meaningful talk engaged in on a reciprocal basis is the kind of talk which promotes learning. Talk which does not involve, or engage the listener in this manner does not.

Paralleling studies of children's language development over this period have been investigations into the language of the classroom, in particular the language of oral interaction. One of the pioneers of these investigations, James Britton (1970, p.129-30) commenting on the necessity to promote meaningful and 'real' uses of language in the classroom states that:

> the infant learns by talking and that he learns to talk by talking .... learning in the most general sense of the world, and learning to talk - are .... closely enmeshed ..... . Putting this at its simplest, what children use language for in school must be 'operation' and not 'dummy runs'. They must continue to make sense of the world; they must practise

> language in the sense in which a doctor 'practises'.... and not in the sense in which a juggeler 'practises' a new trick before he performs it.

What emerges from the research evidence of Britton, Wells and indeed many others, is confirmation of what many English teachers, but less so curriculum policy makers, have known instinctively for generations. One, that oral interaction is a major factor in a person's overall development. Two, that oral interaction to have positive effects on that development must be both meaningful and reciprocal. Three, neglecting oral work amounts to a neglect of a powerful tool for linguistic, intellectual and affective development.

Two concepts of speech development

Attitudes and traditions, however, die hard in education generally. This is no less true of English teaching. For some teachers and for many parents, in particular, a narrow concept of speech development has persisted competing as it were with the more comprehensive, but, in the past, less forcibly advanced concept outlined above. I am referring, of course, to what might be termed the 'elocution' tradition in speech development. This tradition based, as it is, on the narrow concept of 'correct speech' and on techniques of 'voice training' which focus on the public recitation of verse still has considerable influence today, particularly in many parts of Northern Ireland, (evidenced by the large numbers of children, generally between the ages of 7 - 12, entered for the 'speech' sections of local music and drama festivals).

It is, however, a tradition which, whatever its popularity, ignores everyday and fundamental needs in oral communication. Reading or reciting to an audience in a town hall, however worthy an accomplishment, is not the kind of speech situation in which children or adults frequently find themselves. Nor are the needs of speech development met by insisting on a 'correct' accent, often the feature of children's speech which leads parents to seek out the elocution class.

Simply stated, the greatest and most essential 'speech need' people have, is to effectively use the resources of the spoken language in order to achieve the purpose(s) for which they speak to others. This means developing a competence to speak in a variety of situations, on a variety of topics choosing language likely to be as effective as possible in achieving the speaker's purpose. Such a goal is not a narrowly prescriptive, nor is it a restrictive one. Neither can it be described and dismissed as merely utilitarian. It is in fact a very comprehensive view of speech development, attempting as it does to take as full as possible an account of the circumstances and functions of speech in order to propose curriculum responses which would meet those circumstances and those functions.

The key to curriculum planning

The key to curriculum development in this area lies in clarifying the functions for which spoken language may be used, secondly, in anticipating the circumstances for which our students most need support in developing their use of spoken language and, thirdly, helping them develop the competency to effectively exploit spoken language for those purposes, in those circumstances.

The rest of this paper is devoted to trying to outline the curriculum planning implications which this clarification process holds for English teaching at secondary level.

Functions of speech

A discussion of this concept involves a consideration of the underlying psychological factors which determine why we use language in particular situations. In effect, in addressing the concept of language function we are attempting to answer basic questions about the reasons why we communicate as we do, whatever mode of language we choose.

The usual answers to this question include the following functions, or purposes: speaking to convey information, to express our feelings, to ask questions, to speculate, to provide directions, to instruct, to explain, to greet, etc. etc. Several formal categorisations of language functions can be found in the literature. Among the more widely used is that proposed by Halliday (1969) from which the summary below is derived. According to Halliday seven basic functions, or purposes for language use can be identified. They are as follow:

1. Instrumental: using language in order to get things done as when we command or instruct others to do certain things.
2. Regulatory: using language to control, regulate or influence the behaviour of others.
3. Interactional: using language to establish and maintain contact with others as when we greet each other.
4. Personal-Expressive: using language to express one's own feelings, opinions and attitudes.
5. Heuristic: using language in order to question and explore one's experience of reality.
6. Imaginative: using language to describe in imaginative terms and to fantasise.
7. Representational: using language to inform, or narrate what happens.

Such a categorisation is essentially for the purposes of discussion and does not suggest that every use of language can be discretely placed under one or other of the above headings. Particular utterances may in fact realise more than one purpose. For instance, information can be conveyed with a considerable degree of personal feeling, instructions may be used to convey information as well as a command to do something etc. However, the value of a category system like the above, is that in helping to define more precisely the purposes for which we use language, it provides one basis for directing and, ultimately, for assessing the actual linguistic choices made in order to achieve our purposes.

Circumstances of language use

Whatever purpose or function language is made to serve, it does so in some particular set of circumstances. So, while the functions underlying any use of language will be the dominant formative influence on why we speak, the circumstances in which we do so will determine, or at least strongly influence the form our speech will take. By circumstances in this context is meant such factors as the topic in question, the nature of the speech event, e.g. whether it is a talk, an interview, a conversation etc., the physical setting, the participants in the event and the relationships between them etc.

Once we begin to examine such factors it becomes clear that speech can be quite closely associated with some of them in a variety of different ways. Consider the contrasts which would be likely in the speech of the same person, speaking on the same topic and doing so for the same general purposes, e.g. to inform, but doing so on one occasion in a formal address, on another in a conversation in a public house. Contrasts would be likely at all levels of language; lexical, grammatical as well as phonological. Such contrasts would correlate also with factors like the formality or informality of the setting, e.g. the talk being more formal than the conversation in the public house; the possibility, in the public house, of contributions by other participants and the absence of that possibility in the course of the formal address.

The combination of factors which create the different circumstances in which people speak is, of course, virtually limitless. However, by identifying significant speech events and the more problematic circumstances in which our students are likely to be participants in such events, the second basic task of selecting the events which could be included in the curriculum can be confidently undertaken.

Speech events which can be cited on this basis include talks, interviews, speeches, discussions, and debates. The actual contexts in which our students might encounter such events could include the classroom and their classmates, the school and its community, outside the school with members of the local community, and in a variety of locations with members of special interest groups or occupations etc. The number and nature of the contexts and their participants and the kind of speech events encountered will change and grow as our students develop.

Outline of curriculum

The curriculum required for the GCSE obliges us to consider oracy in the context of adolescent development. This is a time when our students are widening their horizons, taking up new interests, becoming more aware of themselves and of the world in which they live. The oracy curriculum must, therefore, consist of activities which will gradually assist them to talk about and, indeed, listen with increasing confidence, effectiveness and ease in an ever widening range of contexts and dealing with an ever increasing range of topics and issues.

The curriculum structure which will emerge to enable them to achieve this confidence, ease and effectiveness has to be one which begins by ensuring that students are provided with opportunities to engage in different speech events at each stage of their course. This will be done by planning to include in the curriculum opportunities for 'talks', 'interviews', 'reports','discussions', 'explanations' etc on various topics in a variety of circumstances.

Simulation may well be an important means of achieving some objectives. Many will, however, be achieved in a more integrated manner as part of more general activities within the English curriculum. Discussion is a normal activity in studying a novel, play or poem, or as part of the preparation for an essay. Current events, the students' own interests, class projects all provide opportunities for oral communication. Students can present different kinds of reports on their own work, can learn how to question by interviewing others about their work, can acquire a basic competence in using audio-visual technology as a means of recording and presenting themselves and others.

Each event will require greater or lesser attention to what has to be said and how it shall be said and, as with writing, students will demonstrate their own personal strengths and weaknesses to which we need, as their teachers, to respond.

What is important, therefore, is an overall view of what we are trying to achieve in terms of oral communication, so that no significant aspect of its development is left merely to chance. From the above discussion three aspects, or levels of planning emerge which can be used to summarise the kind of curriculum planning necessary for this more comprehensive approach to oral communication.

One level of planning for the oracy curriculum requires us to recognise how the key dimensions in the 'circumstances of language use' interact together. A second level requires that we consider how this interaction is affected by the 'functions' or 'purposes' which underlie any particular instance of language use. A third level, and perhaps the most difficult of all, is the need to determine the most effective choices from our speech repertoires in accordance with our purposes and the circumstances in which we speak.

Finally, by way of illustrating the first two levels, consider how in the following circumstances the use of language might be affected by the changing purposes of participants:

Topic: Capital Punishment

Possible speech events and participants: (i) debate with classmates (ii) talk to current affairs society, (iii) chaired interview/ discussion involving representatives of particular interests, e.g. police, a victim's friend, anti-hanging group, a politician, a clergyman, etc. (iv) street interviews with passers-by.

Settings: (i) classroom, (ii) meeting room, (iii) television/radio studio, (iv) street.

Functions/Purposes: (i) to inform about legal history of capital punishment, (ii) to persuade audience that capital punishment should be restored, (iii) interviewer to question, others to persuade for, or against restoration of capital punishment and to initiate debate, (iv) to discover the views of ordinary people.

We can envisage several speech situations of the above kind being included within the curriculum throughout the secondary cycle. The timing and particular nature of each speech situation chosen for the curriculum must remain matters of details for each department of English to decide on its own.

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WRITING IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOL: A CASE STUDY

Anne O' Donoghue-Kelly

During my childhood days in Co Kerry, one of the hazards of the daily journey from school along a country road, was the risk of being called into the house of an illiterate widower to read to him the most recent letter from [illegible] his emigrant children, or, worse still, to prepare the latest report on neighbours, livestock and weather, to be dispatched to Brooklyn or Boston.

With the advent of television, however, our relationship with this man took on a new dimension. We were fascinated by his compulsion to quarrel urgently and violently with the reality presented on the screen. When the boy in the OMO ad came into the kitchen muddy and bedraggled, he would erupt into scornful abuse."What fools they think we are", he would declare."Sure don't we know there wasn't a drop since Sunday!"

But his finest hour came when we got a tape-recorder and asked him to sing a ballad for our archives. It was a matter of complete indifference to him when the tape ran out--he continued his song. And when we replayed the recording to him, he took violent exception to the singer's performance-- tut-tutting, interrupting and singing along in an earnest effort to put matters right."He hasn't words nor air right," he said,"and I'll have to finish it for him myself". Which he did.

These experiences established in my mind a childish connection between familiarity with the written word, and the possession of certain imaginative and intellectual capacities. Much later, I was intrigued to find this notion confirmed in the literature of the English curriculum. Vernacular literacy is important, not just because it teaches us to read and write for practical purposes, but because language development promotes a deeper sense of personal identity. We learn to recognise ourselves, to know ourselves better and to express ourselves more fully through reading and writing (Bruner, 1971).

The teaching of reading has always got its due measure of attention from researchers, and the importance of oral competence has recently been recognised. Writing, however, has been under-researched, and under-valued. Yet evidence has existed for half a century that writing is of great importance in the development of the capacity for abstract thought. Language is not merely a means of communication: it controls human reasoning, and builds human consciousness. The Russian psychologist Vygotsky (1962, pp. 44-55) claims that writing promotes cognitional development in a unique way: it stimulates continuous word-thought interaction in the writer, whose manipulation of the written word, a second-degree abstraction, makes for conscious mastery and intellectual control.

The claims made for writing as an important aspect of the development of consciousness, do not confine themselves to the purely intellectual sphere. The Romantic notion that truth is not merely found, but created through language, has had a profound influence on the English classroom, at both primary and secondary level. Writers like F R Leavis (1975), David Holbrook (1961) and Peter Abbs (1982) emphasise the importance of encouraging the child to exercise his imaginative and emotional apprehensions, as well as his intellect. Writing provides the time and opportunity for the introspection and reflection necessary if the young mind is to come to know itself and the world.

It might be expected that a writing-centred educational system such as ours would value writing as an important means of learning. The project mentioned in the title of this paper examined the writing of a small group of second-year pupils did during one term's normal schoolwork in History, English and Science. Its purpose was to establish how much of the writing done in this period in all three subjects was of developmental value, and to assess the proposal made, in the Bullock Report(1975), and more recently adopted by Peter Abbs, that teachers of all subjects should share responsibility for language and writing development. Abbs (1982, p.24) has rejected the idea that English should be a servicing-bay for other subjects, and suggested that all subject teachers should do their own linguistic work, leaving the English teacher free to concentrate on"a particular kind of languge, the language of literature and myth, the language of feeling and imagination,the potent language of expressive utterance."

In the course of this study, I found that school writing is very context-bound, and hemmed in by well-defined expectations and prejudices on the part of both teacher and pupil. The study found, as previous studies in England and Scotland had done (Britton et al., 1975, Spencer,1983), that few assignments in subjects other than English were of developmental value. A large proportion of writing in History and Science was transcription. Assignments set often required pupils to write as if they were mature scientists or historians. In Science, pupils were expected to have command of the register appropriate to the subject, in order to give objective and precise accounts of experimental procedures. Their assumption of an air of authority was frequently belied by the inadequacies of the text as regards information, understanding, writing conventions and overall control. In History pupils were set assignments which required sophisticated summarising skills: in practice, they merely reproduced material learnt, often without understanding, from the textbook. Genuine efforts at comprehension and explanation produced work which was hopelessly confused, as a result of the conflict between demand for a tone of authority and the child's fascination with the personality or event on a more personal level. It is this combination-- the pretence of expertness and the lack of real understanding --which gives rise to the delightful howlers which enliven the task of marking written work.

The teachers of other subjects interviewed in the course of the study confirmed that it was difficult for them to use writing for initial exploratory work in History or Science: this work is conducted orally in laboratory or classroom. The teachers tended to expect from the beginning the surface characteristics of mature writing in the discipline, without any intermediate phase of tentative or exploratory personal writing. Although they recognised that writing is an aid to learning, the conditions under which they carrried out their work made it impossible for them to provide for the open, exploratory kind of assignment through which the pupil makes his own of material recently learnt.

While it is a good thing that teachers of other subjects should be aware of the linguistic dimensions of their work, it seems to me that the language-across -the-curriculum movement proposed by the Bullock Report could pose great dangers to English as a discipline. Much of the thinking behind this movement arises from the tendency, also evident in the Primary School Handbook to equate language development with the acquisition and extension of vocabulary. It is certainly the Science teacher's function to teach the pupils the specialised vocabulary of his discipline; but this in itself does not promote writing development. Likewise, I would question the claim made in the Primary School Handbook (p. 110) that"collecting favourite words" makes a significant contribution to the development of written expression.

English cannot abandon its traditional responsibility for language and writing development. The basic motivations for writing--organising experience into words for the writer's own delight, and organising language for others--must continue to be recognised in a programme which provides for self-expression as well as communication. Only the vernacular classroom can provide the context for the development of imaginative and intellectual capacities, underpinned by a concern for communicative skills. The pupils must continue to have the opportunity to attempt a wide range of writing assignments where they are free to explore the world and their own consciousness, in composition which is committed and personal.

The English class , however, must be more than"a free-wheeling vehicle for the child's emotional and social development".(Bullock, 1975, p.6) A commitment on the part of the teacher of English to personal writing which invites the pupil to express his or her experiences of life and of literature, does not preclude a recognition of the importance of the objective and functional aspects of language and writing. In fact, this study found that it is in the context of the study of literature, and of an interesting and wide-ranging programme of written work that gains may best be made in the pupil's command of"the mechanics". Pupils who begin to see themselves as apprentice writers will be better disposed to consider the problems posed for their audience by poor punctuation, spelling and syntax, and will have an incentive to improve all aspects of the presentation of their work.

The literature of the English curriculum has been a very polemical one; and our mistake has been to regard the functional and aesthetic aspects of the teaching of writing as diametrically opposed. The Primary school Handbook(p. 111) asserts that it would be a great mistake to suggest that functional and creative writing are as one; on the contrary,it is a grave error not to regard them as aspects of an essential unity. The"functional" approach to the teaching of writing has rigour and system. Its basic premise is that everything the pupil will ever need to say or write is known to teachers and the writers of textbooks: all we need to do is to get them to practise saying and writing these things in as interesting a context as possible. The aesthetic approach, on the other hand, stresses the primacy of the imagination; claims that every utterance is unique; that neither speech nor writing can be pre-programmed; that"functional" language work is peripheral, and does not touch the heart of language, where the individual meets his culture, and expresses himself within it. This school of thought sees flexibility, inspiration, opportunism and openness as the cardinal virtues.

These two approaches need to be combined. The child needs to exercise his whole mind, his imagination and his emotions as well as his intellect, in his written work. We need both flexibility and rigour in our attempts to meet the needs of today's children as regards basic literacy. Work on the ancillary skills will be less of a dull routine if they are based on the child's own writing, and justified by the demands of presentation, and accessibility to his audience. The desire for efficiency and elegance in expression and communication is the most effective, as well as the most rational basis for progressive command of the functional aspects of written language.

At a time of curricular change, which is also a time of financial stringency, it is of the utmost importance that the changes we make in the vernacular curriculum are not dictated solely by pragmatism, and the desire to achieve measurable results. Talking and writing are not simply acts of communication. Language and writing development will always be in a certain measure immeasurable: language is the"house of being", which gives access to"the innermost regions of the heart's space" (Heidegger,1971). This is a region that we cannot hope to chart by means of assessment or certification. In Seamus Heaney's words (1966), children must have time and space to"rhyme,to set the darkness echoing."

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Irish as First Language: Text and Context

Gearóid O Ciaráin

Introduction

One may identify two distinct approaches to language study which have implications for teaching methodology and course design. One of these approaches takes language to be an autonomous formal system which is studied without reference to the context in which that language is used. In this light the study of language will concentrate on the abstract system that constitutes the language and the teacher will focus on the rules of syntax, morphology etc. Language is considered to be a stable system usually conforming to the norms associated with the ruling classes of the previous age. Teaching approaches which are based on these assumptions generally tend to be prescriptive.

Alternatively, language may be studied from the perspective of language use. Immediately one enters such areas as the functions of language, how the structure of language is organised so as to fulfil these functions, dialectal variations etc. The language teacher who adopts such an approach will tend to be less prescriptive and to accept as legitimate any variety of language which conforms to the norms of a particular speech community. In this light language is closely related to social structure and to context. The teacher aims to confirm the legitimacy of the language variety used by the speech community and to prepare the child for the wider social context to which he may be exposed at a later date.

In Ireland we have tended in the past to take the more formal approach to the the study of language partly because of the strong influence which formal linguistics has had on the endeavours of our professional linguists. Chomsky's claim that formal linguistics had nothing to offer the language teacher by way of suggestions on teaching methodology has never really been accepted. The second major reason for this formal approach to language teaching related to the position of the Irish language in the Republic. While it is the first official language of the state it has at all times since the foundation of the state been in danger of extinction. In this situation the study of language use is always suspect. The ideal which is being aimed at is the language variety of monolingual speakers of the last century. By these standards complete legitimacy cannot be conferred on any existing language variety.

Irish in Context

The 1981 census of population suggests that the Republic has now a higher number of people who have Irish than has been the case at any time since the beginning of the post famine period. The 1861 census recorded 24.5% of the population as having Irish. This percentage reached a low of 17.6 in 1911 and has now risen to 31.6. The Leinster area has had the greatest increase, moving from 2.4% in 1861 to having 28.2% at present. These figures represent people's judgements about their own language competence and are, therefore, difficult to interpret. A question designed to assess the number of monolingual speakers of Irish has not appeared on a census form since 1936. At that time there appeared to be 18,000 such people in the country but the accuracy of that figure has been questioned (O Riagáin, 1982). We do not have any criteria for defining native speakers of Irish but rather than looking at the population in global unidimensional terms it is worth identifying children from different categories of linguistic backgrounds:

1. Those from Gaeltacht areas to whom Irish has been handed on in an unbroken tradition and whose community is primarily Irish speaking.
2. Those whose parents belonged to category 1, who have Irish as their main home language, but who live in English speaking communities.
3. Those whose parents are themselves learners of Irish but who use Irish as the vernacular within the home.
4. Those living in Gaeltacht areas whose parents are not natives of the area but who use Irish in the home to a greater or lesser extent and who attend schools where the majority of the children belong to cateogry 1 above.

The total number of children who belong to these categories may be taken as the total number of children between the ages of 3 and 4 years who are classified in the census as having Irish. The 1981 figure stands at 6,700 or 4.9% of the age cohort. This figure has dropped from 5.5% for the corresponding group in 1971. Within the official Gaeltacht areas 52.8% of the 3 - 4 year old age cohort have Irish. This realised a figure of 1,566 children in 1981. An Comhchoiste Réamhscolaíochta (personal communication) have found that only 30% of children from Gaeltacht areas who attend Irish preschool playgroups are native speakers in the category 1 sense. These preschools serve what is probably a representative sample of Gaeltacht children and the Comhchoiste Réamhscolaíochta estimate suggests that the census figures exaggerate the real number of children who are native speakers of Irish. The discrepancy may be accounted for by the Comhchoiste Réamhscolaíochta estimate that a further 21% of the children in preschools have some Irish but do not have native like competence. One may conclude from these estimates that there are no more than a thousand children per year in the country to whom Irish has been passed on in an unbroken line from the past. When one divides this group into seven distinct Gaeltacht regions which have considerable dialectal variations from each other the incohesiveness of the group becomes apparent. The optimism for the survival of the language, which is justified by the increasing percentage of the population which claims to have Irish, must be tempered by the very low percentage of children to whom the language, as traditionally spoken, has been passed on. This link with the past has become very tenuous indeed.

School and Community

In such a linguistically complex situation it is difficult to formulate specific and explicit aims for the teaching of Irish as a first language. The implicit aims of preserving the language as an ethnic or cultural symbol certainly looms large, yet effective pedagogical approaches to language teaching cannot be counted on to have immediate or direct beneficial effects for the language in the community at large (Cummins and Genesee, 1985). Effective language teaching is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for language maintenance. Of equal importance for language maintenance is the perceived ability of the language to deal with the major aspects of the speakers' experiences. "The old ways of talking may persist as long as the old ways of life go on" (Hammond, 1978). In Gaeltacht areas we see this prediction being realised in that Irish is more likely to be used in domestic situations or in situations where the traditional lifestyle is maintained than it is in the case of more modern activities such as factory work, dealing with Government agencies, etc.

Written Irish has traditionally had a very weak position in Gaeltacht communities. The provision of widely accepted newspapers has been largely unsuccessful. Up until the foundation of Radio na

Gaeltachta in the mid-seventies there was little by way of direct contact between the different Gaeltacht areas. Native speakers of Irish have greater affinity with their own dialect than they have with the more standard variety which is being promoted by the education system.

On the question of general education provision, primary schools are mainly organised on a parochial basis with the two teacher school being the most common type. The post-primary sector is served by 5 secondary schools, 7 VEC schools, 3 community schools and 1 comprehensive school. Many of these schools serve areas which are outside the Gaeltacht, per se, and Irish may not be the dominant language in some of them. For demographic and other reasons a considerable number of Gaeltacht children attend boarding schools outside their own districts. The average post primary school enrolment is 160 which makes it difficult for them to offer a comprehensive range of subjects. Only 40% of such schools can offer higher level mathematics and technical drawing for example (MacDonncha, 1979). The Gaeltacht economy has been traditionally dependent on emigration and for those who remain at home English tends to be the dominant language through which they deal with outside agencies. All these factors add up to Irish having a poor economic strength and makes English the high status language in all of Ireland. This emerging situation was recognised by Professor Michael O'Tierney (1924). He claimed that:

> The Gaeltacht should be fenced round as an Irish reservation; it should be developed so that migration from it should be stopped, given its own organs of public life, and if possible its own press.
>
> (P. 703)

Describing the Gaeltacht as a reservation is a somewhat colourful use of language which may be resented by many. While there has been some positive economic discrimination in favour of Gaeltacht areas by successive Governments the level of intervention required to give the language a positive social standing has not been forthcoming.

The Schooling Process

At the outset one must note the lack of educational research on the dynamics of the child-teacher relationships or on the nature of "text" in the Gaeltacht schools. "Text" is being used here in a very broad sense to refer to the language type which is used in schools. As well as the language which is written in our typical school book, school text also refers to the language which is created in the school by the teacher as an individual, by the teacher/pupil interactions and by pupil/pupil interactions. Gaeltacht primary schools by and large, tend to have teachers who themselves are natives of the district and who speak the language variety found in that district. Oral texts can therefore be expected to have at least a school authenticity. Because of the social structure of schools and the power structure inherent in classrooms there is a severe limitation on the types of language which can be promoted through schooling. There has been no structured educational research on the social organization and language structure found in the small two teacher Gaeltacht primary school. In terms of dialogue structure what role is most commonly assumed by the teacher? What are legitimate dialogue roles for children? If the school does not in some way mirror society then its role in cultivating and expanding the mother tongue of the children will be restricted. This analysis assumes that language arises out of the social situation or context and to the extent that one restricts social roles and contexts one is restricting language experience and development.

Reading Material

There is a general consensus that when children's background values are similar to those values inherent in the school system then maximum progress is likely to ensue (Labov and Robinson, 1972). This type of sociological argument is used to demonstrate the disadvantages which children from working class backgrounds have in a schooling system the ethos of which is firmly based on middle-class values. In the case of Irish there is a linguistic mismatch of a very fundamental nature between school reading texts and the experiences of the typical child for whom Irish is a first language. This can only suggest to the child that his own native language belongs only to the restricted world of his own district and has little or no use in the outside world. Some attempts have been made recently to redress this situation by the production of reading materials specifically designed for some Gaeltacht schools. There is still a great shortage of reading materials suitable for teenagers.

One may deduce from the above situation that the incentives and motivation to read Irish must not be equated with those associated with English reading. Unfortunately, we cannot assess the influence which poor quality reading materials has on the reading performance of Gaeltacht children since there are no established reading norms for children whose first language is Irish (de Faoite et al., 1977).

Approaches to Reading

It will be argued that the dominant approach to the teaching of reading in Ireland is a functional one. In a society which places a very high value on literacy learning to read is its own reward. Children hardly need reminding of the usefulness of the skill. Reading is an important part of the culture of the child. The essential job for the teacher is to create the situation in which the child can attach meaning to the orthographic symbol. As a guide or help for the learner the written text is elaborated by pictures and embedded in a familiar context so as to maximize its transparency. Pictorial context arises out of written text and its sole function is to convey the text. This written text in turn is created primarily by a grading system based on the postulated difficulty of words as determined by whatever teaching/learning theory is being subscribed to. As an example of this a primary reading text may begin with:

> Ann
> Barry
> the shop
> Ann is in the shop
> Barry is in the shop

Words are added purely for their assumed pedagogical value. It is not proposed to analyse the usefulness of this method of teaching English reading to monolingual speakers of English in the present paper. It may indeed give rise on occasion to problems associated with poor reading motivation among children and it also may encourage the use of fairly sterile unimaginative language. This is also the reading model which has been transposed unquestioningly

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into Irish. One may detect an urban middle class bias in these Irish texts and it can hardly be argued that they relate to the everyday experiences of Irish speaking children, particularly those with a rural background. The texts of Irish "readers" are the products of linguistic research carried out in the sixties and they are designed as a reinforcement for oral material which is presented to the child during a prior period. No consideration is given to the circumstances of the individual child. It is as though language is a closed system, an object of study in itself which does not require reference to context. In the case of less widely spoken languages this idea is particularly dangerous and inhibits the child's motivation towards any kind of personal involvement in the so called learning process. Sartre remarked

> If you name the behaviour of an individual you reveal it to him; he sees himself. And since you are at the same time naming it to all others, he knows that he is seen at the moment he sees himself (1948, p.12).

This argument was intended as a rationale for writing in general but it has a particularly powerful application for minority languages. The language of the school must reflect and legitimize the child's own linguistic background. It must confirm the child in his or her own identity and develop linguistic self-confidence. As noted above, in relation to Irish as a first language we have a great diversity of linguistic identities and relatively small number of children in each category. For these two reasons the provision of learning materials by a central agency is both commercially unviable and educationally undesirable. The provision of the necessary resources for such development must get priority in any language planning process. Work of this kind has already been initiated by Muintreas na n-Oileán in Connemara and by Gaeil

Uladh in Donegal in co-operation with Údarás na Gaeltachta. The essential challenge for such curriculum development centres is to produce materials which reflect and legitimize the life experiences of the children and which gives them the functional literacy which is necessary for the study of other areas of the curriculum.

Post Primary Schooling

Second level schools in Ireland are very strongly influenced by the demands of our centralized examinations system. These examinations serve as a selection mechanism both for third level colleges and for a substantial number of employers. The schools therefore become cast in the role of preparing young people for entry to the broader world of work. This means that there is a very strong emphasis on equality of opportunity which in turn has been interpreted in the case of Irish as necessitating a unidimensional syllabus where there is no distinction made between courses for those who are native speakers of Irish and those for whom it is a second language. This of necessity places undue restrictions on the type and quality of the materials which can be included on a course for native speakers.

Examinations have tended to be more concerned with the technical details of literacy texts than about affording the opportunity to individuals to react in any kind of personalised way to the texts. The challenge of syllabus development at second level is one of providing the structures which will give due encouragement and recognition to the broader range of activities which may justifiably be classed as language teaching. There is a need to develop in the young adults a greater metalinguistic awareness which transcends the study of form as an end in itself and explores the connection between language form and language function.

Conclusion

In the case of less widely used languages mother tongue is best interpreted as the language variety of the community to which the child belongs. In this light the development of teaching materials is best done on a local basis rather than at national level so that the life experiences of the child can be confirmed and expanded. The ultimate aim of first language teaching is the development of the linguistically confident individual who has the ability and sensitivity to adapt to the context in which he finds himself. In the case of Irish there is at present a need to explore more fully the present context of language use so that authentic language activities can be fully explored at all levels of the education system.

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THE TEACHING OF IRISH AS A FIRST LANGUAGE IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE GAELTACHT

Peadar Ó Flatharta, Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge.

Since the foundation of this state in 1922 it has been the Irish Government's policy to restore the Irish language as a general medium of communication all over the country. It could easily be expected that the attainment of such an aim would have required at least as much expense, research and adjustment of administration as was provided for electrification, defence, housing, etc. etc. I can safely say that nobody would disagree with me when I state that no such effort has been made.

According to our Constitution, Article 8, Paragraph (.i.):

1. The Irish language as the national language is the first official language.
2. The English language is recognised as a second official language.

When the White Paper as it is commonly known, or to give it its proper title, 'The Restoration of the Irish Language' was published in 1965, it reiterated government policy on the Irish language - it reaffirmed the official status of the language:

> "The national aim is to restore the national language as a general medium of communication. Nevertheless, for a considerable time ahead, English will remain the language chiefly used outside the Gaeltacht (Irish speaking areas) for various purposes ... Because of our geographic position and the pattern of our economic and social relationships, a competent knowledge of English will be needed even in a predominantly Irish-speaking Ireland. With effective use of modern teaching methods and facilities ... the standards of literacy and fluency required in English for all our needs can be maintained and general education standards raised, while our knowledge of Irish is advanced and its use extended to realize the national aim ... No Irish child can be regarded as fully educated if he grows up without a knowledge of the Irish language. The educational system will be seriously defective if it does not provide for the teaching of Irish to all children".

Further on in the report the use of Irish as a medium of instruction is mentioned:

> "The Minister for Education considers that is is not advisable that a general plan to secure teaching through Irish in all schools should be drawn up until further investigation of the general effects of teaching through a language other than the home language have been made".

In general Irish was to be taught as a subject in all primary schools and the use of Irish as a medium of instruction for other subjects was to be allowed by the Department of Education "only when the teacher is competent to give such instruction and where the pupils have sufficient Irish to profit by it".

While we are not concerned today with the success, or lack of it, in achieving our national aim of restoring Irish, as a general medium of communication nevertheless, I feel that we cannot discuss the teaching of Irish as a first language in the Gaeltacht area without looking at the tribulations of the language at a national level. The nation as a whole is practically speaking monolingual but there is a fairly widespread knowledge of Irish and some use the language. Bilingualism is more a feature of some schools than of the communities in their immediate environment.

In the 1920's there were three strong dialects of Irish in the country. However, the national language that the State aspired to restore was an official version of those dialects made up of a conglomeration of all three dialects and a liberal spattering of made-up Irish. This version of the language was adopted by the State and used when the various organs of state wished to communicate with one another. This artificial language was more than adequate and proper for official use but not to be promoted through the educational system throughout the country. Whatever reason d'etre can be made for its promotion throughout the rest of the country, its promotion in Gaeltacht areas, especially in the field of early childhood and early primary schooling, is questionable.

Mother tongue learning or first language learning or reinforcement usually refers to a major language and accordingly most if not all research on first language learning deals with the learning of French, English, German, etc. as first languages. This of course leaves us in a situation where little or no research is carried out on the difficulties of first language learning where the first language in question is a minor language, for of course major difficulties and differences exist.

Ordinarily a child learning his first language in a major language environment is aided in his learning by many important factors. The child learns language in his immediate environment - his home and family, this acquisition and learning is reinforced by the greater environment - this entails playing in the street, attending school, reading books, through watching television, etc. Other adults and children, the broadcast and written media all aid the child in learning new vocabulary, new structures and through such learning the child makes new and hopefully delightful discoveries which mould his whole viewpoint on life. In a lesser used language situation however, such consistency does not exist. The type of reinforcement referred to does not exist to the same extent. The child experiences one language in the home and perhaps in school but a whole other world exists only through a different medium. This in itself is not necessarily a bad thing - seeing different worlds through different languages - it only becomes a disadvantage when conflict arises in the mind of the child. This conflict arises when the child associates and makes value judgements about the usefulness and importance of each language. Very quickly the child can associate a whole world of imagination, action, colour, relationships with a language used on mass media like television and books. Let me quote you the words of Dr. Henning Johansson -

> "Too often it is forgotten that from the beginning almost every child is a monolingual child. A minority child, however, is different from a majority child since the former is generally not at liberty to refuse to

> participate in the majority culture and language unless she/he can live in total isolation from others. The problems under consideration arise when the minority culture and the first language are supplemented by the majority culture. Through his/her first language the child learns to obtain fundamental satisfactions such as human response. He/she organizes and gives meaning to everything perceived. In other words she/he develops as a unique human being. This development is violated when the child meets the dominant society that requires another language and values another culture more than his/her own.
>
> The child has done nothing to create this situation and does not understand it. His/her perception of the world around him/her is a meaningful heritage from the parents and their culture. Even if the development of this heritage is violated it is not easy to destroy it. The child may be made ashamed of it or even learn to despise it, but he/she generally does not reject it. As school the child begins to discover that the teachers sometimes do not understand him/her. This situation can lead to negative reactions to the education system. It may also happen that the child will start accusing his/her parents for providing him/her with an inferior view of the world. We should not be surprised if this happens since the child is not able to function within each culture, when it is imposed upon him/her".

In the few areas of this country where Irish can still be said to be the dominant language (the Gaeltacht areas) children from bilingual homes attend schools in which Irish is the sole medium of instruction. The area itself is bilingual with the Irish language still dominating. These areas are in gradual decline with English creeping in as a medium of instruction, especially in peripheral areas of the Gaeltacht.

The minority language must compete successfully to gain the attention, respect and the imagination of the child if it is to be the first language of such a child. To do so it needs the technology, the facilities, the aids used in major language learning if indeed, not more. As regards the teaching of Irish as a first language, children, parents and teachers lack the most basic aids after sixty years of self-government. As there is a serious lack of textbooks and teaching materials, English language textbooks are used in certain subjects. Furthermore the state pursued a policy of translation rather than producing original indigenous textbooks and teaching aids in the Irish language (geared to teaching Irish as a first language). A vast amount of this translation work was carried out by professional translators, sometimes far removed from the classroom situation and sometimes far removed from the Gaeltacht itself. This often resulted in teachers being presented with textbooks supposedly geared for 10-12 year olds in subject matter but in many cases in fact the reader would need to have a reading age of 18-20 to be able to use the textbooks. Naturally both pupils and teacher turned to the English language version.

I notice that the textbook problem has been referred to in a recent report by the Dáil's Joint Committee on the Irish Language. I quote:

> "The members of the Joint Committee have the following recommendation to make - that it be recognised at Government level that a crisis prevails in relation to textbooks and teaching materials in Irish in general and that an announcement be made ... about what is intended to overcome this difficulty".
>
> Joint Committee on the Irish Language, February '88.

It is only right to point out that there have been achievements made in the provision of secondary reading materials, especially for early childhood. I must say also that some of the primary school inspectorate have initiated and backed up study groups in the Gaeltacht in recent years and that An Gúm must be commended on taking the initial step of producing reading material for native Irish speakers, in cooperation with Muintearas na nOileán.

Such a situation could only arise with a minority or a lesser used language. Can you imagine a situation where no suitable textbook was provided for the teaching of a subject through English? Or where children of ten years upwards had a shortage of suitable reading materials. There would be uproar - speeches about inadequate education, and the rights of the child, and the duty of the State and the responsibilities of the Department of Education etc., etc. Ironically none of these problems are mentioned in the Curaclam na Bunscoile -

the curriculum for the primary schools published by the Department of Education in 1971. In the section dealing specifically with Irish in the Gaeltacht primary school, the emphasis seems to be on proper diction and elocution and purifying the native Irish speaker's vocabulary. The section sets a goal of ridding the native tongue of Hiberno-English words that were ruining the language and states that it is the teachers' goal that native Irish speakers would use the word "rothar" instead of "bicycle" and that from then on "an clog a thochrais" would be heard instead of "an clog a windáil". The section goes on to make an interesting supposition - that the children coming from a country or rural environment have a narrower range of language and speech than their counterparts from an urban environment. (Don't forget that we are talking about one of the richest areas of folklore in Europe). It goes on to state that the majority of Gaeltacht children are from such a rural environment. It suffices to say that we hope that we will see a more realistic approach from the Curriculum Review presently under way.

I referred earlier to the problems that children with a minority culture have overcome in the face of the dominant culture. We cannot ignore the difficult situation that teachers teaching in Gaeltacht area have to encounter. Gaeltacht teachers are not at the stage where they are requesting high technology teaching aids to reinforce the first language of children under their care - they are still trying in vain to get an adequate supply of basic teaching aids. They are still at the stage where they are instructed to teach the same syllabus in the teaching of Irish to Gaeltacht children as is taught in Ballymun or Foxrock or anywhere else in the country. The problems arise immediately the child comes to school. There are no aids to teach pre-reading skills to native Irish speaking children - no reading tests to test their abilities or determine their reading age, no reading scheme designed to teach Irish reading to native Irish speaking children - the children learn to cope with the stale reading scheme produced by the publishing companies for the teaching of Irish as a second language. If the child is not so lucky to learn reading by the "look and say" method then I am afraid that the child will be at a loss, for there is no other system. It seem incredible that we still don't have a phonetically based reading scheme designed to teach Irish reading as a second language, never mind catering for Gaeltacht children. While teachers try to cope as well as they can using the reading schemes designed to teach Irish as a second language, they face major problems after fourth class. By that time such reading schemes have come to an end and the children desperately need an anthology of fiction that would foster a love for reading Irish books later in life. Such an anthology does not exist.

This same indifference permeates all aspects of the learning situations exposed to the child - the lack of textbooks and secondary reading materials, the lack of stimulating educational and entertaining programmes on State Radio and Television, the neglect of providing suitable challenging syllabi etc., etc.

Let us also look at the very provision of teachers to teach native Irish speaking children through Irish. Most of the Gaeltacht schools are two teacher schools with a few three teacher schools. Those of us who went through teacher training college could not be faulted if most of us didn't know that such an establishment as a two teacher school existed, not to mention the two teacher Gaeltacht schools where the first language is Irish. The system does not bother to recognise that there are Gaeltacht areas where children speak a different language, have different educational needs, come from a minority culture and that some teachers will not be teaching one class a year in a big one class/one teacher middle class school where all the children speak English as their first language, with around twenty-five in each class. There has been some pilot work done in this area, or a related area, concerning the provision of teachers, for all-Irish schools outside the Gaeltacht.

We cannot examine the teaching of Irish as a first language in Gaeltacht schools without considering that provisions must be made for teaching English as a second language. As you are all aware, Gaeltacht areas are continuously receding in spite of the official state policy that we referred to earlier. The dominant language and culture has rapidly pushed its way and imposed itself, changing families who have spoken Irish since year dot into English speaking families. Many reasons can be put forward for this change and we have dealt with some of them already. We must accept that parents want to do what's best for their children as they see it. Parents wish that their children would not suffer the linguistic difficulties they suffered themselves when they were forced to emigrate. Of course this is a valid point that must be recognized. If we hope to continue to teach Irish as a first language in Gaeltacht schools it can only be done with the cooperation of parents. In order to secure the parents cooperation, the school system must be able to guarantee the parents that their children will not be at a loss if they hold on to the minority culture. In other words the parents are going to rear their children in the home language and if we want to teach Irish as a first language in those schools, we must cater for the genuine fears of those parents. Of course, we must provide the necessary teaching aids for first language teaching. As well as that we must provide the necessary teaching aids to teach English as a second language. First and foremost we must provide for the communication needs of the children so that their own minority language will not hinder their progress in the big world.

We are all familiar with the current debate going on in England at present about a National Curriculum. Let me quote from a document issued by the Welsh Office in December 1987, titled 'The National Curriculum'. We associate a national curriculum with lack of room and flexibility and for that reason I make a conscious decision to quote from it:

> "The status of Welsh as a foundation subject means that the Secretary of State can prescribe attainment targets, programmes of study and appropriate assessment and testing arrangements. For Welsh, it would be necessary

> to prescribe more than one set of attainment targets in order to cover the various forms in which the subject is taught. These will need to encompass Welsh as a first language and Welsh as a second language, both of which are commonly studied to GCSE or equivalent level. There will also be a need to provide appropriately for a basic level of attainment in Welsh, appropriate for pupils in all parts of Wales who would not necessarily expect to study the subject to GCSE standard".

To sum up, it seems that the most fundamental need of Gaeltacht areas where Irish is taught as a first language is to develop a school system that does not violate the development of the child as a unique human being by valuing another culture more than his/her own. It is only then that the child as a human being can contribute to the maintenance of society and in broader terms the development of our culture. As technology, printing and development, communication, develops at a fantastic rate there must be no reason for failing to achieve this goal even in these days of domination in cultural terms and fiscal rectitude.

Tilling Some Irish Lexical Fields

Liam Mac Mathúna
(Coláiste Phádraig, Baile Átha Cliath)

Introduction

Some of you may recall Professor Kenneth Jackson's comprehensive survey of the progress of Irish language studies during the course of this century, which he delivered at the Sixth International Congress of Celtic Studies, held in University College, Galway, in 1979. Speaking on the theme "The Historical Grammar of Irish: Some Actualities and Some Desiderata", he noted that, in contrast to the areas of phonology and morphology, which had engaged the attention of scholars since the inception of modern Celtic Studies in the nineteenth century, and also in contrast to syntax, which had recently attracted increased interest, the study of the vocabulary of the Irish language continued to be relatively neglected (Jackson 1983). However, his comments related particularly to the study of the change in meanings of words within the language. Criticism of sins of omission in many areas of Irish lexical studies are no doubt quite justified, but, in fairness both to scholars and to scholarship, one should also take stock of what has in fact been achieved. Professor de Bhaldraithe has just been outlining the lexicographical concerns which will continue to profitably occupy scholars of the modern language. The Royal Irish Academy's Dictionary of the Irish Language = (DIL), begun in 1913, was only brought to a conclusion in 1976: this dictionary deals with the language down to about the year 1650. An etymological dictionary of this same, older, period of the language, Lexique étymologique de l'Irlandais ancien, was begun by J. Vendryes in 1959. Paris-based, it is being published with the support of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. These major dictionary projects have necessarily absorbed quite considerable financial and personnel resources. Unavoidably so, for they are the secure foundation on which all Irish language scholarship rests. Both the reception of the inherited tradition of Irish culture (with its twin manuscript and oral strands) and the dynamic facilitation of language community maintenance and growth would be inconceivable in the absence of these major dictionary projects. The energies of individual scholars have often been profitably directed to the limited lexical objective of adequately presenting the vocabulary content of single texts in notes or indices. And of course, the problems of explanation associated with individual words continue to attract short, but interesting, contributions from scholars in the various journals.

However, it is to be noted that the lexical work so far outlined has been primarily concerned with single words. In the case of the dictionaries, this was virtually inevitable. In the case of contributions to journals, it may perhaps rather result from the lack of awareness of other valid, and valuable, approaches. The scholar's spotlight has been beamed on one word at a time. The impingement of the senses or forms of other words on the one currently receiving the attention of the lexicographer would of course be implicitly borne in mind, but not explicitly dealt with. Short notes in journals tend to focus on the exotic elements of vocabulary, those words which, for one reason or another, stand out from their fellows. And so the more structured approaches to vocabulary study, which have become commonplace on the Continent in this century, have had remarkably little impact on Irish studies - a state of affairs I would be inclined to trace back to the founding of the School of Irish Learning in Dublin in 1903. Ironically, it was the very success of the effort to found Irish-based institutions to foster the study of the Irish language and its literature which gradually served to reduce the influence of outside scholarship. An excellent philological tradition of text editing evolved here in Ireland, but this may have been at the expense of closing off the ventilating ducts which would have brought us the invigorating air of novel developments in more general linguistics. Is it not significant that it was a Swiss scholar, Heinrich Wagner, who successfully undertook the collection of synchronic dialectal material in the linguistic geography approach and is it not equally significant that his field-work, carried out 1949-56, has not been replicated since, neither within particular dialect areas, nor indeed for individual points of enquiry? (Cf Wagner 1958-69). Similarly, it is an American, Nancy Stenson, who has analysed material from western Irish, grouping recorded informants into four periods by date of birth, mid-19th century, late 19th century, early

20th century and mid-20th century, and thereby illustrated morphological changes in the verb and noun, which have taken place over a relatively short period of time (Stenson 1982).

All of this preamble, as you may well have been surmising, is by way of apologia for my own work in the lexical field tradition. The lexical field approach of Jost Trier and Leo Weisgerber holds that lexemes are not autonomous semantic units, having their senses in isolation, but rather that the sense (and denotation) of each lexeme is determined by its relationship with whatever other lexemes join with it to make up the greater whole of a lexical field, and beyond this, ultimately the vocabulary of a language. In the translated words of J. Trier (1973):

> No word spoken exists on its own in the consciousness of the speaker and hearer to the extent that one might conclude from its phonetic isolation. Each word spoken calls to mind its opposite in concept. And still more than this. In the totality of all the relations of concept which are brought forth by the speaking of a word, that of the opposite in concept is only one and it is not by any means the most important. There are a host of other words, to a greater or lesser extent close to the spoken word in concept, which spring up.
>
> They are its relatives in concept. They form among themselves and together with the word spoken an organized whole, a structure, which one may call a word-field or a linguistic sign-field (sprachliches Zeichenfeld). The word-field is apportioned in a symbolically meaningful manner, a more or less closed complex of senses, the internal division of which is represented by the organized structure of the sign-field in which [the word-field] is provided for the members of a language community.... The individual words are set in the word-field, the word-cloak, the word-covering in the form of a mosaic and - in regard to their number and positioning - they set out the borders within the block of concept and divide it up.

I should now like to illustrate some aspects of the application of the lexical field approach to a variety of semantic areas in Irish, starting with the expressions for some meteorological phenomena. Wagner's map headed "it is raining" (1958, I, p. 221) shows fearthainn and báisteach in complementary distribution as verbal nouns in Munster, while Ulster is represented by another verbal noun, cur. Tá sé ag báisteach and closely related variants predominate in counties Cork and Kerry (an exception is pt. 15 in Cork with feathainn) and in the south Connacht region. Tá sé ag fearthainn is to be found in east Munster and the more inland portions of Connacht. Co. Mayo provides a characteristically complex picture as *tá sé ag cur* is to be found there along with both *tá sé ag fearthainn* and *tá sé ag báisteach*. *Báisteach* and *fearthainn* occur for "rain" alongside *ag báisteach* and *ag fearthainn* "raining", respectively, while *fearthainn* is used in Donegal alongside *ag cur*. The restricted distribution of *cuir* "put" as an auxiliary verb with *báisteach* and *fearthainn* to express "it is raining" is noteworthy as this is the form most favoured by non-native speakers of Irish and the restoration movement in general. Examples are, however, to be found in Cork and Mayo: the co-existence of forms both with and without *báisteach* at points 51 and 54 in Mayo seems particularly instructive: this synchronic pattern suggests that diachronically *tá sé ag cur* derives from *tá sé ag cur b(h)áistí/tá sé ag cur f(h)earthainne*, the verbal noun meaning "rain(ing)", having been dropped as redundant.

Confining ourselves just to the Old Irish terms for "rain", we are confronted by words quite different from those in general use today. *Flechud* o, m., was the usual, semantically unmarked word for "rain" at that time. "Light rain" was expressed by *bráen* o, m., while *folc* o,m., meant "heavy rain". However, the expression of "it is raining" by *feraid flechud* provides us with a link to Modern Irish. In Middle Irish *ferthain* i, f., was the verbal noun of this verb *feraid*. The observation that the demise of Old Irish *flechud* was accompanied by the rise of the verbal noun *ferthain*, which used to govern it, as a replacement, which has given us one of the two regular Modern Irish words for "rain", lends virtually conclusive support to the suggested evolvement of northern *ag cur* from, let us assume, *ag cur f(h)earthainne*. Within Irish, there is also evidence for the substitution of the more colloquial *ag stealladh* "pouring" for earlier *ag stealladh báistí* "pouring rain". And of course the very choice of English equivalents just quoted has no doubt already prompted you to call up the relevant cards in your mental filing index. Parallels abound in English and in other European languages. One can cite colloquial English *it is lashing* and *it is spilling*, Mod. German *es giesst* and *es schüttet* "it is pouring", as well as Mod. Swed. *det öser ned* "it is pouring down". Welsh also has examples which I shall be referring to shortly. The rise of the second Modern Irish word for "rain", *báisteach*, in the Middle Irish period is none too abundantly attested, but it occurs towards the end of that stage of the language, say late 12th century. Of course a lexical interloper of a mere 700 years standing can expect short shrift from our more conservative scholars. Witness the following comments of the redoubtable Fr. Richard Henebry (1909, p. 544), a native speaker of Irish from the Decies, Co. Waterford:

> As to slang, bogha báisdighe is a word for the rainbow, but the expressions stuagh nimhe and bogha ceatha are infinitely better, especially the first, which is the Irish expression. Báisdeach is a very poor derivative from bádhudh, "drowning," and never held a respectable position in Irish. It is about as classic as if one said bogha steallta in the same sense.

Now, ironically, Fr. Henebry has probably been led to this erroneous conclusion by his accurate etymological analysis and by his hyper-sensitive appreciation of the nuances of meaning in the regional dialects. *Báisteach* comes from the stem *báid-* of *báidid* "submerges, drowns" and the suffix *-sech*, which would have given first **báidhsech*, then let us say **báisdhech* and finally *báistech* (i.e. through the stages of metathesis and delenition of *d* = later *dh*). It is not a word which Fr. Henebry would have had from his own dialect, and his comparison with *stealladh* is apt, and might profitably be heeded by the many current speakers, who have difficulty in adjusting to anything but the most informal of Irish language registers.

You may be wondering whatever happened to OIr. *flechud* "rain". Well it actually survived as *fliaghey*, the usual word for "rain" in Manx Gaelic. And interestingly, the Manx for "it is raining" was *ta e ceau* (equivalent to Irish *tá sé ag caitheamh*, lit. "it is casting, throwing"), paralleling well *tá sé ag cur* and the other Irish expressions quoted.

Turning our attention briefly to "snow" and "it is snowing", it is noteworthy that Scottish Gaelic seems to have specialized the use of *cur* in relation to "snowing", a development which proceeds regularly from the widespread occurrence in Middle Irish of *cor* with reference to "snowing". Applying the insights gained from observing the semantic regeneration within Irish of expressions for "it is raining", it has proved possible to supply plausible etymologies for the more problematic cases. For example, I think it likely that the none too common OIr. *ladg*, Mod.Ir. *laogh* (*DIL*), *ladhg* (Ó Dónaill 1977) "snow" derives from a root *_la-_, to be found in *tarla*, *do-rala*. Even more satisfactory was its contribution to an analysis of the Welsh evidence. W. *mae'n bwrw*, *mae hi'n bwrw*, lit. "it is pouring, throwing, casting" has dispensed with the word for "rain" itself, *glaw*. This contrasts with the specialization of Mod.W. *odi*, *ôd* as "snowing, snow" in one area of N.E. Wales, although the verb *odi* originally meant "casts, throws" and was followed by *eira* "snow". The usual expression for "it is snowing" is *mae'n bwrw eira*.

Thunder and lightning

The expression of "thunder" and "lightning" in Irish provides a fine example of the innovation within continuity which one can find spanning more than a thousand years of the Irish lexicon. Let us juxtapose from the Milan Glosses *Ml*. 96 c 11 *intainid 7 intorainn*, lit. "the lightnings and the thunders", and from Tomás Ó Criomhthain's *An tOileánach* (1973, p. 228) *splancacha agus toirneacha*, lit. "(lightning-)flashes and thunders". The similarities are striking: in the two citations the plural occurs with reference to both phenomena, and the order of reference is the same - "lightnings" precedes "thunders" (both aspects contrasting with English, one may note). The words for "lightning" are different: in fact there would seem to have been constant seeking after new means of stressing the awesome power of lightning; but this has been done by drawing on words from specific semantic areas. *Tine* "fire" has at all times been an available productive element which may be qualified by a suitable semantic companion indicating the type of "fire" meant or may itself qualify some more or less metaphorically employed word. The expressions for "thunderbolt" bring out this point as well. At any rate, "fire" and "light" have supplied most of the expressions for "(flash of) lightning". Examples are OIr. *teine* "fire", later Mid. Ir. and Early Mod. Irish *teinntech* and *teinntrech* "lightning", Mod. Ir. *splangc* "flash", *lasair* "flame", *solas* "light" and *lasóg*, another derivative of *las-* "light, fire". The surface diversity of words for "(flash of) lightning" contrasts with the uniformity of expression of "thunder". OIr. _torann_, o, m., gave way to Mid.Ir. _torann_ a, f., and finally to late Mid.Ir, and Mod.Ir. _toirneach_ a, f., all of which derive from the same root.

Water expanse

Switching our attention from meteorological phenomena to the physical environment, it will be seen that the two tables below conveniently summarize the results of an investigation of the words for "water expanse". However, just before we discuss the tables I should like to make a few remarks about the four most common words for "the sea, ocean" in Old and Middle Irish, namely _muir_, _ler_, _fairrge_ and _ocían_. _Muir_ i, n and m., later f., would seem to be the least marked of the four principal words, being described in _DIL_ as "The sea in wide sense, both of sea as opposed to land and of particular tracts of ocean with special designations, occasionally of inland seas, ..." The custom of explaining _ler_ o, later attested as m., later also with gen. sg. _lera_, "sea, ocean", in the Early Modern Irish glossaries suggests that the word had slipped out of general use as an unbound lexeme. But, even in Old Irish, _ler_ is most frequently met with in poetry. Of course, the phrase _tar ler_, later _thar lear_ "beyond the sea, (from) across the sea" is common at all periods of the language. Perhaps prompted by Thurneysen's plausible etymology of _fairrge_, ingeniously deriving it from *_foirs(n)ge_, abstract noun from _fairsing_ "ample, broad, spacious", which it refers to, _DIL_ F-28 lists the senses of _fair(r)ge_ ia, f., as I "extent, expanse (?)" and II "the open sea, ocean", but only provides one example of sense I. _Ocían_ meant "the ocean, generally of deep sea as opposed to shallower water near land". For instance, the Atlantic Ocean is referred to in _ond ocian thiar co muir sair_ "from the ocean in the west to the sea in the east" (_Fianaig_. 30.17), which is a neat juxtaposition of the reputedly boundless ocean in the west and a known, limited sea in the east.

"x" denoting "attested/positive", "-" denoting "not attested/wanting".

Table 1

	First attested in	Inner-Irish formal development	Loan	Has close Celtic cognates	Has close western IE cognates	Has close general IE cognates
linn	OIr.	-	-	x	x	-
loch	OIr.	-	Welsh	x	x	-
inber	OIr.	x	-	x	-	-
gabul	OIr.	-	-	x	x	-
gobél	OIr.	x	-	-	-	-
cúan	Mid. Ir.	-	-	-	x	-
muincenn	OIr.	x	-	-	-	-
muir	OIr.	-	-	x	x	x
ler	OIr.	-	-	x	x	x
fairrge	OIr.	x	-	-	-	-
ocían	Mid. Ir.	-	Latin	-	-	-

Table 2

	Inland pool, lake, etc*	Coastal inlet	The sea	Inner-Irish semantic development	Element in placenames**
linn	x	x	x	x	x
loch	x	x	-	x	x
inber	-	x	-	x	x
gabul	x	x	-	x	x
gobél	-	x	-	x	-
cúan	x	x	x	x	x
muincenn	-	x	x	x	x
muir	-	-	x	-	x
ler	-	-	x	-	-
fairrge	-	-	x	x	-***
ocían	-	-	x	-	-

* Including *gabul* in the sense "branch of a river".

** Reference may be made to *Hog. Onom.* for examples in the cases of *gabul* (s.v. *gabal*, *gobal*) and *cúan*.

*** One ad hoc instance only.

The relative richness of the Old and Middle Irish material extant allows one to trace quite finely the interrelation of inland, coastal and open bodies of water. One may note considerable overlapping of the three categories chosen, especially in marked texts such as poetry. However, the fact that one is sometimes dependent on placenames for attestations of a particular sense is a reminder of the limitations of our corpus of Early Irish, as regards both range and extent, as well as an indication that the placename element may represent an earlier usage. Only two of the eleven words studied are first attested in Middle Irish (*cúan*, *ocían*). Only four show specifically inner-Irish formation (*inber*, *gobél*, *muincenn*, *fairrge*). No evidence of insular substratum influence has emerged in the investigation of this wordfield. There is, on the other hand, much evidence of cohesion within the Celtic languages and, more significantly perhaps, within the western grouping of Indo-European languages. The links with Indo-European languages further afield are rather tenuous: the roots of the Early Irish and western Indo-European words are indeed widely represented in the Indo-European languages in general, but the extensions employed and the senses assigned are seldom directly paralleled. This distinctiveness of the western Indo-European grouping as regards the wordfield "water expanse" is supported by the Continental substratum influence which may be postulated for the cognates of OIr. *loch* and *muir*. The loan of *loch* to Welsh and the borrowing of *ocían* into Middle Irish from Latin show much later language contact in the same region of Western Europe.

Heights

In the case of the lexemes which denote and describe physical features it would also be instructive to contrast the distribution in the narrative or free text with that in the placenames occuring as fixed components of the same texts. I have examined the evidence of the Milan Glosses (Ml.) and *Bethu Phátraic* (ed. K. Mulchrone) (*Trip.*^{2}) as regards substantives in the wordfield "heights", concentrating on the two most important lexemes *tulach* "hill" and *slíab* "mountain, mountain-range; moor". This study is part of a wider attempt to achieve a synthesis of the Continental wordfield approach and the philological tradition of Irish scholarship: it seeks to construct general wordfield surveys and studies on the type of firm textual foundation which has been the basis of so much of the Irish contribution to Celtic studies.

In the following listing the number of occurrences of a lexeme in free composition is given first with the number of occurrences in placenames enclosed afterwards in brackets. In the case of *ard* and *dígas* occurrences as adjectives are included, otherwise reference is made only to substantives. Ml. yielded the following results:

ard "high place, height; high" 7(-)
ardae "height" 1(-)
dígas "height, high" 7(-)
dígsa "height" 1(-)
mullach "topmost part, top" 1(-)
slíab "mountain, mountain-range, moor" 18(6)
tulach "hill" 3(-)

The corresponding figures for *Trip.*^{2} are:

ard 2(32)
ardae-(1)
benn "peak, summit" 2(-)
brí "hill" -(4) and Brega (5)
cnocc "hill" -(1)
cnuchae "hillock" 3(-)
crúach "mountain, mountain stack" 2(-) and crúachán 9(8)
druimm "ridge, hill" 2(29)
escir "ridge"1(-)
mullach 1(1)
slíab 11(11) and sléibide (adj.) "mountainous" 1(-)
temair "high place, eminence, hill" -(28)
tulach 17(9)

It is clear from the combined evidence of placename elements, knowledge of the situation of places mentioned in *Trip.*^{2} and lexemes referring to heights that a great variety of social activity was conducted on elevated ground. In a very real sense then the citations containing *tulach* are of central importance for an appreciation of this account of Patrick's life, and its depiction of the type of society to which he belonged. *Slíab*, on the other hand, is used of higher, rougher ground, inaccessible and difficult to traverse. Accordingly, *slíab* is not associated with communal functions but with the solitary activities of individuals. Most importantly, because they are far removed from man's everyday life and because their summits are held to be close to heaven, mountains are thought to be on the border of this world and the preternatural other world: it is on them that holy men of this world make contact with heavenly beings and have mystical experiences.

We may note briefly the kinds of community activity associated with hills in the texts in question. Patrick regularly founded churches on high ground. He also baptized on a hill. Charles Plummer (1910, I p. clxxiv) has already observed that "Curses and blessings are given from a height, in order that they may fall with full effect on the objects [or persons!] at which they are aimed". However, it seems to me that such a practice may result primarily from the use of hills for a variety of religious and secular purposes of communal importance. Hills would also appear to have been normal places of habitation.

Two stories concerning the mountains Slíab Líacc in Co. Donegal and Crúachán Aigle in Co. Mayo, now anglicized Slieve League and Croagh Patrick, respectively, illustrate the role of mountains as boundary points, touching and linking this material world and the other world, the preternatural world. Bishop Assicus, Patrick's bronze craftsman, is the subject of the first account:

> However, Assicus came in retreat to Slíab Líacc in Tír Bogaine and he was seven years on an island there and his monks were searching for him and after exertion they found him in the mountainy glens and they took him with them out of there, and Assicus died among them in the wilderness and they buried him in Ráth Chunga in Seirthi. (*Trip.*^{2} 1080-4).

The significance of this tale would appear to be that Assicus' monks considered that the length of his sojourn on the mountain and island and in the remote mountainous area was excessive and they intended to bring him back with them to return to living among men in society. It is a case of humans feeling that the normal equilibrium of heaven and earth was being upset by the holy man, who acts as contact between the beings of both worlds, staying too long in the marches.

In the second story it is the heavenly beings who are incommoded by the presence of a saint on a mountain. They show themselves quite incapable of countering the bargaining power which the saint acquired by his position on the doorstep of Heaven, as it were. It is in fact the remarkable account in *Bethu Phátraic* of Patrick's forty-day stay on Crúachán Aigle and the extended negotiations which he successfully conducted there.

Soon after Patrick's wish to settle in Ached Fhobair had been rejected by the angel the eighty-five line account begins (*Trip.*^{2} 1289-374): "Patrick went on to Crúachán Aigle on the Saturday before Lent. The angel came to speak to him, and said to him: 'God will not give you what you seek, for he considers that it is oppressive and selfish and that the requests are great.' 'Is that his intention?' said Patrick. 'It is,' said the angel.

'It is my intention,' said Patrick, 'that I shall not go from this mountain stack ("ni req-sa assin chruachán sa") until I shall be dead or until all the wishes shall be granted". (Trip.^{2} 1289-94). So the scene is set. Patrick was depressed and troubled in spirit and this ominous conflict with God loomed from the beginning. In fact, Patrick's experiences on Crúachán Aigle were traumatic. The narrative continues: "Patrick was then on Crúachán in bad spirits without drink, without food, from the Saturday before Lent until Easter Saturday, like Moses son of Amrae." (Trip.^{2} 1295-7). "Then at the end of those forty nights and forty days the mountain was filled against him with flocks of black birds, so that he could not distinguish sky or earth". (Trip.^{2} 1300-1). "He chanted maledictory psalms against them. They did not go from him as a result of it. Then his anger towards them increased. He struck his bell against them so that the men of Ireland heard its sound and he threw it at them so that its gap broke out of it, so that that is called Bernán Brigte. Patrick then weeps so that his face and his cloak in front of him became wet. No devil came to the land of Ireland after that until seven nights had passed. The angel came then to comfort Patrick and it cleaned the cloak and brought white flocks of birds about the mountain stack and they were singing sweet tunes for him. 'You shall take that number yonder,' said the angel, 'of souls from pain, and the equivalent of that which your eye reaches on the sea.' 'That is not a matter for me to boast about,' said Patrick, 'My eye can not reach far on the sea.' 'Then you shall have what is both on sea and on land," said the angel.' (Trip.^{2} 1302-13). 'Is there anything else which is obtained for me besides that?' said Patrick. 'There is,' said the angel, 'seven to be taken every Saturday from the pains of hell until doomsday.' 'If anything were given to me twelve men would be greater.' 'You shall have it,' said the angel, 'and depart from the mountain stack.' 'I shall not depart,' said Patrick, 'for I have been tormented, until I be appeased.' 'Is there anything else which may be given to me?' said Patrick."

And so the dialogue between the angel and Patrick continues. Each offer of the angel ends with the exhortation ocus dingaib din chruachán, "and depart from the mountain stack" and Patrick invariably responds "Ni dingéb, ... ol rom chráided, co ndom *digdider*". "I shall not depart, for I have been tormented, until I be appeased." These formulaic expressions occur (with slight orthographic variation) six times in all, i.e. at lines 1326-8, 1330-1, 133-5, 1337-9, 1345-6, and 1353 (where Patrick's reply is shortened to "I shall not depart"). For a while the inducements are offered by the angel: seven souls to be taken from the torments of hell every Thursday and twelve every Saturday; Ireland to be submerged under the great sea seven years before doomsday. But then the initiative passes to the saint, with the angel enquiring what else Patrick might seek: he wants Ireland to be free of Saxons settling permanently there. And then the offers and the demands alternate. Eventually Patrick requests that he himself be allowed to be the judge of the men of Ireland on the day of judgment. At this stage the celestial negotiator fears that he may have exceeded his brief and decides to refer the matter back to the Lord: "'Perhaps that thing is not obtained from the Lord,' said the angel. 'Unless it is obtained from him, then the departure from the mountain stack will not be obtained from me from this day until doomsday, though it be so, watch will be kept there by me.' The angel went to heaven. Patrick went to say mass. The angel came in the evening. 'How is it!' said Patrick. 'It is thus,' said the angel. 'All the creatures, visible and invisible, prayed about the twelve apostles, and they obtained it; the Lord said, there did not come and there will not come after the apostles a man more amazing than you as regards your hardness (literally "save for thy hardness", so *DIL* M 4.25-6). What you prayed for you shall have ... 'A blessing on the generous king who gave it,' said Patrick, and this extraordinary episode ends with the saint's use of the future impersonal form of *do-ingaib*: "*dingébthar din chrúaich*". "*The mountain stack will be vacated*". (Trip.^{2} 1323-74).

Conclusion

With regard to the list of relevant studies by the speaker, provided by way of Appendix, this paper has drawn on some of the more striking results obtained, particularly in the first five articles. The articles themselves give a more comprehensive picture of the benefits of the lexical field approach. It has not, however, been possible to do more than hint at the advantages of applying the approach in the cultural sphere of the last three articles.

I should now like to make some brief, general comments by way of conclusion. The lexical field approach has been around too long for it to be wise to make the kind of extravagant claim on its behalf which a more novel methodology might excite. But I do think that, at the very least, it can provide a framework within which synchronic similarities and dissimilarities and diachronic patterns can be clearly observed. The lexical field approach is immediately applicable to vocabulary study, but it can also be adapted to the analysis of individual texts or groups of texts, thus helping us to gain important semantic and cultural insights into the way of life and thinking both of whole communities and of their intellectually more gifted members.

APPENDIX

Lexical Field Studies

On the Expression of "Rain" and "It is Raining" in Irish, *Ériu* xxix (1978) 39-57.

"Snow" and "It is Snowing" in Irish and Welsh: A Semantic Study, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* xxix (1980) 66-79.

On the Expression of Thunder and Lightning in Irish, in W. Meid, H. Ölberg, H. Schmeja (eds.), *Sprachwissenschaft in Innsbruck* (Innsbruck 1982) 95-106.

Continuity and Innovation in Early Irish Words for "Water Expanse", in W. Meid (ed.), *Studien zum Indogermanischen Wortschatz* (Innsbruck 1987) 83-99.

Old Irish Heights and Wordfield Potential, *Studia Hibernica* 24 (1984-8) 29-50.

On the Expression and Concept of Blindness in Irish, *Studia Hibernica* 19 (1979) 26-62.

The Designation, Functions and Knowledge of the Irish Poet: A Preliminary Semantic Study, *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 119. Jahrgang (Wien 1982) 225-38.

An Introductory Survey of the Wordfield "Knowledge" in Old and Middle Irish, in W. Meid and H. Schmeja (eds.), *Philologie und Sprachwissenschaft*. *Akten der 10. Österreichischen Linguisten-Tagung, Innsbruck, 23.-26*. *Oktober 1982* (Innsbruck 1983) 149-57.

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Review of Ailbhe Ní Chasaide and Eugene Davis, *A Data Processing System for Quantitative Analysis in Speech Production*. Centre for Language and Communication Studies, Trinity College Dublin, Occasional Paper No. 17. Autumn, 1986.

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This booklet, published by the Centre for Language and Communication Studies, is aimed at researchers in the area of phonetics and investigators of speech pathology. To date, the instrumentation described has been used by the authors for research or investigation of normal speech, however some implications for speech pathology are considered.

The paper is divided into four main sections, Section 1 being the introduction. Section 2, as the authors point out, is aimed at the reader who is unfamiliar with the instrumentation used in the phonetic laboratory. First it gives a good basic description of the synchronous movements of articulation during the production of certain sounds. It explains how the instrumentation monitors and provides information on aerodynamic and acoustic characteristics of speech. In this section, the instrumentation is described using seven channels, i.e., seven types of information. This section may have been easier to follow if the diagram and explanation were on opposite pages.

The authors briefly describe the use of this system for linguistic description and give more detailed information in the use and analysis of speech production. Here they highlight the use of the system for research and investigation of pathologies of speech.

The computer automated system is described in Section 3. The entire system is described in detail with good diagrammatic representations. The authors discuss the signal conditioning unit in detail, however, this would be difficult to understand if the reader was unfamiliar with phonetic instrumentation. The paragraphs on data display, software, and programme modules were well described, but overall I found Section 3 complex and therefore difficult to understand. This, however, may be due to the reader's limited experience in this area.

This book highlights the advantages of a data processing system for researchers in speech production, giving some ideas for areas of research. It is a good introduction to this type of system although some sections would be difficult to follow if the reader was unfamiliar with the equipment. On the other hand, this type of system is complex and difficult to describe, and I feel that the authors have described it in the most simple terms possible.

It may have been useful to outline the clinical usefulness of such a system and give more detailed examples of the research and possibilities in the area of speech pathology and general phonetics. The booklet would be extremely useful for students or researchers in the area of phonetics, particularly those interested in aerodynamic and acoustic analysis of speech.

Review of William E. Rutherford (ed.), Language Universals and Second Language Acquisition. Second edition. John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1987.

David Singleton
Trinity College Dublin

This book, published as No. 5 in the Benjamins Typological Studies in Language series, contains eight of the ten papers presented at a conference on Language Universals and Second Language Acquisition hosted by the American Language Institute, University of Southern California, in February, 1982. Most of the papers are followed by the remarks of discussants who had been pre-designated, and there is one additional paper (by Ferguson) which was submitted after the conference.

The aim of the conference was to explore the mutual relevance of research into language universals (henceforth LUs) and second language acquisition (henceforth SLA) research. In this it succeeded so well that the volume it generated is probably to be seen as required reading for researchers in both of the above areas.

The book begins with an introductory overview of its contents by its editor, William Rutherford. This is followed by a paper by Bernard Comrie which addresses the LU-SLA relationship from the point of view of the theoretical linguist and which shows how LU hypotheses can be converted into hypotheses about ease of acquisition and thus tested against SLA data. The second substantive contribution to the volume -- from Susan Gass and Josh Ard -- attempts to establish and illustrate a framework within which the influence of LUs on SLA can be investigated. The third paper -- by Fred Eckman -- then discusses some of the modalities of testing LU hypotheses against SLA data and the inferences that can legitimately be drawn when interlanguage phenomena appear to violate a posited LU.

Up to this point in the book the focus has been on syntax and phonology. With the fourth paper -- by T. Givon -- however, attention shifts to discourse structure. Drawing his examples from pidgins as well as from early interlanguage, Givon argues that at the least marked end of the 'rock bottom' universal hierarchy of topic marking one finds COMMENT (TOPIC) rather than TOPIC COMMENT structures. Derek Bickerton's characteristically provocative paper then moves discussion back to more general theoretical issues, namely those that arise from the fact that creoles constructed by children across a range of cultures on the basis of highly variable pidgin data tend to resemble each other very closely. Bickerton's explanation of this fact in terms of his 'language bioprogram hypothesis' outchomskies Chomsky, but his extreme faculté de langue position is immediately balanced by Jacquelyn Schachter's contribution. Schachter effectively demonstrates the reality of negative feedback in both first and second language development, and in so doing refurbishes the plausibility of the Chomskyan postulation of a hypothesis-testing dimension to these processes.

The final three papers in the book, contributed by Helmut Zobl, Kenui Hakuta, and Charles Ferguson respectively, very much maintain the level of discussion set by what precedes them, and ensure that the collection finishes on a high note. Zobl notes some striking similarities between certain SLA routes and the historical development of some languages, and on the basis of such similarities argues for the notion of universals of diachronic change. Hakuta, for his part, examines the ways in which language typology and SLA research can conspire to supply information concerning the 'n-dimensional space' within which all language acquisition must take place. Ferguson's concluding piece then provides a powerful reprise of the book's leitmotiv by relating SLA to a broad array of LUs -- phonological, syntactic, and discoursal.

The signal success of this endeavour to bring into interaction insights and data from LU and SLA research has already been commented on. Another very pleasing feature of the book is the balance it achieves between general theoretical debate and the presentation of quite specific possibilities for future research directions and approaches. With virtues such as these the collection cannot but become a standard and highly influential reference. Those intending to use it should be aware, though, that the text is in places fairly dense and assumes more than a nodding acquaintance with both linguistic theory and recent models of SLA. They should also be prepared to contend with a liberal sprinkling of typographical errors.

In short, this is a book which will be of great value to the theoretical linguist and the SLA researcher alike. Whilst not the most accessible (or most carefully proof-read) volume one is ever likely to encounter, it more than repays any effort the reader expends on it.

Léirmheas ar Liam Mac Mathúna, POBAL NA GAEILGE: Oidhrí agus Ceannródaithe. COISCÉIM 1987, v + 143 lch. £2:00. Clúdach bog.

Dónall P. Ó Baoill,
Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann,
Baile Átha Cliath 2.

Bailiúchán thrí aiste dhéag atá sa leabhar seo ar ghnéithe áirithe de shaol agus de theanga na Gaeilge. Idir 1977 agus 1985 a céadfhoilsíodh na haltanna seo. Tá cur síos sa mhórchuid díobh ar staid dhátheangach na tíre seo go mór mhór chomh fada agus a bhaineann le dearcadh an phobail agus na bhfoghlaimeoirí de. Is í an teanga féin idir scríobh agus chaint atá faoi scrúdú i gcuid eile díobh agus i gcúpla aiste tá trácht ar phobal Gaeilge na príomhchathrach. Tá mionaiste ann ar staid na Gaeilge sna Coláistí Oideachais.
Is léir treo machnaimh an údair ó theidil na n-aistí agus ón sórt foclaíochta a úsáidtear iontu, mar atá : Gnéithe de staid dhátheangach na hÉireann; I dtreo pobal nua Gaeilge; Teanga an phobail agus friotal an scríbhneora chruthaithigh; Oidhreacht órga agus cinniúint dhorcha; Dúshlán phobal na Gaeilge inniu; An dream iontu féin iad Gaeilgeoirí Bhaile Átha Cliath?; Pobal Gaeilge Bhaile Átha Cliath: Oidhrí agus ceannródaithe; Suirbhéanna Gaeilge 1973 agus 1983: Impleachtaí polasaí; Dearcadh na mac léinn ar chúrsaí na gcoláistí samhraidh; Gnéithe d'fhoghlaim agus d'úsáid dara teangacha in Éirinn; Dearcaidh, spriocanna agus cur i gcrích foghlaimeoirí Gaeilge; Suí corrach na Gaeilge sna Coláistí Oideachais; I dtreo caighdeáin labhartha; I dtreo anailís chodarsnach Gaeilge-Béarla.
Is in irisí Gaeilge a foilsíodh tromlach na n-altanna agus ní léir go ndearnadh aon athscríobh ar aon chuid díobh don bhailiúchán seo. Fágann sin athrá agus athrú béime agus tosaíochta ó aiste go chéile. Dá bhrí sin ní luíonn na haistí chomh maith le chéile agus dá scríofaí d'aonturas iad le leanúnachas agus comhréiteach argóna agus tuairimíochta a thabhairt. Mar sin féin tá mórán le rá ag an údár faoi staid reatha na teanga agus faoi chuid de na deacrachtaí a fheiceann sé sa bhealach ar fhás na teanga. Is léir leis gur beag cíoradh oibiachtúil, tomhaiste, intleachtúil atá déanta acu sin atá dílis don Ghaeilge ar an eolas go léir atá ar fáil fúithi agus faoina húsáid.

Is comhartha marbhántachta dar leis an fhaillí atá déanta acu siúd sa ghnó, óir is deacair dóibh ceannródaíocht a thabhairt do ghluaiseacht na teanga mura mbíonn na tuiscintí agus na bealaí oibre is deireanaí díleáite acu agus a gcuid féin déanta acu díobh.

Léiríonn an t-údar a dhearcadh féin ar staid na teanga i stíl atá neamhchorraithe tríd is tríd. Déanann sé iarracht a chuid tuairimí a mheas de réir na fianaise atá ar fáil ó thorthaí taighde de chineálacha éagsúla. Cé go ndéanann sé spíonadh céillí, réalaíoch ar na torthaí céanna braithim gur theith sé uaireanta ó chuid de na fíoraicí a bhí ag damhsa amach as leathanaigh na dtuarascálacha taighde air. Ba mhaith leis pobal Gaelach a bheadh neamhspleách ó thaobh polaitíochta, eacnamaíochta agus cultúir de a fheiceáil sa tír.

Is í an oidhreacht Ghaelach atá agus a fágadh againn a dhéanfas an pobal seo a chothú, dar leis. Ní bheadh locht air sin ach gur léir ó chuid de na torthaí a phléann sé féin agus ó thorthaí eile ó shin, nach mbeadh sé éasca a leithéid a chur i gcrích. Staid éigin dhátheangachais atá an pobal a iarraidh - áit nach mbeadh is cosúil an lámh uachtair ag an Ghaeilge (lgh 5-6). Is ceist liom fiú an dtig le daoine nach bhfuil an dá theanga ar a dtoil acu aon bhreithiúnas dá leithéid a dhéanamh ar chor ar bith. Is léir go bhfuil an tuairim a nocht na fáisnéiseoirí faoi fhuaimniú na Gaeilge bun os cionn lenár gcleachtadh ar a bheith ag éisteacht leo. Deir 40% díobh gur beag deacracht atá acu le fuaimniú. Chuirfeadh a leithéid lúcháir ar mo chroí ach tá eagla orm go bhfuil ciall eile ag an mhórchuid acu le 'deacracht' thar mar atá coitianta. Is tuar iontais dúinn chomh maith go bhfuil níos mó stádais ag baint le Gaeilge scoile ná le Gaeilge na Gaeltachta i measc lucht iarbhunscoile. Tá an tuairim choitianta ann nach mairfidh an Ghaeilge, nach bhfuil sí nua-aimseartha go leor agus ar ndóigh go bhfuil an Ghaeltacht sa déanach.

Molann an t-údar Gaeltachtaí úra a bhunú i gceantair Ghalltachta aon áit a bhfuil líon mór Gaeilgeoirí. Ba mhaith leis Gaeilge na Gaeltachta a chur i réim sna Gaeltachtaí úra seo ainneoin a mbeadh de dheacrachtaí praiticiúla ó thaobh siceolaíochta agus socheolaíochta lena leithéid. Bheadh deacrachtaí ann mar is ríléir ón dáiliú atá ar réimeanna cainte Bhéarla na hÉireann agus ar an chineál Gaeilge a sheachnaíonn agus a chleachtaíonn foghlaimeoirí cheana féin. Cén Ghaeilge ba cheart a chur i bhfeidhm i mBaile Átha Cliath abair agus cén t-údarás a bheadh taobh thiar den chineál a mholtar?

An bhfuil seans ar bith go ndéanfaidh Duibhleannaigh i gcoitinne agus as a gconlán féin aithris ar bhéas urlabhra na Gaeltachta? Is léir rud amháin ón chineál Béarla a d'fhorbair agus atá go forleathan ar fud na tíre seo, is é sin go mbeidh an cineál Gaeilge a bheas coitianta inti amach anseo (má bhíonn) éagsúil go leor ón chineál Gaeilge atáthar a thairiscint mar eiseamláir anois.

Ach cá bhfuil an phleanáil agus an réiteach ar siúl chuige sin? Ceisteanna iad sin agus tuilleadh nach iad nár mhiste iad a ardú agus freagra a thabhairt orthu.

Molann an t-údar athmhachnamh agus síorsmaoineamh a bheith ar siúl faoi choincheapanna agus faoi idéil i mbunú na nGaeltachtaí nua seo go háirithe maidir le príomhchathair Éireann. D'aontóinn leis go gcaithfí a leithéid a dhéanamh. Ach tá ceist is bunúsaí ná sin le freagairt againn - cad chuige nár éirigh linn go fóill, trí scór go leith bliain i ndiaidh ár saoirse, an dream mór atá chomh báúil sin leis an teanga, más fíor dóibh féin, a chur ag caint agus ag úsáid na teanga i ngnáthchúrsaí an tsaoil? Cad chuige a bhfuil an oiread sin neamhthoil acu ar a húsáid? Más fíor do na céatadáin ba cheart don teanga bheith réasúnta slán ach níl nó leathshlán.

Ardaítear ceist caighdeáin labhartha i dhá aiste sa chnuasach agus cé go léirítear tuairimí dhaoine eile faoina leithéid, ba mhór againn tuairimí an údair féin faoin scéal ach níor éirigh liom a sheasamh sa scéal a aimsiú go cinnte. Is baolach gur ceist í seo ar fearr le daoine í a sheachaint ar fad, sin nó bheith chomh míshoiléir fúithi agus is féidir. Ach más rud é go bhfuil athréimniú na Gaeilge le theacht caithfear a bheith macánta faoin scéal agus treoracha cinnte a thabhairt do mhúinteoirí agus don lucht foghlamtha faoi mhórán réimeanna teanga agus a n-úsáid.

Molaim an iarracht a rinne an t-údar san alt 'IdTREO ANAILÍS CHODARSNACH GAEILGE-BÉARLA' na príomhdhifríochtaí atá idir an dá theanga a thabhairt chun solais. Cé go ndeir sé féin "... go bhfuil teorainneacha an-soiléire le scóp an ailt seo", is léir gur tús maith é le díospóireacht faoin ábhar an-inspéise seo a mhuscailt agus a chothú. Tá sé thar am againn ar fad cur go mór agus go fada fairsing lena bhfuil anseo le heolas agus tuiscint ar bhonn leathan a chur ar fáil do na sluaite atá amuigh ansin ag fanacht leis.

Ba cheart aird ar leith a thabhairt i gcomhthéacs eile ar a bhfuil ráite ar leathanaigh 20/21 dar liom. Seo sampla as a bhfuil i gceist agam:

> "...b'fhearr go gcraithfimis dínn léirmheastóireacht an bhéil bháin a mholann iarracht an fhir Ghaeltachta as dúchas Gaelach a chuid Gaeilge agus a mholann iarracht an fhir Ghallda as bacadh le scríobh sa teanga in aon chor......... Tá díolaim liricí ar na bacáin ag gach ré Gaeilgeoir faiseanta. Tá caismirneach sruthláin na gearrscéalaíochta ag sní léi thar leathanaigh na n-irisí míosúla i gcónaí. Ach ní léir go bhfuil aon choiscéim coiligh chun tosaigh á tógáil ag an athbheochan dá mbarr".

Tá ábhar iontach spéisiúil chomh maith san alt 'POBAL GAEILGE BHAILE ÁTHA CLIATH: OIDHRÍ AGUS CEANNRÓDAITHE'. Léiríonn sé ilghnéitheacht na Gaeilge i mBaile Átha Cliath. Pléitear le focail, le fuaimeanna, le logainmneacha, le Gaeilgeoirí iomráiteacha agus le fás na Gaeilge sa chathair le 150 bliain anuas. Tá ábhar spéise ann don stairí agus don teangeolaí.

Ainneoin a bhfuil ráite agam thuas is díol suime do gach aon duine ábhar na n-aistí sa leabhar seo. Tá ábhar machnaimh agus díleáite iontu. Díreoidh siad an pobal ar fhoinsí eolaíocha taighde atá ar fáil faoin cheist. Spreagfaidh siad tuilleadh caibidle agus plé faoi ghnéithe tábhachtacha den teanga agus faoin ionad is ceart a bheith ag lucht labhartha na teanga i saol na tíre seo. Tá scóp mór ábhair ann atá cíortha go mion agus go mín. Bhí feidhm lena leithéid de leabhar. Tá feidhm le tuilleadh leabhar a dhéanfas cíoradh ar ábhair eile, ar cás agus ar cúis do phobal na Gaeilge iad. Bíodh an leabhar seo mar threoir agus mar chloch béal clocháin acu. Go soirbhí Dia a shaothar do Liam Mac Mathúna.

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Réamhrá

Tá TEANGA 10 ar láimh. Is eagrán réasúnta toirteach é seo ina bhfuil ailt bunaithe ar chainteanna a tugadh ag seimineáir de chuid IRAAL i 1988 agus 1989 mar aon le dhá alt le Vera Regan agus Grace Neville a tugadh ag siompóisiamaí eile. Bhí cúpla alt a tugadh ag seimineáir IRAAL nár fhéad na húdair a sholáthar dúinn an uair seo ach cuirfear ar fáil iad i dTEANGA 11. Tá súil againn go dtaitneoidh éagsúlacht an eagráin seo lenár léitheoirí.

An tEagarthóir
Feabhra, 1990

Introduction

TEANGA 10 has arrived. This is a fairly extensive edition containing articles from seminars orgainized by IRAAL in 1988 and 1989, including two articles by Vera Regan and Grace Neville and delivered at meetings elsewhere. A few authors were unable to submit their articles for this edition but they intend to have them ready for TEANGA 11. We hope that the variety of articles in this edition will appeal to our readers.

The Editor
February, 1990

Ní gá gurb ionann na tuairimí atá nochtaithe in aon alt agus tuairimí IRAAL nó An Bhoird Eagarthóireachta.

The views expressed in any of the articles are not necessarily those of IRAAL or of The Editorial Board.

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Input and interaction: some reflections on resources for language learning

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0 Introduction

This paper seeks to outline a general approach to resources for language learning that arises from a number of related preoccupations. It is perhaps important to make clear at the outset that it is not concerned with issues of methodological detail - in other words, what follows will not be a catalogue of hints for the successful exploitation of media technologies in language teaching. This does not mean that I am not interested in methodological detail; quite the contrary. But it does mean that I believe we can usefully confront methodological matters only when we have elaborated a principled framework. That framework is the concern of this paper.

In the first part of the paper I consider what I take to be the four obligatory components of language learning; in the second part I focus on one of them, the process of learning; in the third part I look at the role that media technologies have to play in the provision of input; in the fourth part I explain how the same technologies can promote two kinds of interaction that appear to be essential to successful language learning; and in the final part I consider the implications of my arguments for teachers, learners and the learning environment.

1 The components of learning

I take it that every course of learning has four obligatory components: learner, goal, content, and process. Note that I have excluded the teacher from my list. This is partly because it is possible to learn without the intervention of a teacher, and partly because the teacher always remains essentially external to the learner's concerns. She may determine, or help to determine, the goal; may select and mediate the content; and may shape the learning process in a variety of ways. But in the end she has much less control than is commonly supposed over the way in which the four obligatory components interact with one another.

Learners, to the extent that they are normally endowed, share the same human capacities - cognitive and language processing mechanisms, memory, etc. They differ from one another in regard to such factors as age, their first language, the other languages they have learned, the degree of success they have attained in previous language learning, their preferred learning methods, their interests, their learning purpose. Once we admit that each learner is in some respect different from all other learners, learner-centredness follows. The implications of this for the definition of syllabuses and the development of curricula are by now well known.

Within the learner-centred paradigm, of course, the goal of a course of learning is defined in terms of the learner's needs (subjective and objective), expectations and interests. Communicative syllabuses specify learning objectives as a repertoire of communicative behaviour that the successful learner will be capable of at the end of the course of learning. Clearly, a syllabus intended for national use must be based on a generalized image of the typical learner. But that is not to say that the implementation of the syllabus at individual school or class level cannot proceed from this generalized image to true learner-centredness (a process that requires sensitivity on the part of the teacher and negotiation between herself and her learners).

When we talk about the content of (say) a course in history, the relation between what is "on the course" and what the successful learner masters is relatively unproblematic. In the case of language learning this is not so, and I attribute this principally to the fact that language learning is a matter not only of learning so as to be able to recall on demand with conscious effort, but also of internalizing so as to be able to respond appropriately but without conscious effort to many different kinds of cue. This brings us to the fourth obligatory component of learning, process, and the second part of the paper.

2 The process of learning

Contrary to what I have just said, traditional approaches to language teaching have assumed that the content of learning is unproblematic and the process of learning straightforward. These approaches produce a teacher-dominated "frontal" classroom discourse of the kind uncovered by Sinclair and Coulthard in their pioneering study *Towards an Analysis of Discourse* (1975). In this kind of discourse exchanges are typically initiated and controlled by the teacher, who provides information, asks questions to test whether the information has been understood, and evaluates the learners' responses. (I should perhaps make clear that I believe exchanges of this kind are essential not only to efficient classrooms but to any organized behaviour. But their role is essentially to organize and sometimes to teach; it is not clear that they actually help learners to learn.)

Research into first language acquisition has confirmed the commonsense intuition that normally endowed children learn their first language by communicating through it. Social interaction with parents, siblings, relatives and caregivers seems to be the engine that drives normal first language development; but it is crucially supported by processes of psychological interaction by which the child integrates new material with what it has already learned. Of course, there are well-documented exceptions to this general pattern: handicapped children who were incapable of speaking but nevertheless acquired a first language and have subsequently managed to express themselves linguistically, perhaps by using a specially designed typewriter. In these cases psychological interaction has apparently been enough; though it seems to me evident from the writings of Christopher Nolan (1981, 1987) that silent participation in social interactions must have played a central role in his acquisition process.

These thoughts, of course, are encapsulated in the first part of my title, "input and interaction", for it seems to me self-evident that provision for second and foreign language learning should be based as closely as possible on an understanding of naturalistic language acquisition processes. This is not just a matter of common sense; the research evidence indicates that using a target language in an acquisition-rich environment is the surest way to achieve both fluency and accuracy (see, for example, Singleton & Little, 1986). The problem for classroom learning, of course, is that it is impossible to replicate either the amount or the intensity of the first language learner's exposure to and interaction through and with his mother tongue. However, this does not alter the fact that in the language classroom we come closest to the circumstances of naturalistic language acquisition when we persuade our learners to interact as much as possible, psychologically and socially, with and through the target language. Accordingly, our essential pedagogical task is the provision of a large and varied target language input and the promotion of psychological and social interaction. Input and interaction are respectively the concerns of the third and fourth parts of the paper.

3 Input and channel

We can define input as those instances of the target language in use to which the learner is exposed during his course of learning. They include printed texts and the use made of the target language by the teacher and other learners; but increasingly they should also include instances of the target language transmitted via media other than print.

Until about thirty years ago it was possible to provide most classroom language learners in these islands with only two sources of input, the teacher and their course book; a minority had access to a third source of input in the person of a language assistant. In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the skills of reading and writing were often valued above the skills of listening and speaking. Interestingly, the shift of emphasis achieved by the audio-lingual method went hand in hand with the introduction of the language laboratory, and it seems probable that the one would not have happened without the other.

Since the late 1960s first the audio cassette, then the domestic video recorder, and most recently the microcomputer have arrived on the scene as possible teaching aids. There has been much discussion of the extent to which they can replace the teacher, but by and large the fact that these technologies have revolutionized communication within and between societies has gone unremarked and undiscussed by the language teaching profession. The development of media technologies has given rise to new kinds of communicative event, which are characterized by new configurations of language. For example, in Ceefax the constraint of screen size combines with the requirement of legibility to produce texts whose economy of style and structure is not exactly reproduced elsewhere; while the interactional configurations of television quiz shows are apparently unique to television quiz shows. Much work remains to be done by sociolinguists and discourse analysts on these and a multitude of similar phenomena.

If a language course planner of thirty years ago had drawn up a list of the target language text types that successful learners should be able to cope with, it is likely that most items on his list would have been printed texts. Certain kinds of radio and television programme might also have been mentioned, though at that time they presented the problem that they were often broadcast at inconvenient times and could not easily be recorded; so that it was difficult to perceive them as potential learning materials.

It is a sad fact that the reality in many, perhaps most, language classrooms remains largely unchanged from thirty years ago. Of course, it should be very different. For nowadays it is not only the case that the successful general language learner needs to be able to cope with a variety of media texts that simply did not exist in earlier times; it is also possible to record examples of all these text types for use as learning materials in the classroom.

We are here, of course, in the territory of the authentic text; that is, the text which has been created for some purpose other than teaching language. I suspect that for most language teachers the term "authentic text" means simply newspaper or magazine article. But thanks to the development of media technologies, the term logically embraces not only every conceivable kind of printed text, from chewing-gum wrapper to classic novel, but every conceivable kind of radio and television broadcast and the multifarious products of hybrid media like Ceefax.

In terms of our learners' behavioural objectives we need to distinguish between authentic text types that they should be able to cope with receptively as part of the everyday culture of their target language, and authentic text types that they should themselves be able to produce. It is important to recognize that input belonging to this latter category may also be specially devised for language learners, loss of authenticity being compensated for by greater sharpness of focus.

It is also important to recognize that media technologies make it increasingly difficult to keep channels separate in the traditional manner of the separation of the four skills: we are used to simultaneously reading text and hearing speech on television, and the mixture of text, graphics, sound and vision is increasingly common in computer applications. It seems to me entirely possible that the strict separation of the four skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing in audio-lingual theory was in part conditioned by the limitations of media technologies thirty or so years ago.

These arguments tend towards two conclusions: first, that language learners' behavioural objectives should be defined partly in terms of the text types, *in all media*, that they should be able to cope with receptively and in some cases produce; and secondly, that most language learners are exposed to a range of input that is seriously impoverished when set beside the reality of media communication in target language communities. Of course, any attempt to make good this deficiency involves not only gathering a corpus of input, but devising ways of transforming it into intake; and that thought brings me to the fourth part of the paper.

4 Interaction

I have already referred to the traditional pattern of classroom interaction in which the teacher initiates, the learners respond, and the teacher provides evaluation and feedback. In recent years it has been widely recognized that we must loosen this structure. For one thing, if our learners are to become efficient communicators in their target language they will need plenty of practice in taking initiatives; for another, social interaction of the kind likely to promote language learning is effectively excluded from traditional classroom discourse.

The first question that teachers usually ask of a piece of technology is: Will this replace me? It is easy to mock this anxiety, but equally easy to forget that the language laboratory was originally designed as a teaching machine rather than as a learning resource. Its technical functions were shaped by the classic audio-lingual four-phase structure drill, which in turn was shaped by a Skinnerian view of language processing and language learning.

According to Skinner (1957) speakers learn "standard patterns" or "skeletal frames" as the basis of sentence composition; these "patterns" or "frames" are composed of "key responses" - NOUNS, VERBS, ADJECTIVES; knowledge of "patterns" or "frames" permits a speaker to order "key responses"; once "key responses" are ordered, other words may be added for "quantification" or "qualification". Thus the "key responses" *hungry* and *man* are ordered on the basis of the "frame" NOUN + ADJECTIVE and are then respectively "quantified" and "qualified" by *the* and *is* to give "The man is hungry".

One of the language laboratory's strongest selling points was that it gave all learners an equal chance to speak the target language. But of course the structure of the standard language laboratory drill is another version of traditional classroom discourse. It allocates the first and third turns in each exchange (initiation and feedback) to the teacher's voice, leaving the learner the second and fourth turns (response and echo). When it is used in accordance with the intention that underlay its original design, the language laboratory is unlikely to promote the kind of interaction we are looking for - and neither, it is worth adding here, will many of the computer programmes developed for language learners, which are constructed on the same discourse pattern. However, when I first mentioned traditional classroom discourse I argued that it has an important but essentially supporting role to play in organizing classroom activities; and it seems to me that language laboratory and computer drills can likewise play an important supporting role despite their poverty of input.

So the question remains, how can we promote the right kinds of interaction between learner and input? One answer lies with the approach to the exploitation of authentic printed and audio texts that has been developed in association with the Authentik newspapers and cassettes (for a fuller account of what follows, see Devitt 1986 and Little et al. 1988). The essence of the approach is that it sets out to activate and exploit as much as possible of the learners' existing knowledge - of the world, of text types and the norms of interaction, of linguistic forms - in order to lead them to understand input texts but also to produce texts of their own. One example will serve to illustrate the approach.

Learners working in groups of three or four are given a jumble of words derived from an authentic text. Their first task is to organize the words into four overlapping categories, PERSON, EVENT, TIME, PLACE, and their second task is to use the words to construct a story outline. Their third task is put into an appropriate order the jumbled sentences of a simplified version of the authentic text, and their fourth task is to use the resulting text to flesh out their own story. Their fifth task is to read the authentic text.

There are many variants on this chain of activities, some giving more prominence to comprehension, others emphasizing oral or written production. They are quick and easy to devise; and experience has shown that they are highly successful in promoting social interaction among learners and psychological interaction between the individual learner and the target language. In particular they prompt learners to ask themselves and one another questions about linguistic form and structure that often go to the heart of target language grammar. This approach was developed for use with the existing Authentik package of newspaper and audio cassette. It works particularly well when it embraces texts in both media - typically newspaper and radio reports of the same event; and there is no reason why it should not be extended to embrace video texts too.

We have found that pupils using the Authentik approach attach great importance to the texts that they themselves produce and are prepared to go to considerable lengths to ensure that they are as free from error as possible. Audio and video recorders allow us to encourage learners to attach the same importance to the production of spoken texts - for example, sketches and playlets, spoof news bulletins or weather forecasts, quiz games or commercials. The discussion, preparation, scripting, rehearsal, recording and playback of an audio or video text of this sort is apt to promote intense interaction in both kinds.

I conclude this part of the paper by addressing briefly the specific challenge of the computer, which is after all interactive in a sense that other media technologies are not: in order to function at all, the computer requires sustained input from a user. Clearly there are modes of interaction between learner and machine that fall a long way short of the interaction that supports language learning - I have already referred in passing to programmes that follow the same structure as the classic language laboratory pattern drill. But equally clearly, the computer offers the possibility of simulating social interaction (think of computer games; think of the language learning programme *Granville*, which simulates a five-day holiday in France) and at the same time stimulating psychological interaction. What is more, it does this via printed text and graphics and (though mostly still in experimental configurations) sound and vision. In other words, it offers itself as an interactive microcosm of enormous potential benefit to language learners, whether they are using it in groups or individually, in the classroom or at home. (In the Centre for Language and Communication studies we have devised the AUTOTUTOR, which goes some of the way down the road I have just sketched; see Little and Davis, 1986, Little, 1988.) As we stand on the threshold of a fully integrated CD technology, it is vitally important that more applied linguists and language teachers involve themselves in research and development work in this area.

5 Teachers, learners and learning environments

I turn by way of conclusion to the implications of my arguments for teachers, learners and learning environments.

If we provide our learners with a large quantity of input in different media, it follows that input provided directly by the teacher should occupy much less learning time than has traditionally been the case; and if social and psychological interaction is the engine that drives successful language learning, it follows that the teacher must reduce "frontal" teaching to the essential minimum and resist the temptation to dominate all discourse that occurs in the classroom. This amounts to a shift in the teacher's role that is already familiar enough from communicative theory but (I suspect) rarely realized in practice.

As far as learners are concerned, the need to stimulate social interaction gives prominence to work in pairs or small groups, while the need to stimulate psychological interaction emphasizes the uniqueness of the individual learner and the importance of learner autonomy. Again this is familiar enough from communicative theory though rarely realized in practice. Teachers are all too aware of the ground that they have to cover, so that it cannot be said too often that learners need discourse space and time in which to learn. At a recent Authentik in-service course a weak learner was obviously having difficulty understanding the activity she and three other learners were engaged on. One of the teachers taking the course noticed this and intervened. It was clear that the teacher's intervention increased the learner's confusion. However, as the activity proceeded the learner gradually got the hang of it. Afterwards she remarked: "It was easier without the teacher."

Perhaps the typical learning environment is the chief reason not only for the relatively small impact that media technologies have made on language teaching, but also for the widespread failure of actual teachers and learners to correspond to the communicative ideal. Languages are among the subjects that are thought to need no special facilities, with the possible exception of a language laboratory. Audio and video equipment is often difficult of access, and the use of an audio or video recorder in an ordinary classroom may well disturb the class next door. In other words, in most learning environments it is all but impossible for teachers to use media other than print and (sparingly) audio.

My solution to this problem is radical: the importance of media technologies as sources of input and stimulators of interaction demands that we create special language learning environments to accommodate them. Languages should be taught in large rooms which have (minimally) easily movable tables and chairs, a language laboratory installation for drills and listening practice, at least one video playback facility, several computers, simple audio and video recording facilities, and enough spare space to devise a simple set. I can imagine that this proposal would be dismissed as wildly unrealistic by most school managers - to say nothing of the Department of Education. Such a reaction would accurately reflect the extent to which language teaching has failed to come to terms with media technologies and their implications for language, communication and learning. It would also confirm the essential emptiness of all the talk about how badly we need to teach more foreign languages more efficiently to more learners.

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SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: A VARIATIONIST PERSPECTIVE

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This article will consider the potential contribution of Sociolinguistics, and especially variationist sociolinguistics, to the field of Second Language Acquisition. It will examine the relationship between the two domains and some implications of this relationship for process of language learning - both in instructed and naturalistic language learning situations.

Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research is finding itself, increasingly, in need of a unifying theory. Since the seventies, the discipline has been involved in psychological concerns, and sociolinguistics and SLA have tended to remain separate from each other. However these two domains have much in common, in contrast to the field of theoretical linguistics. The theoretical linguist bases her observations on introspective knowledge. The sociolinguist, on the other hand, uses an empirical database from fieldwork in the speech community. SLA likewise, uses such empirical data and needs an equally practical method of analysis. It is in fact very difficult to study linguistic and psycholinguistic phenomena apart from sociolinguistic considerations, and SLA is rapidly adopting sociolinguistic methods.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Sociolinguistics, as it is currently generally understood, is concerned with the importance of the social setting to language. Where structural linguistics had talked of "free variation", sociolinguistics as defined by Labov in the 60's stressed that these variations are socially conditioned. Sociolinguistics has evolved out of an effort to resolve questions about variation in language. It is concerned with change and systematic variation.

As regards SLA, there are many general reasons for being aware of the contributions of sociolingustic studies to language learning, and these are by now widely accepted by language teachers and researchers. For instance, the question of which sort of language to teach to the learner is of major importance to language teachers. A sociolinguistic description of the spoken language of a speech community is generally a more accurate indicator of the sort of language the learner will be confronted with in a real communicative situation. The dissaray of the learner when confronted with "real French" for instance, is well documented.

In addition, increasingly, much SLA research has also looked to sociolinguistic techniques of data elicitation, particularly Labov's technique of eliciting personal narratives. The narrative is taken as the discourse unit which reflects the most systematic and least monitored interlanguage speech (Tarone 1982, O Connor 1987). For Interlanguage also, it is important to get natural, unmonitored speech, as this is where, according to Labov, we best see the system, rather than in elicited speech, which is, by definition, an artificial form. The speakers' system is in their relaxed speech: "In isolated linguistic tasks, for example, speech is no longer a meaningful activity but is instead an object of study in itself..." Trevise and Noyau (1984, p. 166).

Essentially variationist sociolinguistics permits the necessary study of the grammatical, discourse and psychosocial factors influencing variation in narrative structure in order to be able to take cognisance of the functions of variation in IL narratives and to understand the ways in which IL variation may indicate second language processes and developmental paths.

A VARIATIONIST PERSPECTIVE

Much sociolinguistic study is done from the perspective of "variation theory" developed by Labov in the 60's. Variation theory provides tools and constructs for analysing very variable data such as regional dialects, pidgins and creoles. It also looks for systematicity in such variable data.

It would seem that Interlanguage is another such variable domain to which this can be applied. The language of the learner has been felt to be systematic, to a certain extent, ever since Selinker's Interlanguage theory (1972). So variation theory, on the face of it, would seem to be an appropriate perspective from which to view learner language or Interlanguage, or "approximative system", as it has been variously called. The domain of SLA has, in general, taken as axiomatic that systematicity is a feature of IL. However, this should perhaps be looked at more closely, rather than be assumed.

Interlanguage variation is explicable by: (a) constraints -- linguistic environment, and (b) reference to developmental or sociolinguistic factors. There is interaction between linguistic environment and developmental variation and therefore probably also interaction between linguistic environment and sociolinguistic factors. An analysis which takes into consideration all possible factors requires a sophisticated way of measuring the influence of each of them individually and in combination.

VARIABLE RULE ANALYSIS

Variable Rule analysis is a statistical technique for measuring the relative contribution of several factors to the production of any speech variant. It has been perfected progressively by Sankoff, and has been much used by variationists in sociolinguistics for the analysis of variation in native speech studies (Cedergren and Sankoff 1974, Sankoff and Sankoff 1973, Guy 1980). On French, work in this area has been done by Sankoff and Cedergren's team, which has done a long term, comprehensive study of spoken French in Montreal, begun in 1971.

However variable rule analysis has been very little used for the analysis of second language acquisition data. The two main studies are those of Adamson and Kovac (1981) and Young (1988). Many previous studies show one variable: for instance; Gatbonton (1975), phonological environment; Tarone (1985), style; Adamson (1981), semantic prototypes; Wolfram (1973), phonological environment and lexical subcategorisation; Wolfson (1976), discourse. Each took one independent variable. But variation cannot be due to just one factor. What is needed is a multivariate factor analysis, which is the aim of variable rule analysis.

A variable rule describes the variation that is found in the spoken production of a given linguistic form. Adamson (1988) says, "Variable rules are written in transformation-generative notation (T-G) but they are conceptually very different from Chompskyean rules". There are two types of variable rules- optional and obligatory. An optional rule is when two different forms can be used to mean the same thing. For example:

" Je vois pas"

" Je ne vois pas."

A variable rule is more precise than a TG rule because it specifies which linguistic context the form occurs in. A TG grammar is interested in which forms occur and which do not, not how often they occur. A Chompskyean grammar describes idealised and abstract data. The variationist, on the other hand, is interested in performance data.

A method which has been developed to analyse such variation is associated with Labov. This variable rule analysis is a heuristic procedure for discovering the relative influence of a number of hypothesised factors on the operation of a particular rule. If, for instance, our IL data, say from Irish learners of French, show a variable alternation between the use of the negative "ne .. pas", "pas", "ne", we may hypothesize that this variation is conditioned by a number of factors; phonological, syntactic, transfer or style. It is unlikely that any single factor can account for all the variation involved. We may now want to estimate the weight of each factor. This is calculated by considering the probability of the application of the rule if only one factor is present, and so on throughout all the factors. Data on each particular combination of factors are fed into the Varbrul computer programme, and by estimating the maximum likelihood, the programme calculates the conditional probabilities for each factor (the Varbrul programme uses maximum-likelihood algorithm, see Sankoff and Labov 1979).

The advantage of this technique is that it is able to handle complex relations between multiple variables. The independent variable under consideration may have more than two values. Also, it is able to deal with the simultaneous effect of factors in the linguistic environment of a form, factors of sociolinguistic context, and variables such as age, sex, language background, and level of proficiency in the L2 and to estimate the probable effect of each factor individually. We can also look at possible interactions between factors within the same factor group and across different factor groups.

VARBRUL AND SLA DATA: TWO STUDIES

Two studies have applied the Varbrul to SLA data. The first is by Adamson and Kovac (1981) who did a re-analysis of Schumann's English L2 data from Alberto (Spanish L1) and found that changes in the distribution of the variables "no + verb" and "don't + verb" reflect changes in the function of the variable "don't" as an indicator of shifts in style.

Young (1988) did a study on the acquisition of (s) as plural marker in English by native speakers of Chinese. He found that three major groups of factors influenced variation: stage of acquisition, linguistic environment and communicative redundancy. The low proficiency speakers were strongly influenced by phonological processes. The effect of phonology decreased, however, as acquisition proceeded. High proficiency speakers, on the other hand, appeared to be sensitive to the social needs of the communicative act. They accommodated more to the native speakers.

He concludes by comparing his study of (s) plural marking to previous studies of the same phenomenon, and says that the Varbrul analysis yields a "far richer, more complex, and more descriptively adequate representation" (1988, p. 300). He attributes this to two reasons: first to the theoretical assumption that variation cannot be attributed to one factor or factor group only; and second to the sophistication of the Varbrul as an analytical tool. He says that the Varbrul takes into account the number and diversity of the factors - linguistic, developmental and contextual- which affect variation. Previous studies which considered the effect of only one independent variable, produced necessarily "inconclusive and contradictory results", because they did not control all the other relevant variables.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND FRENCH SLA: A RESEARCH PROJECT

There is still a lack of longitudinal studies in SLA. The more notable exceptions are include Sato (1985), Huebner (1983), Schumann (1987) and Schmidt (1983). This lack is even more noticable in the area of variationist studies of SLA. It would seem there is a case for longitudinal studies from both the perspectives of Sociolinguistics and SLA. To demonstrate this, and provide an expanded discussion of the issues previously raised, I will now describe an on-going reserch project. This study uses the Varbrul programme on data from Hiberno-English learners of French. It focuses particularly on the acquisition of the negative. It is a longitudinal study done covering a period of three years.

There is a large body of research on the acquisition of French by Anglophone speakers in the SLA literature. However little of it is done from a sociolinguistic perspective, and the only work using the varbrul on French, as we have seen earlier, is the Sankoff Cedergren study of Montreal French. So there is so far no SLA study of French using the Varbrul programme. Ideally, a longitudinal study is the best context in which to study the developmental and environmental features of Interlanguage.

A well documented area of SLA is negation. While there is an abundance of material on the acquisition of negation in English, the area has been much less thoroughly treated in the literature on the acquisition of French. The most notable studies include the one by Trevise and Noyau on the use of "Ne .... pas" in Spanish learners of French (Trevise and Noyau 1984). There is a short term study which contains a small section on negation in relation to English learners of French, by Lightbown and d'Anglejan (1985) called "Some input considerations for word order in French L1 and L2 acquisition." This article focuses on the role of input. It advances a more balanced view of the relative importance of input which avoids the extremes of saying on the one hand that "what goes in, comes out", and, on the other, that input has no effect whatever. It is important to leave aside the polemic of "whether" to focus more on "when", "how", and "in what aspects". In relation to negation, the formal/written code in French uses a discontinuous morpheme; "ne .... pas" ("Je ne veux pas"). Informal speech almost invariably, however, drops the "ne" and uses O + Vb + pas: "Je veux pas". The study found that whereas, in the initial stages of learning, L2 speakers used both "ne" and "pas", after six months they dropped "ne" for the more native-like vb + pas form ("Je veux pas").

One could call this behaviour an indication of the trough in U-shaped behaviour or the learner's sensitivity toward and modelling of input. However, as the trough and learners awareness of input are often reflective of each other, it is difficult to determine exactly what motivated the interlanguage change in the use of negative. In addition, if input is as important as the authors claim, then it seems curious that the learners made so little apparent use of the input from their grammar books, which present only the standard double segment negative.

So there are various questions to be raised in relation to the acquisition of negation in French:

- Firstly, which are the linguistic constraints in operation? In universal terms,"pas" is less marked for the languages of the world. Stops, in fact, are very common. So, in theory, "pas" should be more common than the nasal "ne". On the other hand, nasal is used for negation in many languages -- English, Italian, Spanish, Russian and so on. There is in fact a general tendency to preverbal negation -- the Romance languages are preverbal. English is also preverbal. However, we could say French is both pre-and post-verbal. For the native speaker, "pas" seems to be more salient. This may even have to do with the suprasegmentals of the language. The stress falls at the end of a rhythmic group, which is, of course, where "pas" occurs.

- Does verb class in French -er, -ir -re, affect the use of the negative.
- Does verb tense affect the use of the negative.
- Does the difficulty of the task being undertaken can affect usage. Does the speaker tend to drop the "pas" more, for instance, when she is doing a more complicated "job"?
- Does the use of negative correlate with style shifting?
- On the psychosocial level, it would be interesting to know whether the use of "ne ... pas" changes following a stay in the authentic speech community. For instance, does accommodation take place between native speaker and non-native speaker? Is integrative motivation a factor?

Some wider research questions which the study also explores are questions such as whether morphosyntactic variation in IL is systematic, whether IL is systematic, whether the learner's system or subsystems change as acquisition proceeds, and what are the relative contributions to morphosyntactic variation in IL of 3 factors: (a) linguistic environment, (b) context of situation, (c) stage of acquisition for a given form.

CORPUS AND SPEAKERS

For this longitudinal study, ten subjects have been chosen. These are all first year university students, all of them Irish learners of French. In general, they have the same language background. All have English as a first language and all speak Irish. Many of them speak one continental language as well.

The study aims to follow the progress of the speakers over a period of three years, interviewing them at the end of their first year at university, then subsequently after a stay in France and finally at the end of their degree programme.

The data consists exclusively of interviews in which the speakers are encouraged to speak informally on the basis of questions from a number of modules. These modules are adapted from Labov's modules. Personal narratives are elicited wherever possible. Any learner's social, linguistic and cognitive activity is complex and leads to more than one style. However style shifting is easily elicited by introducing topics which tend to produce a more formal response. Such topics as language, the student's own language learning process, education in general are generally useful for eliciting formal speech. The most spontaneous unmonitered speech has been elicited by an adaptation into French of Labov's famous "danger of death " module.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The variation of "ne ... pas" in the learners speech is analysed using the Varbrul computer programme (Cedergren and Sankoff 1972). The researcher identifies the factors which are felt to constrain the appearance of the variable. As we have seen above, these factors can be linguistic and extra-linguistic.

Then, these factor groups are divided into the individual factors which make them up. After this, each token is coded. A correlation between the variable and the factors is noted where it occurs. As many factors as possible are taken, because extraneous factors can easily be collapsed when the data is analysed. However, if it is suspected that a factor is at work that has not been coded for, the entire coding must be done again.

The Varbrul programme produces a coefficient for each factor. A coefficient of .5 indicates no relation between factors. The greater the deviation from .5, whether it be positive or negative, the greater the relation between the two factors. The programme has two statistical measures of "best fit", that is, how the researcher's analysis of the data actually fits the data. The first is a chi square per cell figure. The second is a log likelihood figure. The data is first analysed using all the factors. Then one factor group is eliminated and the data is analysed again. If the log likelihood score for the second run is noticably different from the log likelihood of the first run, then the particular factor group significantly contributes to the variation. However, if the two results are not significantly different, then the factor in question does not contribute to the variation. We proceed in the same way systematically for all of the factors. Ultimately in this way, the relative contribution of each factor can be gauged.

Thus, after the collection and analysis of the data, it will be clearer which are the relevant factors in the acquisition of negation by the speakers. In addition to providing information on that specific issue, the data will also provide a database for further research into other aspects of French morpho syntax by Irish people. As a more general contribution, it will also provide information about the overall process of second language learning.

On another level, the research broadens the relationship between sociolinguistics and SLA. Sociolinguistics can contriubte to SLA such techniques such as the Varbrul statistics program which, as a multivariate factoring process, permits us to determine the relative weight of the multiple factors involved in the learning process. Ando so, it provides an elaborated example of possible directions for SLA in the future.

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TEACHING CIVILISATION THROUGH CARTOONS

Third-level students in traditional modern language departments are increasingly reluctant to study literature. In Ireland, they have been protected from literature, at least French literature, throughout their entire secondary studies. Consequently, they sometimes seem to feel rather cheated that they are now expected to read novels, poems and plays, since they have got this far by reading none. How should one cope with this situation? Should it give cause for alarm? Should one try to change their minds? Or should one, like a colleague of mine in a French university, simply call one's literature classes 'cours de civilisation', thus ensuring many satisfied takers and no change of content?! In my experience, by capitalising on our students' increasing desire to become acquainted not solely with the literature but also with the civilisation of the country they are studying, one can initiate them into academic skills such as socio-cultural, linguistic and ideological analysis. This, in turn, can constitute a useful and stimulating background to literary studies, if needed.

In the study of modern French civilisation and in particular of the high-profile, ubiquitous Parisian intelligentia, the cartoons of Claire Bretécher can be extremely useful. Noone could suggest that these cartoons capture any situation totally or objectively, any more than Montesquieu's sideways looks at the Paris of his generation do. However, recent studies of the Parisian intelligentia by urban anthropologists (Chalvon-Demersey, 1984, Gutwirth, 1987) interestingly corroborate many of Bretécher's conclusions. Another case of nature imitating art, perhaps!

Claire Bretécher's cartoons first came to the attention of a wide audience when they were published in 'les BD (bandes dessinées) pour adultes' or adult comics such as *Pilote* and *L'Echo des Savannes* in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This coincided with the growing popularisation of cartoons of social comment at that time:

> Au début des années 70, une tornade secoua le monde jusqu'alors paisible de la BD. Un courant adulte s'affirmait dans l'océan moraliste et enfantin des BD franco-belges, jusqu'à devenir un véritable maelström (Chante, 1986, p. 18).

It was in this atmosphere of maelström and tornado that on 24 October 1973, the news weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur* (no. 463) began publishing a series of Bretécher's cartoons which she later entitled *Les Frustrés*. Between 1975 and 1980, Bretécher herself as Bretécher Editions published five volumes of these cartoons, each selling over 100,000 copies. It is on *Les Frustrés* (volumes 1 - 5) as well as on *Les Mères* (also published by Bretécher Editions) - making a total of 417 pages of cartoons - that this article is based. These have been chosen because I believe they represent the best of her work to date.

As everyone (or almost everyone!) knows, Roland Barthes is reputed to have hailed Bretécher as 'le meilleur sociologue français'. Depending on how one interprets this accolade, it means that Barthes either had a very high opinion of Bretécher's powers of observation or a very low opinion of French sociologists! At all events, the society or more specifically the 'tribu' portrayed in these cartoons is essentially the self-styled Parisian intelligentia of the 1970s : Left-Bank left-wing and left-over from 1968, pseudo-radical chic, intellectual 'poseurs', 'ces conformistes de l'anti-conformisme' (Jacques, 1978, p.68) with left-wing hearts and right-wing wallets, self-styled liberals who do not even bother to discover their cleaning lady's surname, Gallic cousins of the characters created by other contemporary women cartoonists like Posy Simmonds, Ros Asquith and Francesca Becker.

A useful and feasable introduction to the study of this society or tribe can be a systematic analysis of the vocabulary they use. By their words, we shall know them; thus, by dissecting their vocabulary, students can capture the Frustrés : their interests/obsessions, their pretentiousness, their ambitions and their self-image. In all, six main 'langues de spécialités', corresponding to six main areas of interest, can be identified in these cartoons:

I political analysis
II feminism
III psychoanalysis
IV medicine
V literary analysis
VI linguistics

Coincidentally, all the above headings (with the exception of feminism) figure among the specialised vocabularies ('indications de specialites') analysed by Bernard Quémada in his INaLF (Institut National de la Langue Française) lexicography studies at the CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) (1983).

I POLITICAL ANALYSIS:

The political discourse of Bretécher's characters, who are true children of 1968 or 'soixante-huitards', is essentially Marxist in origin. Key Marxist concepts such as class-struggle feature prominently in *Les Frustrés* and *Les Mères*. Bretécher's characters see 'le conflit de classe' and 'la lutte des classes' as being at the very heart of 'le système bourgeois' / 'la société néo-bourgeoise' in which they live, with its 'culture bourgeoise dominante'. 'Le prolétariat' / 'les travailleurs' are ranged on one side of the struggle and 'les privilégiés' with their 'mentalité élitiste' on the other. The relationship between the two is one of 'dominant-dominé'. Alienation, a central psycho-economic concept in Marx' and indeed in Hegel's analysis of work and of society in general, is pervasive: the workers featured in Bretécher's cartoons are 'aliénés par leur travail' and by 'les structures aliénantes' of society in general. They are victims not just of aliénation but also of 'impérialisme americain', 'impérialisme culturel', 'répression culturelle' and 'le poujadisme culturel'. For the class-struggle to succeed, 'les militants' must 'aid[er] les ouvriers à prendre conscience'. As they say themselves, 'c'est à la minorité des intellectuels (i.e.themselves!) d'activer la prise de conscience'. This 'prise de conscience' is a key-term oft-repeated and even abused here: 'des tables rondes de prise de conscience'!.

It may help to bring about an end to 'l'abrutisation des travailleurs' and 'les barrières de classe' and the emergence of 'la montée de la conscience de classe' leading to 'les revendications des travailleurs' and ultimately to 'l'action révolutionnaire' i.e. 'la lutte des travailleurs dans une perspective marxiste-léniniste'.

Since Bretécher's characters are children of the sixties, Marx and Mao rub shoulders in her work: there are references here not just to Marx but also to 'le bon mao' (Maoist). Les Frustrés' political credentials are impeccable: one 'militante' boasts of her 'dix ans de militantisme'. Their political genealogies are equally flawless, as they never tire of pointing out: when one character name-drops by referring pointedly to 'un copain de cellule de mon père', one senses his pride in the fact that not only is he a militant but his father was one before him too! Stalin appears to have been the dominant political character in Les Frustrés' childhood presumably because of their fathers' political sympathies (or, one suspects, alleged political sympathies). More recent political events also figure prominently: there are references to 'la guerre froide', 'le programme commun', 'l'union de la gauche' and the suspicion that 'le PC a été piégé'. In one particularly well-observed cartoon, some characters boast about the 'peintre soviétique dissident' they have managed to acquire - un 'must', an indispensible status-symbol for any self-respecting member of this 'happy few'.

In their comfortable Left-Bank apartments or country houses, les Frustrés prefer discussion to action, words to deeds.

> L'action proprement dite est réduite à sa portion congrue et les héros de Claire Bretécher parlent beaucoup plus qu'ils n'agissent : on peut même dire que leur activité essentielle est la conversation, voire le 'baratin' (Barrera-Vidal, 1986, p. 36).

Hence their vocabulary is correspondingly poor in words relating to political action (I have found just one : 'manif[estation]') and rich in terminology referring to discussion : 'un politologue', 'la conceptualisation idéologique', 'une problématique révolutionnaire'. Their ostensibly Marxist discourse is demonstrably sub-Marxist, totally lacking in the complexity and indeed in the humanity of their alleged hero. One wonders if they have ever actually read him! In their own way, they are as dogmatic and as imperialist vis-à-vis the workers as the 'réacs', 'ploutocrates' and 'fachos' - those perennial targets of their opprobrium - ever were. They see themselves as the saviours of their inferiors, the working classes, on whom they will foist their ideas and solutions along with - in one cartoon - their home-made consciousness-raising video-film even though the workers, tired after a long day in a biscuit-factory in Nantes, just want to go home.

II FEMINISM:

Feminism, or more specifically radical feminism, is a second 'langue de spécialité' much in evidence in these cartoons. Insofaras radical feminist analysis sees itself as a form of radical political discourse, it is interesting to note the influence on this vocabulary of the political vocabulary analysed above. For many of Bretécher's characters, 'le combat des femmes' is at the very heart of society. On one side of this conflict, one finds 'les lutteuses', 'les battantes' and 'les militantes' who '[font] du féminisme' and on the other one finds the 'phallocrates', 'les machos' and worst of all 'les collabos' i.e. former feminists 'qui se sont désolidarisées des femmes'. This latter group are all 'sexistes' and represent 'le pouvoir mâle' , '[les] schémas masculins', 'le mythe de la virilité', 'les valeurs viriles' and 'l'antiféminisme primaire'. The aim of 'les militantes' is to bring about 'la libération des femmes', especially that of 'la femme au foyer', 'la femme-fleur', 'la femme-objet' and 'la femme-alibi' who are all victims of 'la phallocratie', 'le chauvinisme mâle', 'l'impérialisme érotique dominant', 'aliénation mentale', 'répression culturelle' and 'le conditionnement des femmes', to such an extent that their personalities have been 'écras[ées]', their sexe 'nié'/ 'colonisé' and their 'corps invaginé'. Once liberated, however, these women will be able to 's'assumer' or - more specifically - 'assumer [leur] sexualité'. Concrete examples of the 'prise de conscience' that leads to liberation vary from at one extreme references to 'des adresses d'avortement' (i.e. abortion agencies) to, at the other extreme, 'un groupe bricolage femme', 'de la poterie féministe' and 'un one-woman sex-show'. As for the enemy, man, if he learns how to change his baby's nappies, he may become a 'nouvel homme' i.e. a token liberated woman and thus merit salvation.

Once again, words interest Bretécher's characters more than deeds, 'la problématique féminine' being for the Frustrés an essentially verbal phenomenon. Thus, here too, vocabulary referring to action is quite scarce whereas terminology for discussion is plentiful: 'la théorisation de la féminitude', 'la phénoménologie du sexe', 'les questions féministes', 'le discursif féminin' and those ubiquitous 'tables rondes de prise de conscience'. 'Le vécu féminin qu'on englobe' as opposed to 'le vécu feminin de son corps' are the subject of endless discussion.

While they use the vocabulary of feminists like Greer and Friedan, the Frustrés' analyses are totally lacking in the intelligence, the humanity and indeed the deep humour that infuse the writings of their mentors. Once again, like the political crusaders mentioned earlier, these self-styled liberated saviours are arguably as imperialist as their enemies: the 'machos' they advise women to 'plaquer' : they see themselves as 'l'intelligentia du féminisme' who have a right to foist their own opinions and solutions (neuroses?) on women who may not be liberated by their standards but who, nonetheless, lead happy and satisfied lives - which is something one could not say about the Frustrés themselves.

III PSYCHOANALYSIS

The language of psychoanalysis is a third 'argot professionnel' that has ceased to be an esoteric domain and has begun to filter into everyday conversation. The very title of these cartoons, *Les Frustrés*, is obviously a nod in the direction of the master, Freud, whose work on frustration, especially sexual frustration, gives these volumes their title. In these cartoons, mankind is again divided into different camps, this time psychoanalytic ones : the 'narcissiste', the 'maso[chiste]', the 'parano[ïde]', the 'cinglée anormale' (as opposed to the 'cinglée normale'?), the 'maniaco-dépressif', the 'schizophrène' or, more typically, the 'complet schizo'. Such abbreviations indicate familiarity with and even affection towards these conditions. The Frustrés experience 'des déprimes à répétition', 'des spasmes', 'des fantasmes', 'des désirs inconscients', 'des complexes terribles', 'des inhib[itions]' and 'des angoisses atroces'. They 'somatisent', 'fantasment' and 'cajolent le traumatisme'. Their children are future Frustrés: as well as being 'surdoués', they are 'névrosés' and 'neurotiques' (according to their parents at any rate).

One important motif running right through this auto-analysis is that of guilt, 'la culpabilité'. Around this key-term one finds a whole constellation of 'mots satellites':

'culpabiliser' : verb, transitive or intransitive as in 'il essaie de me culpabiliser' or 'on culpabiliserait' (i.e. feel guilty),

'culpabilisé' : past participle or adjective as in 'les mecs ne sont pas culpabilisés par les détails',

'culpabilisant' : present participle or adjective as in 'le discours culpabilisant'.

Even insults are couched in the language of psychoanalysis: 'une demande infantile', retorts a peeved Frustrée to her companion, 'tu régresses au stade anal' or, elsewhere, 'tu fais preuve d'un infantilisme déprimant'. They interpret the world around them in psychoanalytic terms: a couple having a row about whether forks should be placed pointing up or down on a table conclude: 'nous avons pris conscience que cela recouvre quelquechose de très profond'. And Freud is everywhere: a father reading a book entitled *L'Enfant Neurotique* remarks of his son 'son oedipe se manifeste'. Elsewhere, 'le tabou de la mère' and 'la révolte contre le père' are evoked as well as 'des complexes de castration'.

The saviour who will lead the way back to 'la normalité' and help les Frustrés to 'réintegrer' their 'déviations' is the 'psy[chiatre]', the 'analyste' i.e. psychoanalysis in person. Many of the Frustrés are thus about to 'commencer une analyse', 'en analyse' or 'analysé(s)'. Again, as in the earlier category, they boast of their impeccable credentials : 'mes huit ans d'analyse' or, better still, 'mes seize ans d'analyse'. The world of psychoanalysis is their spiritual home for here words are everything: there is no place for action (at least not in psychoanalysis 'revue et corrigée' by the Frustrés). They are thus free to devote all their energy to psychoanalysing themselves with a grasp of pop-psychoanalysis almost worthy of Cosmopolitan Magazine!

IV MEDICINE

Their vocabulary also reflects their interest in medical matters: a fourth 'langue de spécialité' here. Their lives are full of Valium, Tranquilline, Tranquilax, 'pilules après-coup', 'cardiologues', 'électrocardiogrammes', 'ionisation', 'massages à l'iode' and injections of 'corticoïdes'. They are victims of 'cloisons fibreuses', 'graisse fibrosée', 'grippes intestinales' and 'une espèce d'angine sans fièvre'. Even their reading matter, such as Illich on doctors, reflects this obsession. However, if one examines them carefully, one discovers that they are suffering from nothing more serious than 'cellulite' and 'maladies psycho-somatiques' i.e. fat thighs and imaginary illnesses. In other words, their obsession with the medical world, like their interest in psychoanalysis, is simply a reflection of their profound narcissism.

V LITERARY ANALYSIS

As well as politics, feminism, psychoanalysis and medicine, the Frustrés are passionately interested in literature, but not just any kind of literature : the authors they read (or pretend to read and even to re-read) are Lacan, Barthes, Proust, Glucksman... In one cartoon, the popular fiction writer, Guy des Cars, is scorned presumably because he is too accessible. Again, the writing favoured by the Frustrés is not just any kind of writing : it is 'la désécriture', the more impenetrable the better. It is full of 'articulations structurales', 'éléments non-symbolisables' and final chapters on which one is 'bloqué'. Again, as in earlier categories, political vocabulary is echoed in phrases such as 'le terrorisme du texte'. Like literature, theatre and cinema have to be steeped in 'distanciation' and 'brechtisme' to be acceptable.

VI ART

Art constitutes one of the Frustrés' main interests as long as it is 'la contre-peinture' full of 'non-couleur' and 'a-couleur'. Chagall is referred to disparagingly presumably because, like Guy des Cars, he is too accessible. Art is regarded as vital for everyone, especially children, as it will develop their 'créativité'. Children are thus dispatched to 'ateliers de créativité' which are in reality merely up-market babysitting services. Indeed, so intense is les Frustrés' interest in 'la créativité' that the worst thing that could happen to them would be to 'se sentir dépossédé de son individualité créatrice'. Bretécher herself leaves us in no doubt as to her thoughts on this obsession with 'la créativité' when she introduces one Frustrée as the 'créatrice de la saucisse musicale et de la structure ludique de Bagneux'!

VII LINGUISTICS

Linguistics is a constant target for Bretécher's satire. In Les Frustrés, simple terms like 'conversation' become 'discours' or 'verbalisations' which consist of 'la partie émergente' and 'la partie sousjacente'. Les Frustrés see the world around them as consisting of 'le contenu' and 'le contenant' , and life as a perpetual struggle with 'signifiants' and 'signifiés' that do not quite match. Once again, Bretécher's feelings on these 'verbalisations' become clear when she features a Frustrée who laments the difficulty of fitting the 'signifiant' into the 'signifié' when what she means is that she cannot fit into her new swim-suit!

CONCLUSION

Why do the Frustrés speak like that? Why do they not use 'proper' French? They speak like that less for reasons of communication than for socio-cultural ones: they wish to be clearly identified as members of a particular socio-cultural in-group (the left-wing Parisian intelligentia), so they adopt what they perceive to be its I.D card, its designer label i.e. its language, its 'sociolecte'.

> On sait que les langues de spécialité utilisées en dehors de leur contexte normal dénotent moins qu'elles ne connotent. De ce fait elles ne sont pas tant faites pour communiquer des informations que pour permettre à ceux qui les utilisent de se démarquer socialement ou intellectuellement par rapport à d'autres groupes ('out-groups') et en même temps de démontrer leur

> appartenance à un groupe qui leur serait propre ('in-group') (Barrera-Vidal, 1986, p. 37).

It is significant in this context that one Frustrée declares that without an understanding of structuralism, one cannot really 'briller dans les salons' : that, after all, is all that counts. In other words, what matters is not what they say but the way in which they say it, the forme, not the fond. Language is evacuated of meaning: only the outer shell counts; one might go so far as to say that only the outer shell exists.

The targets of Bretécher's satire are, paradoxically, the kind of people who buy her books; her employer, Le Nouvel Observateur, comes in for constant satire in her work as does her most illustrious fan, Barthes : Fragments d'un Discours Amoureux is a 'must' on any Frustré's bookshelf. It is as if, by immortalising the Frustrés in her cartoons, she is recognising their existence and thus investing them with some kind of identity. After all, to be featured in Le Nouvel Observateur, one must exist! Underneath the satire, however, one senses Bretécher's affection for these 'paumés', these lost souls who are fundamentally innocent but who have forgotten who they are.

Apart from their immediate use in the study of a particular section of French society, these cartoons afford constant pleasure and amusement to the reader.

> Claire Bretécher is popular culture at its best. By her intelligence, her gift as a draftswoman, her knack to capture the essence of a situation and her desire to deconstruct beliefs and ideologies, Bretécher offers refined entertainment. This intellectual pleasure she gives us through laconicity and condensation is a liberating force more effective perhaps than political slogans and moral preachings (Sherzer, 1980, p. 403).

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SUPPORT FOR THE SELF-INSTRUCTIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNER: THE CASE OF THE TCD ENGINEERS

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The general issue I am going to address in this paper is that of providing support for the second language learner which goes beyond information and activities focused on the object of learning, the target language, and which also concentrates on aspects of the learning process. Process-oriented support of this, latter kind is sometimes called "counselling", but is also referred to by connotatively more neutral expressions such as "guidance", "advice", or simply "help".

The classic model for language learner counselling has been supplied by the Centre de Recherches et d'Applications en Langues (C.R.A.P.E.L.) of the University of Nancy II. At this centre some extremely interesting work has been carried out with what the C.R.A.P.E.L. team call their "autonomes", that is learners who, for one reason or another, cannot or do not wish to participate in language classes and who therefore do their learning in isolation from a pre-determined routine of instruction, from set materials and from teacher and peer-group support. C.R.A.P.E.L.'s experience has been that one can greatly assist such learners by making available to them a helper whom they can see on a one-to-one basis and who will advise them as to learning materials relevant to their needs, discuss with them the kinds of organisational and learning strategies they might appropriately develop, and who will talk through with them their difficulties and discouragements as well as their successes and satisfactions (see, e.g., Abe & Gremmo 1981). C.R.A.P.E.L.'s findings in this regard have been echoed by the results of similar schemes in other places - the Department of Linguistics, University of Cambridge and the Centre for Language and

Communication Studies (C.L.C.S.), Trinity College, Dublin, to name but two (see, e.g., Harding & Tealby 1981; Little & Grant 1986).

A question that has confronted the C.L.C.S. scheme in recent years is the following: is it possible to provide a counselling dimension to self-instructional language-learning in contexts where one-to-one encounters between learners and helpers are not normally taking place? What I wish to suggest on the basis of our experience with a programme where just such a provision in just such a context has been attempted is that the answer to this question is, reassuringly, yes.

The programme in question is a programme in German open to students of Engineering Science and may be taken by both complete beginners in German and students who already know some German. It runs over two years, at the end of which an examination may be taken. Successful candidates in this examination are awarded a certificate of proficiency at either "beginners'" or "intermediate" level. Thus, at any time there are four categories of student following the programme (usually in very small numbers): beginners and non-beginners in the first year of the programme, and beginners and non-beginners in the second year of the programme.

The core of the programme is the *BBC German Kit*, a self-instructional package based on the BBC's multi-media course *Kontakte*. The assessment at the end of the programme has a compulsory component based on these materials and comprising a ten-minute oral test (four role-plays) and a one-and-a-half hour pencil-and-paper test that uses partly printed and partly audio materials as stimuli. All learners are encouraged to develop some special interest that they can pursue through German, and additional assessment is provided for this if desired.

During the pilot phase of this programme funds were available to employ a full-time research assistant, Aedamar Grant, whose responsibility it was to oversee and monitor the programme and to provide councelling for its participants (see, e.g., Little & Grant 1986; Little 1988). At the end of this phase it was decided to try and maintain the counselling dimension of the programme, even though this would have to be provided by permanent CLCS staff members in a somewhat more ad hoc manner than during the period [illegible] full-time research assistant was available to us. Accordingly, at meetings arranged at the beginning of the academic years 1984-5 and 1985-6 for students embarking on or continuing with the programme, times were negotiated when individual learners could consult one or other of two C.L.C.S. staff members. In fact, though, very few consultations took place under the new regime, and those that did mostly concerned practical, organizational matters.

Precisely why this offer of counselling back-up was not more widely taken up we still do not know. However, the fall-off must be connected in some way to the transition from a situation where counselling was available virtually constantly from a person for whom the programme and the progress of its participants were the principal foci of her working day to one where the counsellors who proposed themselves were rather obviously otherwise preoccupied for most of the time. In any event, we had to take seriously our clients' all too clearly negative assessment of the new arrangements. We simply had to revise these arrangements if the service we were endeavouring to provide was to be of any use to our clients in terms of genuinely facilitating their learning or indeed to us in terms of yielding research data.

Our second attempt to offer a counselling service without benefit of a full-time counsellor drew on something that had been noticed in the pilot stage of the programme when meetings were arranged between groups of learners and native speakers:

> These meetings came to play an important role in maintaining learners' motivation. Although they were not originally conceived as such, they sometimes assumed the status of group counselling sessions where participants in the scheme compared their progress and discussed one another's difficulties.
>
> (Little 1988, p. 81)

It seemed to us that the group dynamic so clearly evidenced in such meetings might well be more systematically exploitable - and to good effect. Out of this insight evolved our current practice, which is to organize at fairly regular intervals during the programme group meetings at which, by pre-arrangement, particular parts/aspects of the programme are focused on, but at which learners are also free to bring up any problem or issue that is of concern to them.

Each session lasts between forty and fifty-five minutes. In the early stages of the new arrangements the observation of those sessions which were observed was less than systematic; written notes were taken concerning their general content and particularly "interesting" episodes and utterances. More recently, however, audio recordings have been made of eight of the sessions - four involving students in the first year of the programme and four involving continuing students. The discussion that follows is based on an examination of data gathered from all the group sessions observed, but detailed allusion is made only to the taped sessions. These are referred to as indicated in Tables 1 and 2 in Appendix A. It will be noted that the numbers of students attending these sessions have been consistently small - very small in the case of Year Two sessions. No more than nine participated in any of the recorded sessions. In one instance - the session recorded on Tape II (iv) - only one student turned up, so that this particular encounter was a group session in conception alone!

From the outset the group sessions have been "sold" to the programme participants as additional opportunities to practise what they have covered self-instructionally and to monitor their progress in German. Our hope was always, however, that other uses would be made of the sessions, and that is indeed what has happened. Thus, whilst for the bulk of the time during these sessions learners and animateur are talking in or about the target language or discussing aspects of the associated culture, time is regularly devoted to other matters - roughly summarizable as follows:

(i) contextualizing the arrangements and procedures proposed by reference to learners' background and progress to date;

(ii) exchanging information and comment about the organization and content of the programme;

(iii) discussing particular learning problems and strategies.

Under (i) is included the seeking and giving of general information about students' language learning experience (whether or not they studied German or other second languages at school; if so, to what level; etc.) and recapitulations regarding the number of units of the self-instructional materials that have been covered to date, what was practised/monitored in the previous session, etc. Examples of events falling within category (ii) are: the seeking and giving of information about the nature of the learning materials, the negotiation of borrowing arrangements, the fixing of dates and times for future sessions and the final examination, and comments on various aspects of the materials and the group meetings. Category (iii) subsumes all instances where learners seek advice about or simply describe a learning difficulty or dilemma and where guidance or feedback, solicited or otherwise, is offered to learners.

With regard to activities focussing on the target language and culture for present purposes all such activities are considered together. However, this is not to imply a monolith. On the contrary, a whole range of processes, orientations and emphases are bedfellows in this category - a rough schematization of which is attempted in Figure 1 in Appendix B.

Table 3 in Appendix A provides a breakdown of the taped sessions in terms of percentages of time accounted for by each of the above-mentioned categories. These percentages are very approximate - in at least two senses. First, the analyses operated in terms of foci of entire stretches of conversation without regard to odd words and phrases whose focus diverged from that of the whole. Second, the percentages are based on timings which have been rounded to the nearest minute and are themselves rounded to the nearest integer. The role of this breakdown in the present context is simply to show the range of uses to which each session was put and to give a rough idea of the relative prominence of each dimension of each session as measured by a real time criterion.

There is nothing especially surprising about these figures. It is worth noting, however, that in every single session there was some contextualizing, some discussion of programme organization and/or content and some attention given to particular learning problems and/or strategies, as well as a range of activities concentrated on the target language and culture. Whilst this last dimension of the sessions consistently accounted for most of the time available, time devoted to other uses never fell below 19% of the total and averaged out at well over a quarter (28.25%).

In order to illustrate concretely the variety of ground covered during these group sessions, I have in Figure 2 in Appendix B tried to outline from start to finish the course taken by the interaction between animateur and learners in the session recorded on Tape II (iii). The point of taking this particular session is that it is in a sense a test case, being, as can be seen from Table 3, one of those where activities other than those focussed on the target language and culture occupied the minimum percentage of time (19%) recorded for such activities. It should be apparent from Figure 2 that despite the dominance, in temporal terms, of the "practice mode", the interaction in question was a genuinely dynamic and fairly "freewheeling" affair. In this respect, as well as in respect of the kind of ground covered, it is difficult not to see a close resemblance between this session and one-to-one counselling sessions of the "classic" type - described in such documents as Abe & Gremmo 1981, Harding & Tealby 1981, and Little & Grant 1986.

If it is the case that group practice sessions of the type described can be seen as resembling in important respects the kind of individual counselling session that has become familiar from the "automony" literature, this would seem to have two implications of a rather practical nature. The first, and perhaps more obvious, of these is that those of us who are responsible for managing and supporting self-instructional language learning programmes in situations where a one-to-one counselling service is logistically impossible or unattractive to the clientele may plausibly infer that group sessions offer an alternative which is worthy of serious consideration. Within a group session framework opportunities can, it appears, be created for discussion to take place and guidance to be given across a variety of domains, and this seems to be the case even where the group sessions are perceived by the participants as having language practice as their principal purpose.

The other implication has to do with the relationship between the kind of learning context described above and ordinary classroom language learning. The point has often enough been made that "autonomy", the phenomenon of learners' taking responsibility for their own learning, is not something which should be associated exclusively with the self-instructional learner, but should be encouraged and promoted in all language learners (for some recent papers supporting this point of view see, e.g., Holec 1988; Dam & Gabrielsen 1988; Huttunen 1988; Dahmen 1988). As has also been pointed out, notably by Gremmo & Abe (1983), the corollary of this desideratum is that teachers need to forsake their traditional magisterial role for that of helper and guide. The importance of the foregoing is that it demonstrates the feasibility of such a move. The group sessions referred to were viewed by the learners as essentially language classes - albeit on a small scale. Nevertheless, far from resisting a diversification of the uses to which the sessions were put - with its concomitant effects on the role of the animateur - these learners actively collaborated in the process.

In fact, one suspects that even in traditional language classes learners have always expected their teachers to do a lot more for them than simply hand down information about the target language and that good teachers have always recognized the guiding/counselling aspect of their duties. This would certainly explain the TCD learners' ready acceptance and exploitation of the multidimensionality of what they were offered in the group sessions described. In any case, the lesson is, surely, that we must resist any tendency for discussion of counselling for second language learners to be confined to any kind of self-instructionally oriented ghetto. If autonomy is an issue in the context of second language learning generally, than so is counselling, and for precisely the same reasons.

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APPENDIX A

TABLE 1: TAPES OF GROUP SESSIONS INVOLVING STUDENTS IN YEAR ONE OF THE TCD SELF-INSTRUCTIONAL GERMAN PROGRAMME

Reference number	Date of recording	No. of participating students
I (i)	27 January, 1987	9
I (ii)	17 November, 1987	7
I (iii)	26 January, 1988	5
I (iv)	23 February, 1988	3

TABLE 2: TAPES OF GROUP SESSION INVOLVING STUDENTS IN YEAR TWO OF THE TCD SELF-INSTRUCTIONAL GERMAN PROGRAMME

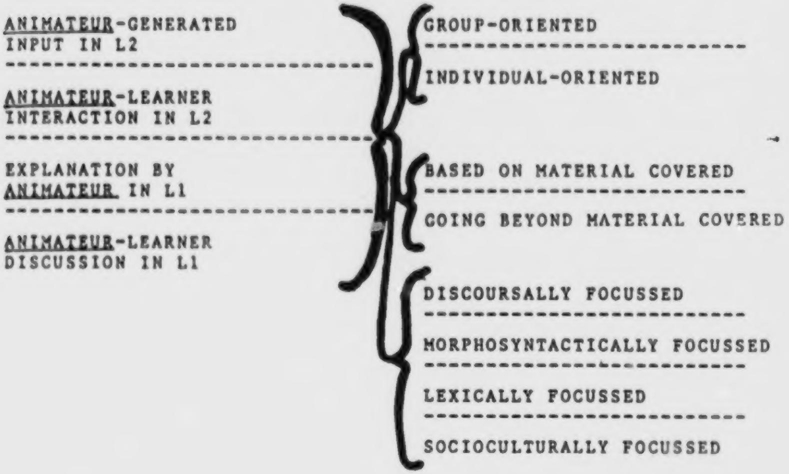
Reference number	Date of recording	No. of participating students
II (i)	3 February, 1987	2
II (ii)	10 March, 1987	2
II (iii)	8 December, 1987	4
II (iv)	16 March, 1988	1

TABLE 3: BREAKDOWN OF TAPED GROUP SESSIONS IN TERMS OF APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGES OF TIME ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH OF FOUR FOCI

Tape no.	Contextualizing references	Programme organization & content	Learning problems & strategies	German language & culture
I (i)	10%	17%	7%	66%
I (ii)	3%	16%	6%	75%
I (iii)	5%	16%	9%	70%
I (iv)	4%	11%	4%	81%
II (i)	2%	29%	2%	67%
II (ii)	4%	17%	2%	77%
II (iii)	4%	11%	4%	81%
II (iv)	12%	29%	2%	57%
MEANS	5.5%	18.25%	4.5%	71.75%

APPENDIX B

Figure 1: ACTIVITIES AIMED AT ENHANCING/MONITORING KNOWLEDGE OF TARGET LANGUAGE AND CULTURE



ANIMATEUR-GENERATED INPUT IN L2

ANIMATEUR-LEARNER INTERACTION IN L2

EXPLANATION BY ANIMATEUR IN L1

ANIMATEUR-LEARNER DISCUSSION IN L1

GROUP-ORIENTED

INDIVIDUAL-ORIENTED

BASED ON MATERIAL COVERED

GOING BEYOND MATERIAL COVERED

DISCOURSALLY FOCUSSED

MORPHOSYNTACTICALLY FOCUSSED

LEXICALLY FOCUSSED

SOCIOCULTURALLY FOCUSSED

Figure 2: STRUCTURE OF GROUP SESSION RECORDED ON TAPE II (iii)

Contextualizing references	Programme organization	Learning problems & strategies	German language & culture
General recap. on material covered to date	Discussion of arrangements for book borrowing		
		Advice to use books without tapes only for revision/reinforcement purposes	
Recap. on material covered in previous			

Contextualizing references	Programme organization	Learning problems & strategies	German language & culture
session and progress since.			
Focus on objective in one recently covered unit: "Understanding key directions"			Discussion of question of native speaker intelligibility
			Practice of recently covered material
	Info. about how course produced (corpus of data elicited from native informants)		Query about use of *bitte* in replies to requests for info.
			Discussion of style-shifting triggered by e.g., presence of microphone
			Practice of recently covered material
			Discussion of importance of signalling speech intention through *Entschuldigen Sie*

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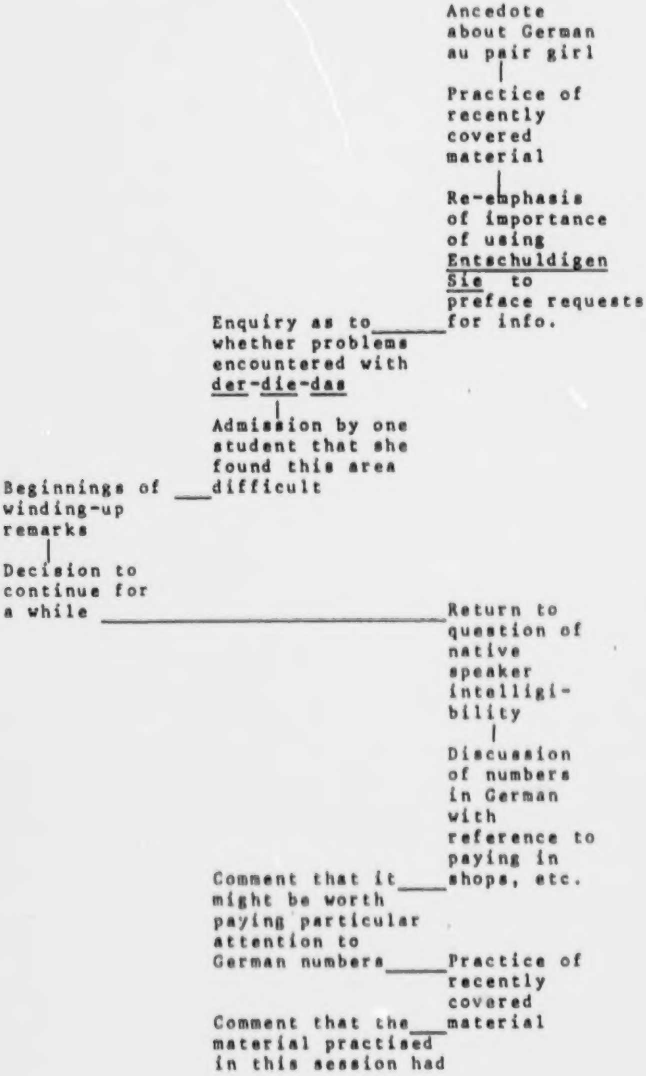

Ancedote about German au pair girl

Practice of recently covered material

Re-emphasis of importance of using *Entschuldigen Sie* to preface requests for info.

Enquiry as to whether problems encountered with *der*-*die*-*das*

Admission by one student that she found this area difficult

Beginnings of winding-up remarks

Decision to continue for a while

Return to question of native speaker intelligibility

Discussion of numbers in German with reference to paying in shops, etc.

Comment that it might be worth paying particular attention to German numbers

Practice of recently covered material

Comment that the material practised in this session had

Winding-up remarks — not appeared to present much difficulty

Arrangement of next session

What makes a test communicative?

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This paper explores the concepts of communicative language testing and reduced redundancy testing. There is a discussion of a correlation study between the RSA Communicative Use of English test and C-Test results, and of the testees' reactions to both tests.

I What is communicative language testing?

It is clear from the literature that attempting to define communicative language testing will not be easy. As Davies (1985) points out, it often means different things to different people; Harrison (1983) seems to maintain that it is as elusive as the jam in Alice in Wonderland.

The origins of communicative language testing are to be found in the need for language tests to match the development of communicative approaches to syllabus design and language teaching. There was a feeling that important aspects of language performance were being neglected by traditional testing. As Carroll said:

> It seems, (as Morrow (1978)), that conventional tests ignore certain features of language use, which are that language is interactive, unpredictable, purposeful, authentic, contextualized, based in performance and assessed in terms of behavioural outcomes. Indeed, it could be claimed that at present we are not testing genuine communicative performance at all, but an artificial, language-like behaviour.
>
> (Carroll, 1980 p12)

Davies (1985) described three continuum categories which are helpful in situating communicative language testing. The first of these is the continuum between discrete point and integrative tests. Discrete point testing, by definition, seeks to establish whether one point has been acquired; the integrative test seeks to test several elements of language together - on the basis that this is the way that language is found in the real world. Communicative language testing will tend to be at the integrative pole of the continuum.

The second continuum concerns the distinction between direct and indirect forms of testing and communicative language testing will be situated at the direct pole of the continuum. The indirect approach will seek to test language behaviour without replicating the behaviour being tested - for example, Lado (1961) has even devised pencil and paper techniques of assessing oral performance.

The third continuum is between the extremes of norm-referenced and criterion-referenced tests. Communicative language testing will situate itself at the criterion pole of the continuum. In other words, the candidate will be measured against his ability to fulfill a communicative criterion and not against his peer or putative peers.

Other writers such as Wesche (1983), Carroll (1980) and Harrison (1983) have written on the question of defining communicative language testing and one can perhaps summarise their efforts by saying that communicative language testing is concerned with language in as real a situation as possible to be judged in terms of the outcome of that situation.

II Reduced Redundancy Testing

If communicative language testing attempts to test real language behaviour in a real context and not merely 'language-like behaviour', where do tests such as cloze fit in the scheme of things? There are certainly not communicative in the sense that we have discussed above: they are indirect and usually norm-referenced, and it could be also argued that they are discrete-point in type.

Some applied linguists, such as Harrison (1983), take the extreme view that tests such as cloze and dictation are to be viewed as uncommunicative linguistic artifacts. Davies (1985, p.31) wonders, rather ingeniously, whether we should be concentrating on the testing of communicative language and not the communicative testing of language. In other words, it may not be so much how we test that is important but rather what we are testing. He suggests that tests which are more abstract, less authentic but still 'needs based' have a useful role to play. He argues that such tests should meet Oller's (1979) two criteria for a pragmatic test; they are (1) that it must require the processing of temporal sequences of language constrained by the normal meaningful relations of such elements in discourse and (2) that it must require the performer of the task to relate the sequences of elements to extralinguistic content. Furthermore, the test must also have an 'appropriate and feasible' scoring technique. The results of such tests, he argues, are generalisable in a way that communicative tests may not be.

The C-Test is one of the more recently invented tests to claim pragmatic status in the sense discussed above and it is with this test that this paper is chiefly concerned. The theoretical foundation of both cloze and C-Tests is that language is redundant; that is, it contains information which is superfluous (see Spolsky, 1973). This natural redundancy allows one to 'mutilate' the text, be it aural or written, and to ask the testee to restore it. For the adult native speaker with a fully developed competence restoring a text, such as a radio broadcast with interference, is possible; for a non-native learner the same task can only be done with difficulty. His success rate will indicate, according to the theory, how far he has progressed in language learning. Klein-Braley, one of the originators of the C-Test, in discussing cloze tests explains the theory succinctly.

> The rationale behind these is that a language learner presented with a piece of mutilated language can use his or her acquired competence to restore either the original text or an acceptable text. The assumption being made is that a regular, presumably linear, relationship exists between the observed test score and the unobservable construct of language competence.
> (Klein-Braley, 1984 p134)

This 'assumption' is the basis of the construct validity of all reduced redundancy testing. There is little new in the general theory outlined above: Raatz (1987) traces the origins, albeit unsystematic, of such techniques back to the German psychologist, Ebbinghaus.

Problems with cloze procedure

As Alderman (1979) and Klein-Braley (1981) have shown, there are problems associated with cloze and the summary of these problems is to be found in Klein-Braley (1984).

> 1) systematic nth word deletion does not necessarily produce a random sample of the elements of the text;
> 2) different deletion rates and starting points applied to the same text produce tests which can differ considerably in difficulty, reliability ad validity;
> 3) particularly for homogeneous samples (classroom groups or monolingual groups) cloze tests tend to have unsatisfactory reliability and validity coefficients;
> 4) there are major problems with the scoring since the scorers are very much less than unanimous about the acceptability of individual solutions offered in scoring procedures, while the use of exact scoring produces extremely difficult and therefore frustrating tests;

> 5) in factorial analysis often a separate cloze factor appears, and in Klein-Braley's convergent/discriminant validation study not even convergent validity (correlation between two cloze tests) could be demonstrated.
>
> (Klein-Braley, 1984 p135)

She also outlines further problems, the most important of which is that in practice native speakers are rarely able to obtain a perfect score on cloze tests. Furthermore, examinees are usually presented with one text which may lead to biased results depending of the content of the text chosen; indeed, the whole problem of text suitability is problematic.

The C-Test Procedure

The C-Test was devised by Klein-Braley and Raatz as an attempt to solve all these problems while retaining all that was desirable about cloze tests. They set themselves the following criteria for the new test:

> it should have several different texts;
> it should have at least 100 deletions;
> adult native speakers should obtain virtually perfect scores;
> the deletions should affect a representative sample of the text;
> only exact scoring should be possible;
> the test should have high reliability and validity;
>
> (Klein-Braley, 1984 p136)

The 'C-Test principle' is given below:

> starting at the second sentence remove the second half of every second word. Replace it with a blank. After 20 or 25 blanks let the text run on to its natural conclusion. If a word has an odd number of letters, remove the larger half. Words with only one letter (English I or a, for example) are ignored in the counting.
>
> (Raatz, 1987 p2)

An example of a C-Test is provided below.

> Dr. Jarvis Bastien tried to teach a male dolphin, Buzz, and a female dolphin, Doris, to communicate across an opaque barrier. First o..... all, wh..... they we..... still toge....., Bastien tau..... the dolp..... to pr..... buttons wh..... they sa..... a li..... If t..... light w..... kept ste..... they h..... to pr..... the ri.....-hand but..... first. I..... it fla....., the le.....-hand o..... When th..... did th..... correctly t..... were rewa..... with fish. As soon as they had learned to do this, he separated them. They could hear one another, but they could not see one another. Only Doris could see the light. But in order to get fish both dolphins had to press the buttons in the correct order. Doris had to tell Buzz which button to press. Amazingly the dolphins demonstrated almost perfect success over thousands of trials of this task.

Five or six texts of about sixty words are used and the testees are given about five minutes per test. As the individual deletions are interdependent each text is treated as a superitem so each test contains five or six such items.

III The Research Project

The aim of my research is to correlate the results of an 'off-the-shelf' communicative test of English with results from C-Tests and to assess the backwash effect of both types of test. I chose the RSA tests in the Communicative use of English as a Foreign Language series which set out to measure whether or not the candidates can do certain things in English and claim to be authentic both in terms of the tasks which the candidates are asked to perform and in terms of the type of texts which the candidates are required to process and produce.

The RSA examination is offered at three levels: Basic, Intermediate and Advanced. These levels are defined by the very precise specifications laid down for each. The examination is divided into four independent tests at each level: Reading, Listening, Writing and Oral interaction. Candidates are normally free to enter any combination of levels.

The subjects of this research did the tests at the Intermediate level in all cases. For practical reasons it was not possible to include the Oral interaction component of the RSA examination. The Writing Test consisted of 6 writing assignments - mostly letter writing; the Listening Test consisted of multiple choice questions and 'fill-ins' based on a selection of radio excerpts; and the Reading Test consisted of multiple choice questions and 'fill-in' questions based on a selection of articles from the 'Observer'.

Despite the aspirations of the RSA test to be an ideal of communicative purity there are two features of the tests which are not compatible with this ideal. Firstly, there is the division of the tests into four discrete skills; real-life communication is integrated; to divide a test into four discrete skills is almost of necessity to lessen the life-like nature of the tests. Secondly, the extensive use of multiple choice questions in the reading and listening tests is not done in a way that seeks to replicate real-life language use - if indeed it is possible to make the multiple choice question wholly communicative.

Nevertheless these tests are highly reputed and widely used and it was for this reason that they were preferred to any idealised communicative test that could have been concocted by the researcher.

For the purposes of certification by the RSA only a distinction between those who have reached the target level and those who have not is required. In order to draw up a rank order of the pupils, I have sought to establish how far above or below that target level the pupils have achieved. This more detailed information is available to the RSA but is not made available to their candidates.

The papers were marked by the writer using the marking schemes of the RSA where these were available and keeping as close to the spirit of the examination as possible.

The C-Tests used were six tests devised by the University of Duisburg for use with advanced students English. There were 25 deletion per test.

The Subjects

The subjects of this research were 55 pupils of the European School in Luxembourg studying English as a second foreign language in three different sixth year classes aged between 16-18. It was decided to take a second foreign language because this is comparable with the first foreign language situation in most European countries. (In the European School a first foreign language is started in the first class in primary school and used as a medium of instruction in some subjects in the secondary school).

Method

As the data produced by both the tests are non-parametric, the statistical test used to correlate had to take this into account. The appropriate test was the Spearman test for rank order correlation.

Below is the list of variables included in the study.

1 RSA Writing Test (Intermediate)
2 RSA Listening Test (Intermediate)
3 RSA Reading Test (Intermediate)
4 RSA Total (the three tests above given equal weighting)
5 C-Test
6 Teachers' rank order of their pupils in terms of global ability in English.

The results of 1-6 above were used to draw up the rank order of the pupils performance within the individual teacher's group and across the entire sample of 55 pupils. A profile of each candidate such as the illustrative example below was arrived at:

Pupil X	Rank
RSA Writing	9
RSA Listening	21.5
RSA Reading	15
RSA Total	11
C-Test	17
Teacher's rank	2*

*This rank order is only used for correlations within the individual teacher's group as they had little meaning outside this group.

Using this information, it was then possible to derive correlations between the rank order results. Statistical analysis was also carried out within the individual teacher group but I shall deal in this paper exclusively with the results of the entire sample as these results are of most interest.

The fact that there was a high number of tied observations (i.e. two or more pupils with the same score and hence occupying the same rank) in some of the tests has been allowed for in the statistical analysis by the use of the alternative formula for the Spearman test (Siegel 1956, p210).

It is interesting to note on this point that some of the tests spread the candidates more than others in terms of ranks. This is at least partly due to the scale against which they were marked. For example, in the RSA reading test 20 elements were assessed and these elements constitute the scale; in the C-Test there were 150.

The marking of the items for all but one of the tests was on a right/wrong basis; the exception to this rule was the RSA Writing test where the examiner assessed the written production against the criteria laid down by the RSA.

The rank orders provided by the marks of the various tests were correlated with each other and with the teachers' rank order. The latter was supplied three weeks before any of the tests took place.

Conclusions of correlational findings

A summary of the main findings is provided below. The full correlation matrix and analysis will be found in Wright (forthcoming).

1 The RSA test as a whole, the RSA Writing test, the RSA Listening Test and C-Test are valid tests in terms of correlation with teacher assessment of their pupils.

2 If we accept that the RSA test as a whole (Total) is valid in terms of communicative design, then this research shows that C-Tests have a strong concurrent validity (correlation of .706).

3 The RSA Reading Test does not have a significant correlation with teachers' ranks or the C-Tests and so its validity must be called into question.

Questionnaire Findings

The second part of this research was to establish the 'consumer reaction' to the two types of test. Two separate but identical questionnaires which were filled in by the students concerning the RSA test and the C-Tests. The aim of the questionnaires was to determine reactions and to attempt to determine the backwash effect of the two tests. The pupils had done only the writing, reading and listening components of the RSA test but were told of the existence of a fourth, oral component. They had no knowledge of their results at the time of the questionnaire. A very brief summary of the main findings is set out below:

1 The level of enjoyment of the RSA test was significantly higher than that for the C-Test.

2 In terms of the acceptance of the tests as a basis for important decisions, the face validity of the RSA test was greater than that for the C-Test. There was a clear majority judgement that C-Tests are unsuitable or very unsuitable for important examinations (56%).

3 The pupils found that the preparation for the RSA test would be easier than preparation for C-Tests.

4 In order to determine the washback effect of the test, the pupils were asked to select language activities which they would use to prepare for the tests. The results of the questionnaires were similar in that reading was perceived as the number one priority in both cases; however, test practice was perceived as having a more important role in the preparation for C-Tests than in the preparation for the RSA test. The RSA test would seem to encourage a wider range of language activities than the C-Test. Furthermore, the RSA test was perceived as easier to prepare for than the C-Test and, therefore, it could be speculated that more preparation would be attempted.

Alongside the explicit information-seeking nature of the actual questions I was also attempting to establish whether there was any correlation between the results of the pupils in the test in question and the selection of any particular questionnaire item. As the data were analysed it became apparent that there was no discernible correlation.

IV Discussion

In the C-Test procedure, we have a powerful norm-based method of preparing tests that produces tests which have a high degree concurrent validity with at least one communicative language test. It is clear that with this sample of pupils at least that it has a lower face validity than the RSA communicative tests. It may be argued that this need not be a disadvantage in many testing situations as most of our testees are 'captives'. The question of the washback effect (what Morrow 1985) has called 'washback validity') will be of major concern especially in the context of national examinations. The RSA test is viewed more positively by the testees and would seem to be capable of having a more positive influence on their approach to preparation.

It would seem that the C-Test, while not attempting to replicate real-life communication, is capable of providing us - in a most economical manner - with limited, but nevertheless, useful information regarding the testee's communicative ability. Does this make it a communicative test? Three factors would suggest that the answer must remain in the negative: lack of face validity; lack of washback validity; and, most importantly, the fact that its construct validity is based on a very different model of language competence from that of communicative language tests.

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M.Litt thesis for Trinity College, Dublin.

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IMPROVING THE RELIABILITY OF AN ORAL TEST OF COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

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In an earlier paper (1984) a method of assessing the oral communicative competence of first-year pupils learning French with the communicative approach was presented and discussed.
Briefly, the assessment instrument used consists of a face-to-face interaction between a learner and a native speaker of French. There are two parts to the interaction. Firstly, the interaction takes the form of an interview between the candidate and the interviewer during which precise questions about the participants have to be asked and answered. Secondly, the participants engage in two task-based role-play activities. The assessor records and evaluates the interaction and evaluates it on the basis of a three-band instrument which permitted real-time coding (see 1984 pp.21-22).

It was argued that the assessment instrument was a valid test of communicative behaviour as the language it elicits from the candidates does not alter the features of language in use spelled out by Morrow (1977) and which we claim are in theoretical agreement with the communicative approach. Firstly, language in use is unpredictable: the processing of unpredictable data in real time is a vital aspect of oral communication. The language used in role-playing tasks is without doubt unpredictable and, if the forms of the language used in the interview are highly predictable (quel âge as-tu will predictably be answered by a form of the following type: j'ai + figure + ans or figure + ans), interactive and illocutionary features of the interaction are not, as the analysis of the data at the level of discourse will show. Secondly, language in use is contextualised: a language user must be able to handle appropriacy in terms of the context of the situation, this is why the context of the role-play situations was clearly defined. Thirdly, it has purpose: the candidate and the interviewer exchange talk to fulfil a purpose: learn about each other for example. Samples from the data show that the candidates feel personally involved in the tasks and play the communicative game without cheating. For example, when asked about her brothers and sisters one candidate mentioned the death of a baby brother. Fourthly, language in use is authentic: the interviewer, a native speaker, naturally resorted to authentic (non-contrived) language, and the learner produced unrehearsed, non-fabricated language, especially in the role-play tasks. Finally, it is behaviour-based: the participants will achieve something through language.

It was felt that the instrument was a valid test of communicative competence, but that its reliability needed to be improved. The aim of this paper is to present the application of a discourse analysis instrument to the data as a way of improving the reliability of the method of assessment used.

The Burton (1981) instrument is first applied to the data from the conversations between the candidate and the interviewer. It analyses the types of moves (there are three categories: opening, supporting and challenging moves) then the types of acts used by the participants (see appendix for some examples). Analysing the data in this way allows a detailed analysis of the candidates' use of language to complement the holistic evaluation of their competence done at the time of interview. For example, studying the nature of candidates'moves will show whether a candidate takes on an active role in the discourse, which will be revealed by a high proportion of opening moves, or whether a learner is content with a passive role which will be revealed by a high proportion of supporting moves.

The data are analysed further to allow an analysis of the candidates's use of strategic competence. This refers to strategies, verbal and non-verbal, used by non-native speakers to compensate for real or possible breakdown in communication. It was felt that, while interacting with a native speaker (NS) during the oral interview, the learners would readily make use of such communication strategies and that it would be illuminating to study them because it would help in our effort to refine the assessment instrument further, particularly with the aim of improving its reliability. Faerch and Kasper (1986) define strategic competence as the learner's ability "to solve problems in performing and understanding communicative acts " (p.180). The problems referred to here may be due to gaps in the learner's linguistic and pragmatic knowledge or to "low accessibility of such knowledge" (ibid.). Tarone (1978) proposes the following list of communication strategies:

a- paraphrase which includes approximation, word-coinage and circumlocution.
b- borrowing such as literal translation.
c- appeal for assistance such as " how do you say.."
d- mime.
e- avoidance: topic avoidance and message abandonment.

Communication strategies have a potentially positive effect on second language learning for two reasons. Because they keep the communication going, they increase the amount of target language (TL) input (Corder 1981), and they lead the learners to establish and test hypotheses about TL (Faerch and Kasper 1986). Also, apart from the last category, communication strategies are creative devices and are probably related to the abilities of the language users. Tarone (1977) found that more able learners preferred paraphrase whereas the less able preferred avoidance strategies. In 1984 Ellis suggested that the notion of communication strategy might be a helpful one for evaluating the communicative competence of L2 learners. Since then, some researchers and institutions have included communication strategies as an evaluation criterion. Haastrup (1986), using the model proposed by Faerch et al (1984), includes a detailed description of communication strategies in her assessment instrument. She specifies which communication strategies are to be expected and accepted ("paraphrasing, and appealing in English for a repetition" for example) and which ones are unacceptable ("replacing missing words ineffectively with mime or gesture and appealing for assistance in Danish" (pp74-75) are two other examples). Harding (1983) feels that the term communication strategies, which includes unconscious communication strategies, does not convey the "conscious character of the strategies used by learners to compensate for their deficiencies" (p.2), and for clarity's sake she prefers "compensation strategies". They have two functions:a preventive one - they help a non-native avert problems in a conversation with a native speaker; and a therapeutic one - they help a non-native repair the communication process after problems have arisen. *Repair* is a control mechanism that enables the participants in an interaction to ensure that everything is going satisfactorily for themselves, and to indicate to their interlocutor, if necessary, that a problem exists. The distinction is made between *self-repair* and *other-repair* and between *self-correction* and *other-correction*. The distinction between self and other is a crucial one because it is linked to the interactive nature of the interaction: who has control over turn-taking. Using a detailed system to analyse repair strategies, Tealby (1980, quoted by Harding) has shown that there is a clear correlation between level of proficiency of the speaker and the quantity and distribution of other repair. At a low level of proficiency one would expect to observe an increase in the number of other-initiations and in the number of self-repairs. For the purpose of our research it was decided to analyse the number, distribution and type of repair strategies in the data collected during oral interviews. Compensation strategies of a preventive measure which, by nature, are very difficult to observe, are therefore not studies. The system used is based on Tealby's and takes account of the following factors:

- initiation of repair: pupil or interviewer-initiated: PI or II
- repair: pupil or interviewer repaired: PR or IR.
- means employed to repair:

1 - silent pause,
2 - filled pause,
3 - repeats,
4 - unretraced false starts,
5 - retraced false starts,
6 - corrections: replacement of what is incorrect by what is correct,
7 - interjections,
8 - stutters,
9 - questions (hein, quoi, comment, pardon? tu veux dire...)
10 - questions plus partial trouble source repetition
11 - components unused in trouble source turn.

In summary, analysing the repair strategies used by the learners should confirm their real-time assessment. Learners rated at the top of the scale (bank 1) would be expected to self-repair more frequently and more creatively than less able learners (band 2 or 3,. The latter would be expected to rely on the interviewer to initiate repair (IR) and would resort to less creative repair strategies such as silent pauses. Data from 6 interviews were analysed. Excerpts are presented in the appendix and some aspects of the analysis are presented below.

a-David and Annetta

David rated 1+ and Annetta rated 3, who had taken park in the same role-play situations were compared first. In the second part of the interview, interesting differences emerged: David's moves were more varied than Annetta's. For example he would support a preceding move by the interviewer (in 5 and 12) and he closed the interaction with a boundary move (in 15) whereas Annetta's moves were only of one kind: openings.

The analysis at the level of acts confirmed this: David is aware of features of face-to-face interaction: one acknowledges the contribution of one's interlocutors (in 5 and 12) before taking the interaction a step further and one must mark the end of the interaction (here with a "oui" and falling intonation).

b-Elve and Paula

In the case of these candidates, we look solely at number and proportions of repair strategies.

Excerpts from the data

The data are presented here over six columns. Speaking turns are numbered for ease of analysis and reference in column one. Moves are then presented in column two, the data are written in column three and analysed at the level of acts in column four, repair strategies are indicated in column five, and the real-time coding figures in column six.

Elve 1+			Paula 3	
		Interview part 1		
26		turns	27	
1		PI	0	
2		PR	0	
1		II	0	
1		IR	0	
		Interview part 2		
16		turns	18	
0		PI	0	
2		PR	3	
0		II	3	
0		IR	2	
		Role-play 1		
17		turns	12	
0		PI	1	
3		PR	1	
1		II	0	
0		IR	1	
		Role-play 2		
29		turns	16	
1		PI	3	
7		PR	0	
2		II	0	
2		IR	3	
		total		
88		turns	73	
2	0.02	PI	4	0.05
14	0.15	PR	4	0.05
4	0.04	II	3	0.04
3	0.03	IR	6	0.08

These figures highlight three differences between the candidates: 1- Elve initiates repairs less often than Paula which means that she is less dependant on the interviewer; 2- The interviewer repairs Paula's utterances more often than Elve's; 3- Elve self-repairs her utterances a lot more often than Paula. A study of the self-repair strategies used by Elve shows that she uses a wide variety of repair strategies showing thus that she is quite skilled at compensating for any deficiencies that may arise in her speaking turns. She uses filled pauses (PR2), she retraces false starts (PR5), she repeats parts of her utterances (PR3) which gives her time to plan the rest of her turns. In other words, she is more skilled than Paula at maintaining her position in the interaction.

Percentages of repair strategies used by six candidates.

	Band 1	Band 2	Band 3
	David	Isabelle	Annetta
turns	125	135	181
PI	0.03	0.08	0.08
PR	0.08	0.06	0.03
II	0.02	0.05	0.03
IR	0.06	0.07	0.11
	Elve	Michelle	Paula
turns	88	124	73
PI	0.02	0.08	0.05
PR	0.15	0.03	0.05
II	0.04	0.01	0.04
IR	0.03	0.08	0.08

Looking at these figures, it is quite obvious that candidates rated 2 or 3 at the time of interview appeal for help (PI) more often than candidates rated 1. The latter's ability to cope with difficulties is highlighted by the high proportion of self-repair (PR) in their interviews: 0.08 for David compared to 0.03 for Annetta 0.15 for Elve compared to 0.05 for Paula.

The number of subjects used in this study, is too small to allow statistical treatment of the results. However we feel that the percentages obtained are interesting enough to allow us to state, although with caution, that the discourse analysis treatment of the data seems to confirm the real-time assessment of the candidates and therefore to strengthen the reliability of the instrument. The fact remains that there are features of interaction which influence the perception of the participants and which cannot, at the present, be measured. For example, the personality of the candidates or the interviewer's fatigue might influence her perception of the interaction to some degree and therefore modify somewhat the assessment. Developing a reliable test of CC is an ongoing task.

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Appendix:

Examples of acts from the Burton model:

Label	Symbol	Definition
accept	acc	Realised by a closed class of items; "oui" "d'accord" etc. Its function is to indicate that the speaker has heard and understood the previous utterance and is compliant.
acknowledge	ack	Realised by "oui, mm, d'accord" and expressive particles. Its function is to show that an informative has been understood, and its significance appreciated.
elicitation	el	Realised by a question. Its function is to request a linguistic response. Occasionally it may be realised by a command requesting a linguistic response.

tur.mov.			.acts	.rep	.rtc.
		Interview, part 2			
1	O P :	Comment t'appelles-tu?	el		A
2	S I :	Françoise.	rep		
3	O P :	em + + où em le, où l'habites-tu?	el	PI PR5	A
4	S I :	J'habite où	l	IR10	
		Dun Laoghaire.	rep		
5	S P :	Ah oui —	ack		
6	O :	em, tu as des frères, des soeurs	el		A
7	S I :	Oui, j'ai un frère + et une soeur.	rep		
8	O P :	Comment ça s'appelle une soeur?	el		A
9	S I :	Comment s'appelle ma soeur	l	IR10	
		Pascale.	rep		
10	O P :	Et frère	el		A
11	S I :	Jean-Louis.	rep		
12	S P :	Oui	acck		
13	O :	em + + où est, c'est ani +	el	PR5	
		un animal à la maison.			A
14	S I :	Euh oui, + j'ai deux chats.	rep		
15	B P :	Oui.	m		

Elve 1+
Role-play 1: the post-office.

1	O I :	Pardon mademoiselle, la poste s'il	su	
		vous plait.	el	
2	S P :	em, la poste, allez em, prenez la pr,	ack	PR5
		la première à gauche.	rep	
3	S I :	À gauche.	ack	
4	O :	euh + je traverse la Loire?	el	
5	S P :	em + + non, em	rep	PR2
6	O I :	nous sommes là (points to road map).	inf	IR11
7	S P :	oui,	ack	
8	O :	vous/allez tout droit et prenez la première rue à + gauche	inf	
9	S I :	ah, d'accord, très bien, oui,	ack	
10	O :	ensuite?	el	
11	S P :	et + pr, prenez la première rue à + droite,	inf	PR5
12	S I :	oui,	ack	
13	O P :	avec (?) allez tout droit et + prenez la première rue à + gauche,	inf	
14	S I :	oui,	ack	
15	O P :	et à droite et + la poste.	inf	
16	S I :	très bien, d'accord	acc	
17	F :	merci beaucoup, au revoir	m	

Paula 3
Role-play 2: French girl visiting.

1	O P :	tu veux un café	el	
2	S I :	oh oui, s'il te plait	rep	
3	O P :	+ em, tu écoutes de la musique?	el	
4	S I :	maintenant	el	
5	S P :	mm	rep	
6	S I :	d'accord, qu'est-ce que tu as	ack	
		comme disques?	el	
7	C P :	+ pardon	l	*P19
8	RO I:	qu'est-ce que tu as + comme disques	el	IR
9	S P :	+ + je ne sais pas.	rep	
10	S I :	tu ne sais pas / bon. + +	c, ack	
11	O P :	+ tu es / / regarder la télé?	el	
12	S I :	est-ce que j'ai regardé la télé,	l	IR10
		quand, hier non.	rep	
13	O P :	+ tu as joué au ping-pong?	el	
14	S I :	non, je n'ai pas de ping-pong.	rep	
15	C P :	+ + +	-	PI1
16	RO I:	em, ça va?	el	IR
-	F R :	oui.	m	

(R: researcher, involved in real-time coding)

Testing and First Language Acquisition

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When language testing is mentioned, one tends to think of the testing of a first or second-language in school-age children or older learners. But the brief for the IRAAL symposium on testing was that it should cover the testing of oral and written language in the many different kinds of learners, including first language acquisition, language disability and bilingualism, as well as second-language learning. The differences between the subjects should not cause us to overlook the similarities in the examiner's task, which is to gain information about the current status of the subject's language. The study and testing of young children acquiring their first language has contributed to an outline of what is a reasonably normal rate and course of acquisition in a particular language, and it is against this outline that tests are carried out for language disability, for example. It is appropriate to begin this symposium on language testing with a look at some of the issues and methods used in the testing and analysis of language in young children acquiring their mother-tongue. The forging of closer links between the different areas of language testing will lead to a better awareness of how the solutions of one area can be applied to the problems of another.

Child language research is an interdisciplinary field, and many of the differences in methodology found reflect the different backgrounds in psychology or linguistics of its researchers. Most of the experimental studies of child language in the 1960s and 70s were carried out by psychologists, while linguists tended to prefer naturalistic observation. While there has been a narrowing of the gaps in recent years, it should be remembered, as Kaplan (1984) argues, that complementary approaches are an asset in scientific enquiry. Fletcher (1985:1) claims that the major contribution of the linguist to the study of language acquisition has been in the provision of analytic frameworks for organizing the data; it might be said that psychology has made a major contribution to the field at the methodological level. However, there are many difficulties in the testing of young children's language, and there remains a need to regularize the methods of treating those difficulties. Considerations of feasibility are sometimes allowed to overshadow the usual principles of validity, and more especially, reliability. There are many decisions made in the design of a study to assess children's language development which influence the data collected, and explanations based upon them. Some of these decisions will be discussed in this paper. I will examine decisions relating to the choice of subjects, the sampling interval, methods of data collection, some practical aspects of testing young children, transcription, and briefly, data analysis.

Choice of Subjects

A major decision in any study of language achievement is the choice of subjects. Unless there are a priori theoretical grounds for distinguishing particular subgroups, the sample must represent adequately the variation within that population of children. Wells (1986: 114) points out that while the need for a representative sample is well understood in experimental psychology, child language research has frequently ignored it as a result of the dominating interest in the field in the universal characteristics of language development. Chomsky's theory (1980, 1981) claims the existence of a Universal Grammar, which is a set of general principles (rather than the rules of a particular grammar) which sets the limits within which human languages can vary. This assumption of an innate and universal language acquisition device has underpinned the use of small samples in the study of acquisition, since it emphasises the unfolding of a common process in children, rather than individual differences.

Some researchers have produced diary studies of their own children, for example, Leopold's (1939) famous study of his daughter's bilingual acquisition, or Smith's (1973) study of his son's phonological development. Such studies provide information which the researcher has selected as relevant. Clearly there is selection operating here not only in the choice of *child* for study, but also in the *data* collected.

At the other extreme to diary studies of individual children are studies which use large samples selected randomly, such as Wells's (1974, 1981) study of 128 children in Bristol. In that study, 1000 names were drawn at random from the record of births during a particular timespan. Details of each of these children were taken so that they could be classified into various groups, and their parents' permission sought. Some children, such as multiple birth children, those with known handicaps, or those whose parents were not English speakers, were excluded. Finally, from the remaining children 128 were selected randomly to fill the cells of the design, which was divided between two age groups, with equal numbers of boys and girls, an equal number born in each season of the year and equal numbers from each of four family background types.

An even bigger sample was used by Templin (1957) who collected data from 480 children between the ages of 3;0 and 8;0. Nelson's (1973) sample of 18 children aged between 14 and 24 months, although far smaller than Templin's, would still count as large compared to most studies, since most child language researchers have operated with small numbers of children, between one and five. Brown's landmark study examined the development of three children. The main reason for restricting the number of subjects is the difficulty of dealing with the enormous amount of data generated from even one child.

Even in the case of Brown, who had a research team backing him, the design of the study and the frequency of the data collection necessitated the restriction to three subjects. Templin's enormous sample was possible because she needed only a small sample of 50 utterances from each child for her study of type/token ratios. There is usually a trade-off between the number of subjects and the degree of depth of the study.

When subjects are not selected randomly how are children chosen? There may be some restrictions imposed by the need to sample from a particular age-group, social-class or language community. In my own study of the acquisition of Irish as first language there were various constraints on the sample. The first was the choice of a specific dialect, and the second was a particular geographical area; the children had to live within a certain radius of each other in order to make the testing feasible. They had to live in Irish-speaking homes and be within certain age bands, because the study was cross-sectional in age. Finally, the parents had to be willing to participate. Out of the (fairly small) group of children fulfilling these conditions, four were selected. Given that the design aimed to sample the children's language in some depth at frequent intervals over a nine month period, this number represented as many as the lone researcher can handle in a longitudinal language study.

Brown noted that his three subjects were selected from some thirty who were initially considered, and were chosen ultimately because they were all just beginning to speak multi-word utterances, had highly intelligible speech and were highly voluble. Research by Nelson (1973) and Peters (1983) has suggested that such children use distinct strategies in the course of their acquisition, so that generalizations from them may be misleading. Nelson's sample of 18 was selected from a pool of 160 mothers who had earlier chosen to take part in another study, so the pool was self-selected. That study pointed to differences in strategy among children acquiring their first language, finding that first-born children of the most highly educated families in the sample (college education and better) tended to be more referential than expressive in their language use. Despite this finding of possible bias resulting from restriction to a particular type of child, studies of acquisition have with great frequency selected first-born children from middle-class educated families on the basis of their intelligibility and accessibility.

Sampling Interval

Given that there are always constraints of some kind on the time or assistance available to a researcher attempting to assess language development, the decision on the number of subjects usually has an effect on the type or frequency of data collection from those subjects. There tends to be a trade-off between sampling size and sampling interval; that is, the more subjects you have, the less often you can visit them. Fletcher (1985:10) points out that there are advantages and disadvantages to both large-sample studies such as the Wells study and small-sample studies such as Brown's. The use of large samples which are randomly selected from a population means that statistical results of analyses are more likely to be representative of that population. This approach seems to be preferred when one aspect of acquisition in studied, in a 'once-off' design (e.g. Wales's (1979) sample of 80 in a study of the use of deictic terms), or when children are taped at wide intervals, as in the Wells study, which had a three-month gap between taping sessions. However, when the aim is to have a fine-grained analysis of development over time, as the child develops, then the interval at which sampling occurs becomes relevant, since frequent sampling is necessary to adequately represent this. So there are in fact two aims regarding sampling:

1) the selection of a representative sample of children, and

2) the collection from them of representative samples of their language at intervals which are sufficiently close to allow the course of their development to be traced.

The dilemma is that the sample which is representative of the population may be unrepresentative of an individual child's language at that time, and conversely, where one child's development is sampled comprehensively, we cannot assume that we can generalize from that child's acquisition strategies to the general population.

Brown's subjects were taped on a two-hour visit every second week in the case of Adam and Eve, while the third child, Sarah, was taped for one half-hour each week. Brown noted that this was the basic schedule, the minimum amount of data collected, and that when "interesting thing seemed to be happening fast, much more speech was recorded". In my study, the four subjects were tested at an interval of about 2 weeks for approximately 2 hours each time. This allowed their development to be followed fairly closely while allowing the transcription of each testing session before beginning another, an important factor. The ideal appears to be the use of studies with large samples as back-ups for comparison with the more detailed small-sample study. The best approach in the case of a language whose acquisition has not been studied for long, such as Irish, would be to carry out a number of small-sample studies initially, possibly with different orientations; and to conduct large-sample studies later in order to check the generalizability of the findings, and to examine in greater detail specific aspects of the acquisition which the smaller studies have shown to be of interest.

Methods of data collection

Having decided whom to tape, and how often, what does the collection of data in first language testing actually involve? This again, like the testing interval, is dependent on the domain of interest of the study. Data can be collected in either an experimental or a naturalistic context. In the naturalistic context, the interaction may be between the child and the examiner or between the child and parent, with the researcher either distant from the interaction, or less artificially, playing some part, but leaving most of the direction to the parent. Even if a naturalistic observational approach is adopted, the researcher may still choose to use some intervention in order to elicit particular language behaviour. This again represents a compromise, with part of the data collected with the child interacting with his or her parent, and part in a more formal context with the researcher.

The obvious advantage of having one of the child's parents present is that the child is consequently far more comfortable, but the parent's unease in the test situation must not be underestimated. It is often the parents who feel that they are on test, and they may react by 'grilling' the child in order to get him or her to 'perform'. Asking questions and giving commands are not the most productive methods of getting a young child to talk. Parents need to be assured that they do not have to do anything unusual, and inevitably there is a period of adjustment while parent and child get used to the test situation and begins to relax. For this reason, the first few minutes of any session are usually not analyzed.

It must be remembered that, apart from Wells's study which randomly selected times when the child was taped, unbeknownst to either child or adult, naturalistic observation does involve intervention of a sort, and some controls exerted by the researcher. The seeming 'naturalness' of observing a child and its parent can obscure the fact that intervention *is* occurring (Labov (1971:12) called attention to the 'Observer's Paradox': "we want to observe how people talk when they are not being observed"). In the case of naturalistic observation in the child's home, the hardest part is getting the young child to talk. Some useful strategies here include saying nothing for the first few minutes after a friendly greeting, and just playing in parallel, with any talking directed at a toy rather than the child. This de-emphasizes speech and gives the child something to talk about, rather than just expecting him or her to perform. Toys and other materials can help to focus the conversation. In my study, the children were encouraged to choose from materials I brought with me, in order to increase the comparability of the situation between children. This method of eliciting language on a core of topics works well, and the children were happy to do this, since these toys and books were a novelty to them. Their favourite was a farm, complete with Dutch barn and byre, a lake with ducks, and gates to be opened and closed. This related to their own experience of living in the country and they were able to dismantle parts of the farm, and talk about the toy animals and individual figures, whom they often identified as family members. Another favourite was a baby doll whom they could wash, dress and feed. The boys especially loved this, perhaps because they had no other access to dolls. Sessions typically included a period of free speech between the child and parent, a period of play with the researcher's toys and books and sometimes a period of everyday activities when the child was eating, being washed or dressed.

Some studies of language acquisition use elicited production procedures, because they are attempting to assess development of specific items (e.g. particular phonemes or morphemes) or features which only occur very infrequently in spontaneous speech. These procedures usually involve the use of specific contexts or situations which attempt to elicit particular types of language behaviour, such as questions, plurals or negatives. However, while such procedures increase control over the situation, they may not work with young children. The child may not understand the task in such elicited procedures, and failure to respond does not necessarily mean that the behaviour is outside the child's competence. The results of such elicitation need to be compared with free speech data. Generally elicitation works best with children who are more than about three years of age, who can handle the role-play involved. An example of a procedure designed to elicit negatives developed by Schmidt (1981) involves telling the child first that he/she is to play 'mommy', and the researcher is a really naughty child. The 'mommy' must refuse every request put to her. For example the researcher asks 'can I watch T.V.?' in the hope of eliciting 'no you can't (watch t.v.') from the child. This allows some control over the verbs introduced, and the use of modals such as can or may. Of course some children adopt a conservative strategy of simply saying 'no' in such a situation, and the recommended prompt 'No what?' may elicit a simple 'no thank you'!

Other elicitation procedures involve asking the child to imitate something the researcher says. There is some doubt about the validity of conclusions drawn from elicited imitation. Some studies (e.g. Fraser, Bellugi and Brown 1963) concluded that there is no evidence of language processing in elicited imitation, but others (e.g. Slobin and Welsh 1973; Kuczaj and Maratsos 1975; Miller 1981) argued that this procedure can be a fruitful method, allowing some inferences about the child's syntactic system, if combined with spontaneous speech. Miller and Yoder (1973) developed sets of sentences for imitation in which the number of elements and their complexity are controlled, allowing comparison of performance across sentence types, length and complexity. However, it must be noted that young children asked to imitate a sentence may respond to its truth value and refuse to repeat something which contradicts their own experience, e.g. my shoes are green.

Other types of testing of first language acquisition may focus on specific features of language and use a range of test situations to study them. Examples here are Karmilloff-Smith's (1979) study of children's use of determiners in their first language, or Maratsos's (1976) study of definite and indefinite reference. These studies set up a range of test situations in which the children's responses were constrained in some way.

Another type of elicitation procedure developed by Fletcher and Garman et al. (1986) aims to standardize the whole interaction to some extent between subjects and between repeated samples. This elicitation procedure involves six techniques for testing children who were aged 3, 5, and 9 years:

1) A stick-on game used as a warm-up to help the child relax;
2) 'Free' guided conversation which aims to collect free speech on a range of subjects and including a wide variety of structures and tenses (on topics such as family, pets, past outings to seaside/cinema, future holidays/birthdays);
3) A game entitled 'storyboard outside the house' which is used to sample particular structures (specifically, postmodifying structures), where the child requests e.g. 'I want the man who is kneeling down";
4) A sentence completion task, which attempts to elicit structures which occur with low frequency in free speech data;
5) A puppet game which elicits passive transformations (this task was found to be unsuccessful with the youngest children, who were frightened by the tiger puppet used);
6) Finally the children are asked to describe what is happening in a picture book sequence.

Fletcher et al. (1986) point out that this procedure is an attempt to square the circle between naturalness and comprehensiveness, allowing the collection of data which are comparable between children.

Clearly, it is possible to combine naturalistic observation with more constrained situations which allow the examiner more control over the type of language used. There is a place for all types of testing situation with young children. What frequently happens is that more experimental situations are used to test use of specific behaviours only after a naturalistic study has indicated that there is something interesting going on.

Practical aspects of the test situation

Data can be collected either on audio-tape, on video-tape, or as a written record. Recordings are generally preferred, since they allow greater precision in the representation of the child's language. Video recording is the most satisfactory record of the child's language in context, but may be too intrusive. Good sound equipment is essential, since children's speech is frequently unclear. An FM microphone transmits a clear signal to a recorder without needing a cord, but the child may object to the fairly heavy transmitter which must be worn as well as the microphone. A tie-tack or lavalier microphone is a cheaper alternative and is lighter for the child, but I found that children under two years protested about wearing it. When the child was sitting close to an adult, for example when looking at a book, then the adult could wear the microphone and the child's language was still picked up clearly. But when the child was playing actively, it was important to persuade him or her to wear the microphone. Wells's solution to this problem was a special harness, incorporating a cordless microphone, which the child wore under its top layer of clothes. I found that, once the child was persuaded to wear the microphone, the cord connecting it to the recorder, which was about five meters long, did not seem to bother them. They would hesitate to cycle over it on their tricycles, but they did not notice it when walking around the room.

Any data collection with young children which does not use video-tape needs detailed context notes, since otherwise it is difficult to know what a child is referring to. Bloom (1970) found that her contextual notes allowed a richer interpretation of the child's utterances than would otherwise have been possible.

Context includes the objects the child is handling or looking at, gestures and the events which are relevant to the interaction. Preceding utterances are also part of the context of course, and the adult's utterances therefore need to be transcribed carefully. Experience tells that one never remembers as much about the context as one imagines, so it is imperative that notes should be made during the interaction, if the transcripts are to be meaningful to the researcher and to others at any time in the future.

Transcription

The amount of transcription time for child language tapes is estimated at about seven times the recorded time. Transcription is highly skilled work, even when orthographic rather than phonemic, since it involves the division of the child's language into utterances, the representation of pauses and unintelligible speech and if possible, the marking of intonation contours. Individual children have their own idiosyncrasies and the transcriber must become accustomed to these and to the child's voice. Parents can be a great help in the interpretation of the child's language, but they are by no means infallible, or they may unconsciously correct the child's utterance before passing it on. Alternatively, a parent may feel that, because the child is not yet a competent interlocutor, there is little advantage in trying to understand him or her at that point, whereas careful listening to the tape may show a meaningful utterance. Listening to the taped voice of a very young child can sometimes be like listening to a tape of a foreign language: at first little may be intelligible, but on playing it back over and over, the segments become clearer. But this is time-consuming and labour intensive and it limits the amount of data which can be processed.

Data Analysis

In the case of experimental studies or studies which have an elicited procedure, the method of analysis is usually clear-cut, and dependent on the test or situation used. However, where a free speech sample is collected, there is an enormous range of possible analysis procedures. These include general analyses such as mean length of utterance or type/token ratio, syntactic analyses or semantic analyses. The method chosen will of course depend on the aims of the researcher. Klee and Paul (1981) give a brief comparison of six structural analysis procedures and a discussion of grammar writing, with transcript examples, which might be useful to a researcher trying to evaluate whether any of these methods are appropriate for his or her purposes. Other analysis procedures look at the children's intentions, using functional categories such as agent and action rather than the grammatical categories of subject and verb. The aims and orientation of the research usually determine the type of analysis used.

Regardless of the procedure chosen, the first stage in the analysis is to decide what each utterance means, drawing on the linguistic and non-linguistic context. This is not always possible, and there will be a percentage of utterances which are unintelligible or ambiguous in any study testing young children. Fletcher (1986:21) points out that it is not easy to justify an unequivocal interpretation of a particular context, and that the interpretation of the child's intention and of the relations represented in the utterance may well vary between occasions and persons analyzingthem. On this point, first language testing has much to learn from L2 testing, where inter-rater reliability scores are more often calculated.

On a final note, let me again stress that there is a closer connection between methodology and explanation in child language study than is often acknowledged. As Fletcher states:

> Data selection, decisions about how to transcribe the data, and what to count as data can all have subtle or not so subtle effects on the way the data are explained.
>
> (Fletcher 1985:23)

Too often the importance of methodology in first language acquisition studies has been underestimated. I think that by forging links with other areas of language testing, the importance of methodology will be heightened. This will not only raise standards, but will encourage a more fruitful interchange of ideas on problems and solutions in the field of language testing.

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A STANDARD PRONUNCIATION FOR IRISH: PROBLEMS AND IMPLICATIONS

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Introduction:

Developing and promoting a standard spoken language for a linguistic community which does not already possess one is always a daunting task. This is particularly true in the case of minority languages. Data would seem to indicate, however, that in the case of both majority and minority languages a precondition of standardisation is superposition, whereby a language community restricts its native vernacular to 'low' spheres while allotting prestiguous functions to some other previously standardised 'high' language. This has certainly been the case with the different roles played by Irish and English here in Ireland since the beginning of the 19th century. Where the 'low' vernacular and the 'high' standardised forms exist, situational contexts dictate which are used on any particular occasion.

Vernaculars can of course attain 'standard' status but this only happens after a long and arduous process of acculturation to the superposed language, which serves as a model. Various sentiments whether of national or ethnic pride will eventually compel those within the low community, who have gained a command of the superposed language and its exclusive functions, to attempt these prestiguous functions in the native vernacular. This in turn will raise the status of the vernacular and indeed may influence its linguistic structure. Standardisation has now begun.

The vernacular is not a homogeneous entity but may comprise diverse but cognate dialects whose speakers share an awareness of unity. The drive towards extending the vernacular's contextual range also dictates that one of the dialects, and one only, be recognised as standard. This 'common language' becomes a symbol of unity, an ideology, which becomes indispensable when the sense of oneness is not strong within the larger speech community. In addition, of course the new 'standard language' will act as a koine to facilitate exchanges between the various dialect groups and among those who have learned it as the 'official' language.
Since the new emerging standard will be assigned many new roles including technology, advanced education, broadcasting, publishing codified grammatical treatises as well as the ideological and koine roles already mentioned, many advantages accrue to the speakers whose dialect emerges as standard.

Speakers of other dialects can now be trained to perform these functions but only after they have mastered the linguistic vehicle, the new emerging standard. Speakers' prestige is therefore augmented by their use of the standard dialect.

Standard dialects come into being in two major ways; (a) their emergence may be classified as *circumstantial* due to social, literary, economic or political reasons or (b) they may be *engineered* by conscious effort. The method chosen depends to a large degree on how strongly speakers feel about the advantages to be gained and how aware they are of the actions they must take to promote the new dialect. They must above all be willing and able to take these actions. Standardised languages do not exist in what we may term 'a pure state'. Whether standards emerge by circumstance or are engineered it is necessary to continually revise and update both varieties, more so the latter than the former. The success of engineered standards depends largely on the prevailing strengths which serve as the promoters' selling points.

Circumstantial emergence:

Dialect prestige is one of the most important factors in the promotion of a standard. This prestige does not manifest itself as some innate superiority but is more of a social-psychological phenomenon. Dialect status is usually determined by a group's extralinguistic advantage and in this sense it is transferred from persons within the group to their possessions and vice versa.

In England and Spain, for example, standard dialects arose via political and socioeconomic primacy. Standard Italian emerged to a large extent on the basis of literary prestige. Prestige arising from a dialect's structural felicities is problematic because all objective inquiries come to the conclusion that there is no logical foundation for it. Since prestige tends to be psychological rather than logical, and if enough people believe that the standard variety has emerged because of the superiority of its intrinsic qualities, then these inner qualities whatever their merits can prove very significant and must enter into consideration.

The illogicality of the internal linguistic 'superiority' of an emerging standard dialect scarcely diminishes its influence. If a majority of speakers accept that variety A is more 'elegant' or more 'logical' that variety B, then dialect A has prestige on that account.

Dialect types:

Dialects can be analysed along various parameters: geographic (Munster vs. Ulster Irish), temporal (Classical vs. Modern Irish), social (Foxrock vs. 'lower class' Dublin English). Given the importance of the prestige factor, the emerging standard dialect should appear more the property of a given social class than of any geographical area - in other words it should be a social rather than a regional dialect. It is well known that the language of the privileged or higher socio-economic classes tends to exhibit fewer and fewer local traits over time. Such speakers have always enjoyed the best opportunities for travel and thus to come into contact with others of similar standing in other locales.

Until very recently, an upper-class dialect was thought the most viable candidate for standard because of two main reasons:

(a) their speakers already have prestige (by definition) which in turn allows them the easiest access to the 'high' functions mentioned earlier,

(b) its nonlocalised nature makes it accessible to a greater number of people and well suited for use as a koine.

The increased mobility, both social and geographical, gained by the 'lower classes' of industrialised nations and the introduction of revolutionary media techniques, has shown that locality/nonlocality as a function of social class may no longer be operative in such conditions. Developing nations undergoing standardisation tend however to retain the old class boundaries which are already in the process of diffusion in industrialised nations. After emergence, however, most standard varieties undergo a change which we can term 'delocalisation', an essential phase of the standardising process in which many local peculiarities are eliminated. This type of centrality is perhaps better treated as being subordinate to social-class considerations.

Engineering a standard:

Engineering the emergence of a standard is a complicated task under any circumstances. Firstly, all other candidates competing with the standard must be conquered. Those who speak other varieties/dialects of the language must be persuaded to accept the new standard. Then they must be trained and made proficient in the new variety in order to be capable of conducting official 'high' level matters in it.

This can be accomplished in different ways:

(i) The standard dialect's overall prestige can be boosted by introducing many elements into vernacular usage which were formerly associated with the superposed language. The new standard's superiority can be promoted by the deliberate spread of various untruths and generalisations through the publication of relevant pamphlets or books. The overall effect and success of such promotional activities will vary depending on the author's status and the circulation received.

(ii) Support for the new emerging dialect must be sought amongst the native speech community. It is well known that 'language loyalty' (Weinreich 1953: 99-102) and speaker pride and respect contribute to prestige, and while enthusiasm alone cannot guarantee emerging success for the new standard, nevertheless, without it an otherwise strong and ably suited contender may be hampered in its development.

(iii) Sources which form the real key to engineered emergence must be exploited, especially the tranfer of prestige to the new dialect. Speaker status is something over which promoters of any 'standard' have little or no control. Yet the success of the emerging standard depends to a large extent on its use in 'high' contexts by speakers with status. We should bear in mind that people in general do not improve their personal status in order to promote their native dialect; in fact the very opposite is the case.

To strengthen the emerging standard dialect in its earliest phases, promoters can begin to apply it to the high functions as though already definitely emerged. One of the most effective routes to standardisation, then, may be to assume that one has already arrived and thus to treat the vernacular as though it were in fact a standard language. The requisite adjustments and accretions should be made in a logical, controlled and enlightened way with ample time for trial and readjustment. This latter procedure may be the most accesible means of increasing external prestige and internal loyalty to the newly emerging standard.

The prestigious contexts in which the new emerging standard must now function will not only affect the dialect's status, but will necessitate certain alternations in its linguistic form and structure. Thus a long process of 'elaboration' begins. In time then the 'new' dialect becomes an established standard language, with few truly native speakers (or none, depending on the degree of reshaping and elaboration) within the community over which it is superposed. The standard may take decades or even centuries to evolve. During that time the vernacular's steady evolution will continue while the standard itself is maintained largely 'incorrupt'. A new avant-garde or perhaps several of them will emerge from the ranks of the 'low' speakers. They in turn will begin to pose certain questions about the use of the vernacular and at that stage a new standard language will begin to emerge.

The case of Irish:

This background information on the evolution of standard languages is important and if any new emerging standard for Irish is to succeed, it must be developed along similar lines. None of the modern spoken Irish dialects has presented itself as a viable candidate for use as a standard language. This is due mainly to the linguistic and geographical isolation and separation of the dialects and the lack of a cultivated written language and literature over a period of two hundred years. While speakers of the cognate or related dialects share a certain awareness of unity, the emergence of a standard spoken form in the case of Irish has been hampered by the geographical isolation of the dialectsand also to the absence of a standard written form. The respect and special status required of an emerging standard in terms of prestige, social standing and overall acceptability, dictates that none of the existing dialects can be seriously proposed as a candidate for a 'common spoken language'.

In the case of Irish, therefore, any emerging standard must be 'engineered' to some extent. This must involve a high degree of linguistic planning resulting in the elaborate codification of the phonological and morphological structures of the modern language, with particular reference to the existing standard written form 'An Caighdeán Oifigiúil'. There are also many other factors to be considered, about which very little definite information is available. They include social and geographical acceptability, ease of learning, comprehension over a wide area, regularity and a close harmonizing relationship with the standard written language.

Irish as a second language:

Since the vast majority of Irish people learn Irish as a second language, a unified standard pronunciation should contribute to the rapid acquisition of an acceptable, intelligent pronunciation level. Bearing this important fact in mind it is imperative that the emerging dialect should as far as possible:

a) Be based on rules and forms current and of widespread use in the modern dialects.

b) Contain all the phonological rules and forms common to all dialects (the common core) without question.

c) Simplicity and regularity within rules must be kept to the fore. Most standard languages entertain a certain amount of irregularity and the Irish language, even in its present mostly uncultivated state, should be able to tolerate a certain amount of irregularity. A proper understanding and respect for the way standard languages work lends support to the observation that total regularity is something which is seldom achieved.

d) The role and influence of the standard written language in the selection of the recommended standard forms must be clarified.

This latter point is particularly relevant when we consider that the recommended standard 'Lárchanúint don Ghaeilge' now being proposed is the product of a co-operative undertaking between the Department of Education and Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann. Our brief was to recommend a single pronunciation for each headword in the Pocket Dictionary (1986) While this proposal proved very restrictive, nevertheless it focussed our attention more clearly on dialectal divisions and could not have been achieved without a certain degree of compromise and harmonization between dialects. The outcome is a linguistic system characteristically Irish but not completely identical to any of the main modern spoken varieties. The 'core' of this new dialect contains all the ingredients necessary for the crystallization process which must take place if this 'new standard dialect' is to become a viable and respected tool for wider dissemination and extensive communication.

The problems encountered in outlining all the relevant features of the 'Lárchanúint' have been described in detail elsewhere, (Ó Baoill, 1986, Lárchanúint don Ghaeilge and Teangeolas 23, 8-12.). Nevertheless, owing to the restrictive nature of the original brief on which the pronunication in the Pocket Dictionary is based and to the linguistic and sociolinguistic problems already alluded to in the above publications, the newly harmonised phonological system should now be subjected to detailed analysis with the specific objective of seeing how a wider spectrum of permissible alternations could best be accommodated within its overall structure. I refer in particular to the phonological and morphological variation of such words as poll/poill/ 'hole/holes', ceann/cinn 'head/heads', geall/geallaim/geallfaidh[1] 'you (sg) promise'/'I promise'/'(someone) will promise' etc. and to the stress patterns and subsequent vocalic changes in unstressed syllables in Munster Irish generally. In a forthcoming article[2] I have indicated in detail how the 'Lárchanúint' could be revised to accomodate such common and regular alternations within the basic root forms of many lexical items.

To create or engineer a standard dialect/language is an awesome task no matter what conditions or circumstances prevail at the time the task is undertaken. In the case of Irish this is even more difficult because of the weak position of the language in Irish society generally and the prevailing tendency amongst academics, native speakers and those who have acquired Irish as a second language to adhere sternly to one dialectal pronunciation. This tendency has been cultivated over a long period due to historical and geographical reasons and has been eagerly promoted throughout our educational system and particularly so in universities and in third level institutions.

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[1] The pair poll/poill alone show the following cross-dialectal variation pertaining mostly to the vocalic nucleus:

/pol:poly/, /pol:pily/, /paul:paily/ and /paul:pi:ly/.

/p/ and /l/ denote velarised consonants and /ly/ a palatalised 'l'.

[2] The article is due to appear in "Úsáid agus Forbairt na Lárchanúna", a joint publication by Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann and Bord na Gaeilge. This publication contains some twelve articles which are the proceedings of a symposium held in November, 1988 on the use of the Lárchanúint in broadcasting, in the public service and at all levels of the educational system. The expected publication date is May, 1990.

Conclusion:

To prove successful, therefore, it is imperative that the proposed standard be promoted in two key areas, namely, the educational system and on national communication networks such as radio and television. Such widespread and controlled usage will cultivate the kind of prestige amongst the public which is a necessary prerequisite for securing the success on any emerging standard. In this way the allegience and loyalty necessary to establish and protect the status of the new standard will have been secured.

Irish has had a long and chequered history. Its future, however, is now very much in the balance, and in initiating a process of promoting and cultivating a unified standard pronunciation, it faces its greatest challenge. Success will be achieved only by conscientious and prudent planning and the goodwill and co-operation of all concerned. I have no doubt but that future generations will applaud us for having faced that challenge.

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WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN IN '88 AND WHAT MIGHT YET BE:

Esperanto's potential for international exchanges

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INTRODUCTION

This paper has two sections. First, a translation of an open letter sent to the Director General of the World Health Organisation in 1975. The writer, Claude Piron, had been a polyvalent translator with that organization. For reasons which are evident in the text he resigned, and returned to the study of psychology, in which he now lectures in the University of Geneva. After his resignation he felt free to write this letter. I attended a course that he gave last summer (1988) in a centre set up by French teachers of Esperanto, enquired about the matter and was given this letter, with permission to use it. I think it should be more widely known.

The second section consists of comments on the same topic related to my own experience.

OPEN LETTER TO THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF WHO

1975. 06, 26.

Sir, What would be your opinion of an official responsible for health services who, being faced with a world-wide malady which impeded normal human activity, would refuse to even consider a tested remedy, the value of which had never been denied by anyone who had made the necessary experiments and checks? Such an official would take on himself a terrifying responsibility in respect of all the people on earth.

The malady of which I speak is in the field of social psychiatry. You yourself will be in a position to evaluate the remedy during the International Summer University, to be held in your own country, in Copenhagen, during July and August this year.

This illness attacks its victims at the level of interpersonal communication and it may be called the Babel syndrome. WHO, like most international organizations, is infected. The World Health Assembly has just accepted two resolutions which grant the position of working language to Arabic and Chinese. This decision will raise costs of WHO by five million dollars every year.

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Certainly, it is unfair that Chinese and Arabic speaking delegates should not have the right to express themselves in their own languages, while their American, Soviet and French colleagues have this right. But is it not equally unjust that the Brazilian, Finnish, Iranian and Korean delegates should have to use some language other than their own?

At first sight it may seem that a solution which would take cost effectiveness and linguistic justice equally into account is quite impossible. Nevertheless, it is in order to offer a concrete proposal that I decided to write to you. But first permit me to draw your attention to the financial implications of the direction which the assembly has just chosen.

The Official Records, No 223 contain a list of projects, technically possible and of proven value on social, economic and public health grounds - which were requested by governments, but which the organization could not undertake for want of funds. For the whole African region these projects amount to US$ 4,205,422, almost a million less than the cost of introducing Chinese and Arabic. Or take the category, "Development of health Services": the amount for the whole world comes to $2,124,750 that is, less than half of the amount which the Organization is ready to pay for work which will not bring about so much as a single cure among the worlds sufferers. Is it ethical for governments to approve this way of spending money which their citizens pay in taxes?

During 1976 the contributions to the WHO from the Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, amounted to $3,052,160, that is, two million less than the extra cost of the new working languages. Do the citizens of those countries really agree that all the money which they had given to your organization should be sucked up by Babel, while so much remains to be done in the world? Here are some of the examples of the work which WHO did not undertake, because of lack of funds (Official Records No. 233, addendum 5).

Guinea	Hygiene for Conakry	$165,280.00
Malaysia	Rehabilitation of handicapped	$130,000.00
Burma	Leprosy campaign	$ 83,000.00
Dominican Republic	Basic hygiene	$ 26,000.00

The WHO cannot lay its hands on $26,000 to enable a very poor country to give clean water to some of its citizens, or to let them have sewers, but it is prepared every single year to spend five million US dollars on an activity which is simply administrative, relating to its own discussions.

How might it be possible to make sure that no state enjoyed linguistic privilege, while saving the millions of dollars that are fruitlessly devoted to the multilingual system?

There is a way to solve the problem. There is so much prejudice against it that I would not risk mentioning it, if your courage, and openmindedness were not well known; you are well aware that in such a case as this only a scientific approach is valid, and that one must not give in to those who, apriori, disparage a solution about which they have no factual knowledge. Only someone who is competent has the right to have their opinion listened to. To those who say, "Your proposal is simply laughable" - and people do say that - you can reply, "How do you know? What practical experience do you have in the matter?" Therapy can be judged only on the basis of clinical experience.

The solution is to be found in Esperanto. If you remain in Copenhagen you will be able, during the World Congress of Esperanto, to listen to discussions that are just as international as the W.H. Assembly, but these discussions take place directly and spontaneously, and the cost of translation and interpretation is zero.

During the Congress university professors from all parts of the world give papers about aspects of their own subjects. You will have evidence that here at least Babel is defeated; that the remedy is effective.

How to go about it on a large scale? Here I must emphasize that it's possible to master Esperanto relatively rapidly; one needs less than 170 hours to reach the level which in English requires twelve hundred hours of study. There's nothing miraculous about it; 80% to 90% of the difficulties of language study add nothing to communication.

If the international organizations would announce that in 10 or 15 years time the only language admissible in official meetings and documents would be Esperanto, this announcement itself would prompt the appropriate authorities to organise instruction in Esperanto. It is quite certain that, by the end of the first ten year period every national group of delegates would include several younger members who would be as competent in the international language as in their mothertongue. The older members might not have mastered it to quite the same level, but they would have a good passive knowledge. After all, at present almost every delegate understands either English, French or Spanish. to go on from understanding one of these languages to understanding Esperanto is simply child's play.

Further, the suggested declaration would encourage governments to introduce the language in schools and universities (as recommended by UNESCO in 1986. MM). In Africa, which the changes of colonization cut up into linguistically isolated areas, and where in order to understand one another people have to use languages which do not reflect their own culture, the barriers between Arabic, English, French and Portuguese speaking populations would be broken down.

At this point in his 'open letter' Claude Piron suggested to the Director how he might approach the Assembly, reminded him that the petition addressed to the UN in October 1966 had been signed by one Head of State, two Prime Ministers, 110 Ministers, 1359 MPs, 632 university professors, about a million individuals, together with organizations representing 73 million in 74 countries.

He went on to say, with emphasis, that he had not used the work "illness" metaphorically.

> "Only psychopathology can explain why, when faced with a problem that has very serious consequences both humanly and financially, so many refuse apriori to even consider a solution, the value of which is can easily be investigated. The fact that millions share this illness does not cancel out its pathological character. Psychiatric illness can also be endemic".

Since Claude Piron is now a psychologist and psychotherapist he may be considered qualified to make such a statement. I have already explained that he had been a polyvalent translator. I feel I must add that he is very far from being a fanatic. It was the wit and style of his detective stories that first showed me how enjoyable Esperanto could be.

This summer I met him through a course in writing which he conducted at a French Esperanto centre; sixteen of us wrote a short story together, under his non-directive guidance; I have never, since childhood, condensed so much laughter into a single week. I had heard something about his encounter with the WHO and asked about it. He promised to send me a copy of the letter and told me several stories illustrating experts' astonishment when shown that Esperanto works.

The letter concludes with references to Piron's own experience when involved with translation and, in contrast, when using only Esperanto. My own experience is sufficiently illuminating to allow me abandon quotation.

I am sufficiently familiar with simultaneous interpreting at the level of the European parliament; the European Green Co-ordination, to which I am a delegate, quite often has the use of a room in the Parliament building, complete with interpreters. Again, as a journalist, I have been present at meetings here with similar facilities.

But the European Greens often decide to meet at week-ends, when the Parliament is closed; a team of volunteer interpreters - two or sometimes three pairs - take over on Saturday. On Sunday everyone does the best they can with English. The last meeting I attended had delegates from eighteen countries; three of us were native speakers of English.

This experience gives me an advantage over Piron; he has made, elsewhere, interesting comparisons of meetings using interpreters and similar international meetings using only Esperanto. Where he is, there are interpreters, so he is not so likely to know, at first hand, how when things are organized in this way, it just happens that the native speakers of English, even though they may be newcomers to the gathering, find themselves taking minutes and acting as rapporteurs for working groups. This was the system I had taken for granted in meetings of the European Region of International Planned parenthood - the largest NGO associated with UNESCO - which included delegates from Finland, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Turkey.

(English was the language used for meetings of the MacBride Commission of Communication - it seem that language was not brought into question, whether as an aspect of the problem or of how it should be discussed). Now, for several years past I found myself not only taking part in Esperanto congresses, but, because of the shortage of speakers in this country, acting as Irish representative on the 80 person Komitato of the Universala Esperanto Asocio, whose members now come from 48 countries.

During its first meeting, usually at 8.30 a.m. the Komitato makes a rapid survey of how decisions taken during meetings a year previously have been dealt with. Then sub-committees - komisionoj - are appointed or re-convened to look into different questions. The groups of 8 or 10 people, a random mix of nationalities, get through their discussions, agree on a report or recommendations; these are photocopied and batches of reports are distributed to all the members of the komitato on the following morning. The only problem is whether the photocopier is working. During all discussions, whether large scale or small scale, everyone present is capable of making an intervention.

Meetings of the Komitato occupy about three days of the week-long congress. Every year so far, I have received a copy of quite detailed minutes within ten days of my arrival home - the General Secretary, a Hungarian lawyer, is remarkably efficient, but so is the language she is using.

I could easily continue; I could, for example mention the rapid growth of scientific and technical congresses in China, using Esperanto. Instead, I shall quote the final sentence of the original preface to Roget's Thesaurus, which can be found at the end of current editions:

> "... the probable results of the construction of such a language would be its eventual adoption by every civilized nation, thus realizing that splendid aspiration of philanthropists - the establishment of a Universal Language. However utopian such a project may appear to the present generation, and however abortive may have been the former endeavours of Bishop Wilkins and others to realize it, its accomplishment is surely not beset with greater difficulties than have impeded the progress to many other beneficial objects which in former times appeared to be no less visionary and which were yet successfully achieved in later ages by the continued and persevering exertions of the human intellect... Nothing, indeed, would conduce more directly to bring about a golden age of unity and harmony among the several nations and races of mankind than the removal of that barrier to the interchange of thought and mutual good understanding between man and man which is now interposed by the diversity of their respective languages".

[Note: the complete text of Piron's letter, in Esperanto, can now be found in MULLARNEY, M. (1989) Esperanto for Hope, Poolbeg, Dublin.]

After Féinius Farsaidh: Aspects of Translation in Modern Ireland

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Seathrún Céitinn in his History of Ireland describes how Féinius Farsaidh, King of Scythia and ancestor of the posterity of Gaedheal, wanted to become acquainted with the languages which appeared after the destruction of Nimrod's tower in Babel. With this aim in mind, he sent 72 disciples to various countries on the three continents then known to be inhabited. The disciples were to spend 7 years in their respective country during which time they would acquire a thorough knowledge of that country's language, (thus incidentally, anticipating by millenia the concept of the 'year abroad' in language training and acquisition).

At the end of the seven years, Féinius went with his disciples to the Plain of Seanair to learn the lingua humana, Hebrew, and set up schools for the teaching of different languages, in the city of Eathéna. The principal school was presided over by three sages, Féinius himself, Gaedheal, son of Eathor of the race of Gomer from Greece and Caoi Caoinbhreathach from Judea. Féinius remained in charge of the school for twenty years, long enough to allow Niúl his son acquire fluency in a number of languages. It was on his return to Scythia that Féinius ordered Gaedheal to arrange and regulate the Gaelic language (Céitinn, 1908, pp. 3-13).

One poet described Féinius as a:

> A man renowned, wise, learned
> In each language.

We will describe here a number of ways in which the posterity of Féinius have coped and are coping with the polyglot realities of the 20th century.

Translation in the New State

In the earlier part of this century, translation activity was mainly centred around the Irish language. At the first meeting of Dáil Éireann on the 21th January 1919 no translation facilities were provided even though all the proceedings were in Irish. However, the need was soon felt for the services of a translator and the first official translator to the Dáil, Mícheál Ó Loinsigh, was appointed in June 1919. In September 1922 a Standing Order of Dáil Éireann stipulated that the texts of legislation be available both in Irish and in English. This led to the setting up of the Translation Section of Dáil Éireann - Rannóg an Aistriúcháin. It was the Rannóg which translated the constitution in 1922 but not in 1937 when it was translated primarily by Mícheál Ó Gríofa (Daltún, 1983, pp. 12-17). Apart from its translation work, the Rannóg was also very active in the area of the simplification and standardisation of Irish grammar and spelling. Tomás Page's simplified spelling system Litriú na Gaeilge: lámhleabhar an chaighdeáin appeared in 1945 and Séamas Daltún's Gramadach na Gaeilge agus Litriú na Gaeilge came out in 1958. Daltún's book was an instant success with the Irish Press at the time headlining "1,200 Grammars Sold on First Day".

Ireland's membership of the European Community in 1973 required that the relevant treaties be translated into Irish, thus representing a new linguistic challenge for the translators in Rannóg an Aistriúcháin. It is not always easy, however, for the translators in the Rannóg, to deal adequately with the sheer volume of translation work that is generated by Dáil Éireann and the European Community. There are only 11 full-time translators working in the Rannóg at present and they are already 3-4 years behind in translation of government legislation. In indicating the size of the backlog to an Irish Translators Association seminar on the Translator and the Irish Language, Seán Ó Sé, Assistant Chief Translator in Dáil Éireann, also pointed to the unsatisfactory situation at present in the Dáil where translators from the Rannóg are expected to act at interpreters if a TD or a member of the Press Corps require interpretation. Given that it is widely acknowledged that translating and interpreting are two distinct skills, the interpretation requirement would seem to place an unfair burden on the Rannóg's translators (Ó Murchú, 1988 pp. 9-10). The anomalous position of Irish in the European Community where it does not have the status of a working language seriously limits the opportunities available to professional translators in Irish. In terms of the status of Irish language translation and the terminological sophistication resulting from daily contact with other European languages, Irish language translators would stand to benefit greatly from a change in the present situation.

Literary Translation: A Growth Area

The Arts Council in recent years has become more actively involved in the area of translation. In particular, it has favoured translation of literature from the Irish language into English with Bord na Leabhar Gaeilge concentrating on backing the publication of translations in Irish. The Arts Council provides support for translations in two ways: (1) Publication Assistance and (2) The Author's Royalty Scheme. Publication Assistance is the offer of a grant or a loan to assist the publication of a title. The Author's Royalty Scheme is, among other things, a mechanism for helping publishers commission translations (Cassidy, 1988, p. 8). Active support for Irish/English literary translation has led to the publication of a number of translations over the last five years. Máirtín Ó Direáin's *Selected Poems/Tacar Dánta*, translated by Tomás Mac Síomóin and Douglas Sealy was published by Goldsmith Press in 1984. Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill's *Selected Poems/Rogha Dánta* translated by the poet and Michael Hartnett was brought out by Raven Arts Press in 1986, the same year that Raven published *An Tonn Gheal/The Bright Wave*, a selection of translations by English language poets of poems by writers in Irish. In the area of prose translation Wolfhound Press in 1987 published translations of short stories by Seán Mac Mathúna originally written in Irish for his collection *Ding agus scéalta eile*. These appeared in English under the title *The Atheist*. Translation activity has not been confined, however, to translation from Irish (Cronin, 1978, p. 8).

Two publishers have been very much to the fore in publishing translations from other languages, Dedalus Press and Raven Arts Press. Dedalus Press in 1985 published the Swedish poet Tomas Transtromer's *The Wild Market Place* translated by John F. Deane. In 1987 it brought out Michael Smith's version of poems by Miguel Hernandez in a collection called *Unceasing Lightning* and versions of poems by the Romanian poet Martin Sorescu by John F. Deane entitled *The Youth of Don Quixote*. In 1988, translations of selected poems by the Hungarian poet Agnes Names Nagy appeared in a collection published by Dedalus in association with Corvina Press in Budapest. Hugh Maxton was the translator and the title of the collection was *Between*. Raven Arts Press have published translations from German and Dutch; *65 Poems*, selected poems of Paul Celan translated by Brian Lynch and Peter Jankowski (1986) and *Hidden Weddings*, selected poems of Gerrit Achterberg translated by Michael O'Loughlin (1987).

As well as translation into English there are translations of work into Irish mainly published by An Gúm and smaller publishers such as Coiscéim and Cló Iar-Chonnachta. A comprehensive listing of these translations in recent years but an example of the variety of such translation can be seen in some of the titles published in 1987: *Taisce an Oileáin* (Cló Iar-Chonnachta) by Laurent Escudie and Yann Fanch Jacq, translated from Breton by Uaitéar Mac Gearailt, *Saibhreas Chnoic Chaspair* (An Gúm) by J. Selwyn Lloyd, translated from Welsh by Liam Mac Cóil and *Sneachta* (Coiscéim) again by a Welsh author, Mair Wynn Hughes and translated by Máire Nic Mhaoláin. A relatively new development in literary translation in Ireland has been the translation of works by modern writers in Irish into languages other than English. In 1984, the French publisher Calligrammes published *Une Ile et d'autres iles*. This collection contained French translations by Éamon Ó Ciosáin of poems by Máirtín Ó Direáin, Pádraig Mac Piarais, Seán Ó Ríordáin, Eoghan Ó Tuairisc, Máire Mhac an tSaoi and Caitlín Maude. Italian translations of poems by Pádraig Ó Snodaigh appeared under the title *Solitudine e Compagnia* (Edizioni del Sud, 1987). The translations were by Rosangela Barone and G. Lendaro Camiless.

Given the level of activity in literary translation in Ireland as present and the likelihood of this increasing with greater European integration, there is a need for a coordinated policy with respect to translation from Irish and English into other languages or vice versa. The European Community has already committed itself to a major translation project which will ultimately involve a number of translations from Irish into other European languages each year. The project is at present under consideration by the Arts Council, the Department of the Taoiseach and the Irish Translators Association and is evidence of the increasing internationalisation of literary translation in Ireland. There are obvious advantages as a result of this development; increased prestige for Irish writing in both languages abroad, particularly important in the case of Irish which will have more opportunities to see itself in languages other than English. In addition, translation often represents a useful source of income and a valuable training for creative writers.

Literary Translation: Problems and Possible Solutions

A policy that would seek to address the difficulties faced by literary translators in Ireland would have to begin with the vexed questions of lack of proper training and poor rates of pay. There are a number of ways in which these problems might be tackled.

1. Literary Translation Programmes. The University of Dusseldorf runs a training programme for literary translators which involves an obligatory stay at the European Translators College in Straelen on the German-Dutch border. The Ecole Supérieure de Traducteurs-Interpretes Lucien Cooremans (ESTI) in Brussels has started a two year postgraduate course in literary translation for literary translators working into French. It would seem both desirable and feasible for Irish universities to follow the German and Belgian examples and institute specific courses for those wishing to work in the area of literary translation. The active involvement of experienced literary translators would be crucial to the success of such courses.

2. Translators Colleges. The aforementioned Translators College in Straelen has 20 apartments and library which contains over 20,000 books including 2,000 dictionaries and encyclopedias. These are at the disposal of literary translators who may stay at the College free of charge. In 1987 "Le College international des traducteurs littéraires" was set up in Arles and there are plans to establish a "Casa del Traductor" in Tarragon (Spain) and a similar college in Viterbo (Italy). The setting up of a Translators College or Centre in Ireland along the lines of the College in Straelen would be a major boost to literary translation in Ireland. It would give literary translators a place to work, an access to dictionaries and other reference material and a valuable chance to meet other people working in the same area. Such a project would seem timely in the light of Dublin's taking on the mantle of the Cultural Capital of Europe of 1991.

3. Low Rates of Pay. One eminent French specialist of Pushkin complained bitterly that he received approximately 50p per poem for translation that cost him years of work. The story is not untypical of the low rates offered by literary publishers for translations. The usual practice is for the translator to be paid a lump sum for a translation but they very rarely receive any royalties. Thus, even if the book is a bestseller, which can in part be attributed to the quality of the translation, the translator will not receive any further payment. As well as putting pressure on publishers to offer better rates to translators, translators' associations in Ireland and abroad have argued for the institution of translators royalties thus ensuring that translators benefit from the commercial success of a translated work.

4. *Translation Prizes and Bursaries*. Helmut Scheffel, translator and editor of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* pointed out at a symposium on European culture in Paris that literary translation prizes and bursaries are generally awarded to distinguished or eminent translators often towards the end of their career in recognition of work done. Scheffel suggested that bursaries in particular might just as usefully be awarded to young translators with well defined translation projects (Scheffel, 1988, pp. 285-89). If such bursaries were to exist in Ireland, they would be an important incentive for young translators to get involved in literary translation, thereby securing continuity and quality for the profession.

New Technologies and the Translator

Joel de Rosnay, former Director of Research Applications at the Pasteur Institute in Paris and now French Presidential Appointee to the Science Centre in Paris argues in *Le Cerveau Planétaire* that a new type of economic development is coming to the fore in developed countries which is 'reticular' or network-based (De Rosnay, 1983, pp. 22-23). The Oil Crisis of the early 1970's coupled with a growing ecological awareness made many countries realise that the earth's resources were limited and that untrammelled quantitative economic growth was no longer possible. This latter point of view was expressed most cogently in the report commissioned by the Club of Rome and published in 1972 as *The Limits to Growth* (Behrens, Meadows, Meadows, Randers, 1972). Thus, the move is increasingly away from an economic growth based on the exploitation of raw materials and towards the establishment of a new infrastructure centred on informatics and telecommunications. The component parts of this infrastructure which are frequently organised around the principle of the network are optical fibre links, satellite communications, videodisks, databanks and databases.

The consequences for Ireland and the translation profession are important and not always fully recognised. A reticular growth model allows Ireland to overcome its geographical isolation and indeed turns its peripheral location into an advantage. Given a proper telecommunications network (there has in fact been extensive if belated government investment in this area over the last decade) and requisite sophistication in information, Irish firms can benefit from being located away from congested high cost centres of production in England or continental

Europe. A number of recent developments in Ireland indicate the opportunities that are opening up for Irish translators as a results of the advent of new technologies.

1. FAX. Facsimile machines allow the instantaneous, high-quality transmission of documents over the telecommunications network. This means that members of the Irish Translators Association living in Sligo county or West Cork can work for clients in Holland or West Germany. The clients receive the finished translation as quickly as if the translators lived in the same street in either of these countries.

2. Videointerpreting. This is the combination of videoconferencing and simultaneous interpreting. In post-1992 Europe there is likely to be an even greater increase in the number of international meetings which means more travel, a saturated airspace and inconvenience for delegates and interpreters. Thus, videoconferencing would be one way of cutting travel costs and reducing the physical fatigue occasioned by Eurocommuting. The European Community has begun to experiment with this as has Dublin City University and the Université de Haute-Alsace (Mulhouse). Using a technique known as multipoint switching DCU and the Université de Haute-Alsace intent to organise a link-up with partners in Barcelona and Germersheim (West German). Six languages would be involved, Irish, English, French, German, Spanish and Catalan illustrating the multi-lingual potential of videointerpreting.

3. Termbanks. Translators in Ireland with a modem can gain access to Eurodicatom, the European Community's termbank.
Alternatively, they can build up their own on-line dictionaries using terminology software such as Termex marketed by Multi-Lingua in the United Kingdom or ALPS (Automated Language Processing Systems) interactive translation software used by translation students in DCU.

4. Eurotra. The Eurotra project aims at developing a machine translation system capable of dealing with all Community languages. The Eurotra Ireland project is based in Dublin City University and is currently working on terminology and the importance of sublanguages for translation. The Irish team is determining the form and function of the terminology component within the machine translation system. This involves building up a database of telecommunications terms (the special

subject field selected for the pilot phase) and ultimately designing a facility to incorporate these terms into general monolingual dictionaries.

5. D2-MAC Packet and Direct Broadcasting Satellites. D2-MAC/Packet is the new French and German television standard which is intended to replace the existing PAL and SECAM standards. France and West Germany are launching four Direct Broadcasting Satellites which are designed to transmit D2-MAC signals. This will pave the way for High-Definition television currently being developed by Philips (The Netherlands) and Thomson (France).

The importance of the adoption of this new standard for translators lies in its multiple sound capability. In the old systems, the luminance and chrominance signals (responsible for picture and colour) were interlaced in what was known as frequential multiplexing. In the transmission of each scanning line, 52 microseconds were given over to the transmission of luminance and chrominance signals and 12 microseconds to sound and data signals which were transmitted in analog form. The new standard transmits the luminance and chrominance signals in bursts as packets so that there is no interference between different signals and hence no loss of picture quality. This is known as temporal multiplexing. The sound and data signals which include film subtitles and teletest are transmitted in digital form using duobinary coding.

The D2-MAC standard allows for four separate digital audio channels which means that a programme can be broadcast simultaneously in eight different languages. British researchers have in fact developed a C-MAC system which double the number of audio channels but there is the danger of spectrum congestion and it is also incompatible with cable networks (Gould, Lum, 1976: Bousquet, Marah, Pares, 1982).

This multiple dubbing capacity of the new D2-MAC standard is certain to provide translators in the 1990's with new opportunities and challenges. It would seem important that those training Irish translators respond appropriately and prepare Irish graduates for the expanding area of dubbing and sub-titling in the era of European satellite television.

Of course, cultures differ and so do approaches to dubbing. In Cambodia, actors used to hide behind the screen and thus hidden from the audience speak the lines of the foreign film actors in Khmer. Actors in Thailand used loudspeakers for this purpose in a technique that came to be known as 'Adam and Eving'. Irish Adams and Eves may find that failure to respond in time to developments in satellite television will lead to banishment from the linguistic Eden of the 1990's.

The Language Industry

The 'Language Industry' is a concept that is being actively promoted by the European Commission. In France, the notion of 'Les industries de la langue' has enjoyed a certain currency as the result of Bernard Cassen's report presented to the French Minister for Research and Technology in 1985 entitled *Les Industries de la langue, un grand enjeu culturel, scientifique et technologique pour la France*. Basically, it is anything that is a product or an application of natural language processing and covers such areas as:

- spelling checkers, style and grammar checkers/correctors
- terminological databases
- information retrieval systems
- machine translation
- lexical and linguistic workstations
- natural language interface to database in a multilingual environment
- Desktop publishing
- Office automation including machines that will read mail automatically in several languages

The development of language industries will certainly have implications both for the training and employment prospects of Irish translators (Davis, 1989, pp. 40-46). The extent of investment in these areas is quite considerable and continues to grow. In 1985 there was a turnover of 35m dollars in natural language interface with databases and this is growing at the rate of 100% a year. The market for speech recognition and synthesis was valued at 25 million dollars in 1987 but it could be worth anywhere between 1,000 and 5,000 million dollars in the 1990's. Machine translation which currently accounts for 10% of all translation activity is variously valued at between 160 and 480 million dollars (Rosselin, 1987, p. 22).

Though scepticism is necessary to temper the heady optimism of market growth predictions, it is nonetheless true that the Community and individual member states are increasingly interested in the economic potential of the language industry. Part of the EC's concern is competition from Japan in this area. The Japanese are currently financing 30 MT projects and in 1987 decided to invest 400 million dollars over 15 years in a telephone translation system (Launet, 1987, pp. 35-40).

It could be argued that to some extent the fate of languages like French or indeed Irish depend on the degree to which linguists can produce systematic descriptions of these languages for use by computers. Thus, there is an economic case to be made for proper government funding of applied linguistics research. If commercial and scientific translation has always been interdisciplinary in terms of subject areas handled, the language industry development takes this one step further. The activity itself becomes interdisciplinary as the translators work alongside engineers, computer specialists and linguists.

The Irish Translators Association

If the Irish Free State on its inception made provision for translation it would be over 60 years before Irish translators organised themselves into an association. The Irish Translators Association (ITA) was founded in June 1986 and unlike similar associations elsewhere is open to both literary and technical translators. The Association has at present around 160 members. The first two events organised by the ITA reflected the dual interests of its members. In March 1987, at an ITA poetry reading Brian Lynch and Peter Jankowski read their translations of Paul Celan's poems and discussed some of the difficulties involved. In May 1987, a Translation Day held at NIHE Dublin heard talks on terminology in Irish, the history of translation theory and workshops were organised for commercial, technical and literary translators. The following are some of the areas that the ITA has been involved in over the last three years.

1. The establishment of a database of translators in Ireland and the compilation of a Register of Translators.
2. The setting up of a sub-committee to draw up a Code of Practice for Irish translators.
3. A survey of the working conditions of translators in Ireland.
4. The organisation of an annual Poetry Translation Competition.
5. The publication of a Newsletter which comes out four times a year.
6. The ITA became a candidate member of the Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs (FIT) in 1988 and is due to become a full member in August 1990 at the FIT World Congress in Belgrade.

7. In 1987 the ITA became an affiliate member of the Irish Writers Union.

8. Organisation of seminars on New Technology and the Translator, the Business of Translation, An t-Aistritheoir agus an Ghaeilge and readings by distinguished literary translators.

The ITA is at present studying the advantages and disadvantages of establishing criteria for membership in line with current practice elsewhere and in an attempt to give the organisation proper professional status (Cronin, 1988, pp. 6-7). Such a move might have consequences for the eclectic nature of the ITA and thus is being carefully considered before any decisions are taken.

Translator Training

Though the question of translator training has exercised the minds of participants at numerous international conferences, literature contains instances of those who acquire foreign languages with remarkable facility. In Edgar Rice Burrough's 12 volume saga Tarzan when Miss Jane Porter is first formally introduced to Tarzan, he could read and write English, speak "ape and a little elephant" and French. By the 6th volume Tarzan speaks Arabic, English, German, Bantu, a great deal of elephant, Swahili, French, monkey, Middle English, lion, Abyssinian and he has a fair understanding of American (Davenport, 1984, pp. 343-44).

Polyglot Tarzans are rare and much attention in educational circles is devoted to equipping apprentice translators with the necessary language skills for an increasingly competitive translation market. However, there are two problem areas in translator training which I will only dwell on briefly here but which merit consideration in any evaluation of the effectiveness of translator training.

Firstly, translation is a written medium which is being taught to students whose cultural background is increasingly dominated by the orality of the telephone, transistor radio and television. Though the influence of these media is difficult to quantify, confusion of registers, inappropriate use of oral forms and repeated difficulties in written expression in the mother tongue point to an apparent lack of familiarity with written media in the culture. This, incidentally, is an argument for the retention of literature courses on translation courses

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to draw the student's attention to the resources available in written language (Cronin, 1988, pp. 325-28).

Secondly, there is the challenge of teaching scientific and technical subjects to a non-traditional audience. This task is not always easy when science lecturers are faced with students who have frequently expressed a preference for languages as opposed to science subjects in secondary school. The use of inductive approaches to the teaching of scientific and technical subjects, the historical contextualisation of scientific theories using a heuristic approach and drawing attention to the modus operandi of scientific understanding (Gile, 1986, p. 368) are possible ways of overcoming initial resistance to scientific and technical instruction on translation degrees.

Conclusion

In recent years, Translation Studies and the translation profession in Ireland have emerged from a relative obscurity. The scope for further work and development is immense though three areas in particular would seem particularly promising.

1. The development of translation as a new service industry playing an important role in a reticular economy.
2. The dissemination of Irish literature and culture in both languages through translation in a positive European environment.
3. The expansion of Translation Studies building on Ireland's experience as a bilingual state.

Niúl, the youngest son of Féinius Farsaidh was not bequeathed the sovereignty of Scythia which went to Féinius' eldest son, Neanúil. Céitinn remarks rather ruefully that Niúl was "only left what profit he derived from the sciences and the various languages which he used to teach in the public schools of the country" (Céitinn, 1908, p. 13). It is Niúl's inheritance which may yet prove to be the most valuable.

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Eight years after David Crystal's depiction of the field of 'clinical linguistics' (Crystal 1981), and five years after his more whimsically phrased attempts at 'close encounters' between linguistics and language disability (Crystal 1984), the appearance of this collection of 15 articles relating to linguistics and clinical practice offers a good opportunity to assess the nature of current encounters between these two fields.

The work, which is organised and intended as a textbook, is divided into three basic sections: two introductory articles by Grundy on 'Essential linguistics for clinicians,' eight contributions on language assessment techniques, and five concluding articles which focus on the role of linguistics in clinical intervention. The scope of the book includes both the better-known areas of childhood phonology and syntax as well as less frequently discussed topics such as pragmatics, prosody, fluency, and acquired language disorders.

Grundy's task in the first section is a difficult one. Defining 'essential linguistics for clinicians' is a selective and simplifying exercise; in a book of this kind, it also defines the relationship between linguistics and clinical practice. We are given an overview of Saussurean linguistics, some rather simple illustrations of Whorfian relativism, a sketch of the phrase structure component of classic transformational grammar and some discussion of the competence/performance distinction, and a contrast of Skinnerian versus cognitively-oriented theories of language acquisition. Much is claimed for linguistics, as throughout the volume, exemplified in Grundy's view (p. 15) that

> The theory of PS rules, ... leads to an appreciation of the structured and generative nature of language and, with this concept in mind, clinicians can plan language programmes which provide opportunities for the acquisition and generation of specific language structures.

The contributions in Part Two of the book run in two different directions: one towards a 'literature review' in which different existing methods of linguistic assessment are compared and discussed as clinical tools, and the other towards a concrete presentation of performance data subject to linguistic analysis. The dividing line between these approaches is, of course, not rigid, but together they suggest two uses of the term 'linguistic': one pertaining simply to language, the other more specifically to linguistics (see Luelsdorff 1986 for a formal definition of these two senses). Pamela Grunwell's 'Assessment of phonology,' which deals essentially with child phonology, represents the first trend well: following arguments for a scientific approach to phonology, Grunwell contrasts features of several established methods for collecting and analysing phonological data. Florence L. Myers's overview of 'Language assessment in the United States' is somewhat anomalous in that it contains a geographic rationale rather than one based in linguistics or speech pathology: in any event, much of the material in the appendix listing 'selected language assessment instruments' is quite familiar on this side of the Atlantic, as are the general issues raised by Myers.

A closer look at linguistic disability is afforded in this section by Michael Garman, Michael F. McTear and Gina Conti-Ramsden, and Keith Brewster. Garman's paper on 'Syntactic assessment of expressive language' starts by declining to 'review recent assessment procedures' (p. 92) but concentrates instead on a substantive clinical transcript which is examined in general terms and according to several well-known protocols for syntactic analysis. McTear and Conti-Ramsden discuss basic concepts in the field of pragmatics, focusing on the relative advantages of ethnographic methods and formal checklists in clinical discourse analysis. Both papers are lucid and useful, proceeding from theory to application while retaining contact with the 'real world' of clinical data. The lack of attention paid to adult disorders is, however, regrettable. Brewster's contribution on 'The assessment of prosody' should be useful for many readers as it displays terminology, concepts, and practical notational conventions from an area which is still largely overlooked in linguistic phonetics. His presentation, however, is marred by a tendency towards overly schematic writing and a willingness to trade in truism: 'In short, prosody is closely involved in total language performance' (p. 177). How could it be otherwise?

In the final section, Grundy comes closest to making a 'close encounter' between linguistics and clinical practice. In 'Developmental speech disorders,' devoted to childhood articulation and phonological disorder, Grundy is refreshingly straightforward in describing clinical examples and depicting methods for selecting courses of therapy that are compatible with at least the broad thrust of most modern phonological theory. Conti-Ramsden's work on 'Developmental language disorders,' dealing with general linguistic and communicative ability and focusing on syntax, benefits more often than not from a concrete approach to some case history-type data and from a pragmatically-oriented analysis of a therapeutic intervention in syntactic disability. Niklas Miller's 'Acquired speech disorders' is a welcome shift to the adult area, benefiting from practical suggestions for treatment, but in some ways attempting to survey too big a field without returning to the base of linguistics in any theoretical sense.

Contrasting with Chomsky's cynicism about the viability of 'applied linguistics' in language learning (see Chomsky 1973), Crystal's optimism about the possibility of 'close encounters' between linguistics and language disability is more than reflected in the Grundy volume, which positively exudes optimism about the usefulness of linguistics in clinical description, evaluation, and therapy. Yet the picture presented here leaves open many questions about the possibility of such 'encounters.' The linguistics discussed here is not of the abstract type. Syntactic theory stops with the short reference to classic transformational grammar, leaving out any current work in Government and Binding or other grammatical theories which, ironically in this context, contain goals of describing universal grammars that would be more relevant to the study of language acquisition and disability than the earlier transformational models. Similarly, a rather elementary generative-type phonological theory appears to be implicit in the phonological theory base, without regard to developments in metrical phonology, lexical phonology, etc. Metrical phonology (see Hogg and McCully 1987) offers particular promise for clinical insight, as clinical problems often defy solutions which use rules in linear derivations. The brief mention of sociolinguistics is at times naive (see especially the account of language standardisation, p. 42) and ignores the critical role of language attitudes in the assessment of spoken language (see Milroy 1987 for discussion).

While the linguistics here may not be abstract, neither is the clinical side as concrete as it might have been. We are exposed at times to a dizzying barrage of metaphor ('The above approaches would seem to differ along several dimensions which pivot around certain key issues,' p. 190), while the sections which review previous work are at times no more informative than the accompanying bibliography. Too infrequently does one feel a real breakthrough between the concerns of linguistics, the nature of linguistic disorder, and clinical intervention.

Many phonetic symbols in the book are poorly presented, and differences in typeface and character size sometimes render phonetic transcriptions quite unsatisfactory. Misprints are a problem: most readers will be able to decode 'pidgeon' [pigeon] (p. 192), 'phenome' (p. 273), and 'lingusitic' (p. 294), but 'emotional liability' (p. 286) is plausible enough to obscure the intended (I assume) 'emotional labiality.' Grundy mistranslates 'dummy' (i.e., soother, etc.) as used on this side of the Atlantic into American 'comforter'; the American term for dummy/soother is pacifier, while a comforter is a kind of quilt. The 'linguist's paradox' referred to by Brewster (p. 173) in discussing the work of Labov is better known as the 'observer's paradox.' Most of these editorial slips and technical problems are merely annoying, but they do detract from the reading of the book as a whole.

Despite the reservations expressed here, this book is a useful contribution to clinical linguistics, if only for helping to define the way that further such linguistic encounters may take shape. As a textbook, it would necessarily be supplementary: the linguistics introduction is insufficient to stand on its own, while the clinical insights often refer to other works which the reader would need to read for full benefit. In this supplementary function, however, the book would be a welcome addition to any syllabus on clinical linguistics.

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Tá dhá alt déag agus trí léirmheas san eagrán seo de Theagasc na Gaeilge. Baineann a bhformhór le cúrsaí oideachais ar fud oileán Éireann. Tá trácht iontu ar chúrsái curaclaim, ar an Teastas Shóisearach, ar an idirbhliain, ar ríomhaireacht trí Ghaeilge, ar thraenáil múinteoirí bunscoile, ar mhúineadh na Gaeilge sa tuaisceart, ar athbhreithniú na Roinne Oideachais ar chúrsaí Gaeilge trí Mheitheal Oibre na Roinne atá ag obair le roinnt blianta anuas agus ar deireadh alt fada ar scríobh na Gaeilge sa bhunscoil.

Tá an cur síos ar an Teastas Sóisearach lom, simplí. Is léir go bhfuil mórán feola le crochadh ar na cnámha úd agus treoracha ciallmhara le tabhairt do mhúinteoirí ionas go mbeidh éifeacht leis an mhúinteoireacht. Tá na trí leibhéal a bheas ann feasta luaite ach is eagal liom óna bhfuil ráite fúthu nach leigheas ar bith iad ar chuid mhaith den chur i gcéill atá cheana féin leitheadach. Is ríshoiléir ó na leabhair uile go léir atá ar fáil ar an mhargadh agus atá dírithe ar an Teastas Shóisearach sa Ghaeilge gur beag idirthuiscint atá ag foilsitheoirí agus ag múinteoirí ar a bhfuil ag teastáil.

Pléitear an idirbhliain i gcúpla alt. Is léir gur smaointeoireacht ar fad atá ar siúl fúithi go fóill agus is maith ann í. Níl cúrsa ar bith fiú i bhfoirm creatlaigh ann go fóill. An bhfuil comhthuiscint ann faoina leithéid fiú? Braithim go bhfuil cuid mhaith acadúlachais ag baint lena bhfuiltear a mholadh sna haltanna. Ta na hiarrachtaí atá tugtha mar eiseamláirí teanntaithe go maith. Is athinsint chomh tur céanna iad ar an seanrudaí atá ar siúl le fada riamh. Tá inspioráid agus samhlaíocht ag teastáil go crua má táthar le cúrsa fóirsteanach a mholadh gan trácht ar chur leis. Is léir gur trí Bhéarla a chaithfear go leor dena daltaí a theagasc agus ní léir dom freagra ródhóchasach a bheith ar fáil faoina bealaí a bhféadfaí déileáil leis an drisín cosáin seo. Is measa arís gur chun leasa na hArdteiste a úsáidtear an idirbhlaiin i mórán scoileanna nuair is ábhar oifigiúil chúrsa na hArdteiste a mhúintear. Tá sé thar am ag múinteoirí na Gaeilge a ghabháil ag obair ar phacáistí taitneamhacha a bheadh inúsáide agus inláimhsithe ag gach aicme daltaí a chur ar fáil. Bídís nua ó thús go deireadh agus bíodh samhlaíocht agus taitneamh agus eolas ag rith leo.

Tá moltaí ciallmhara déanta faoin ríomhaireacht i gcás na Gaeilge. Ba mhaith ann iad fosta na háiseanna uile atá molta a bheith ar fáil ag scoileanna lánGhaeilge agus ag an phobal i gcoitinne. Ar earball chat Mhanainn atá ríomhaireacht na Gaeilge is trua liom a rá agus is sleamhain an greim é. Is beag is fiú moltaí murar léir aigne éigin lán dáirire a bheith ag an stát agus acu sin a chuireann feidhm lena gnóthaí.

Is léir imní orthu sin a scríobh na hailt faoi staid na Gaeilge sa tuaisceart. Baineann an imní sa chéad áit leis na hiarrachtaí a rinne Mawhinney, cé go bhfuil athrú intinne agus dearcaidh air ó scríobhadh na páipéir seo, de thairbhe an bhrú a tháinig ón phobal. Is cosúil go meastar na treoracha faoi chúrsaí measúnaithe a bheith an-lom. Arís eile tá trí leibhéal ann mar atá againn féin agus gan sainiú ceart déanta ar aon cheann acu. Mheasadh duine go bhfuil an GCSE á chur i bhfeidhm faoi dhriopás agus an rud a dhéantar faoi dhriopás cha bhíonn sé craicneach. Níl slacht ar na heiseamláirí teanga, ar an ghramadach, ar na socruithe do na scrúduithe de réir cosúlachta. Tá Éirinn uile faoi éidtreoir is cosúil.

Tá córas traenála na mbunmhúinteoirí roimh agus i ndiaidh 1974 rianaithe go maith in alt eile. Is stair anois é ó tharla go mbaineann sé le Coláiste Dhúh Chéirigh. Cuirtear an traenáil i gcúrsaí Gaeilge faoin seanchóras ar a mbronntaí dioplóma agus an traenáil a fhaigheann siad siúd, a mbronntar an chéim B.Oid orthu, i gcomparáid le chéile. Is fiú na conclúidí a léamh agus a bhfuil idir na línte chomh maith.

Tá an t-alt le Breandán ó Cróinín ón Roinn Oideachais inspéise mar gur tuar dóchais éigin a bhfuil á rá ann. Tá athbhreithniú iomlán ar siúl ag an Mheitheal Oibre i leith na Gaeilge - go fiú gurb í príomhaidhm theagasc na Gaeilge feasta an teanga labhartha a fhorbairt. Tá mórán nithe faoi scrúdú ag an Mheitheal - cleachtais éagsúla dátheangachais i scoileanna, teastas breise do mhúinteoirí le ghabháil ag múineadh i scoileannn lánGhaeilge nó sa Ghaeltacht, curaclam nua don Ghaeltacht ina measc. Luaitear cúrsaí taighde agus obair ionad churaclaim na Roinne Oideachais. Tuar dóchais na scoileanna lánGhaeilge agus a bhfuil i ndán dóibh. Ba thuar dóchais dúinn uile moltaí na Meithle seo a fheiceáil i ngníomh.

Baineann an t-alt deiridh le hEoghan Ó Súilleabháin, alt a bhfuil leathanach is fiche ann, le scríobh na Gaeilge. Is í an bhuncheist atá aige cá huair is fearr do fhoglaimeoir na dara teanga tosú ar an scríobh. Tá mórán sleachtaí tugtha le dearcadh na Roinne, Chumann Múinteoirí Éireann agus mar sin a léiriú. Luaitear an taighde nuair a fhóireann don argóint agus sleachta as ráitis ó dhá theangeolaí i dtús na seachtóidí. Lagaíonn tuairimí na dteangeolaithe teoiriciúla éifeacht na hargóna, dar liom, agus is beag duine a sheasfadh leo mar thuairimí le fada.

Tugtar faoin gCur Chuige Cumarsáideach agus faoin Threshold Level agus luaitear gur smeareolas atá ag teastáil ó dhaoine a éilíonn an leibhéal áirithe seo. Aon duine a léigh a bhfuil sa Threshold Level beidh a fhios aige gur beag dalta Ardteiste Gaeilge a bhfuil smacht aige ar a bhfuil de theanga agus d'eolas teanga sa Threshold chéanna. Luaitear fosta 'metalinguistic reasons for which we learn languages' as léirmheas le hEoghan Mac Aogáin, 1984 áit a ndeir sé nach rómhaith a cheaptar a leithéid sa Chur Chuige Cumarsáideach. Cibé faoi dhaoine fásta a thugann faoi theanga, is ceist liom an bhfuil páistí ar bith ar bhuncoileanna na tíre seo a mbíonn 'metalinguistic reasons' i gcúl a gcinn acu agus iad i mbun na Gaeilge? Is beag acu é a déarfainn.

Tá samplaí d'iarrachtaí roinnt daltaí de gach aois in aguisín i ndeireadh an ailt. Cé gur shuimiúil le duine iad, is léir orthu gur ón chlárdubh a scríobhadh an mhórchuid acu. Is beag iarsma den chruthaíocht atá le feiceáil iontu, fiú iad sin ar as rang a sé iad. Is trua sin más scáil iad ar mhothúcháin agus ar smaointe na ndaltaí.

An cíoradh atá déanta agamsa ar an alt deiridh seo is ar mhaithe le scóip níos leithne a thabhairt do phlé an ábhair a rinne mé é. Ní dóigh liom go bhfuil freagraí deasa coimre ar an cheist. Measaim fosta gur fearr a sheasfadh argóintí an údair dá bhfanfadh sé slán ó thuairimí theangeolaithe/acadóirí eile nach raibh riamh ag plé le páistí den aois 4-12. Tá gá ligean do pháistí iad féin a chur in iúl. Ach tá faitíos mór orm, má tá fonn scríbhneoireachta orthu, gur sinne idir dhaoine fásta agus mhúinteoirí atá ag cur dlúis lena bhfonn. Is gníomhaíocht scoile í an scríbhneoireacht a gcuirtear riachtanas léi. Ach sin mar atá, tá an ceart go hiomlán ag an údar nuair a deir sé gur chóir "aidhm an teagaisc a athrú agus sástacht an dalta a choinneáil chun tosaigh".

Is ábhar an-lárnach é seo atá pléite go hionraic macánta ag an údar agus is ceart sin agus molaim a dhúthracht leis an ábhar. Is léir gur leis atá a chroí. B'fhéidir go spreagfaidh sé iad sin a bhfuil smacht acu ar na gnóthaí an cheist a chíoradh agus ról agus áit na scríbhneoireachta sa chóras scolaíochta a leagan síos ar bhonn a bheas intuigthe, inghlactha, réadúil agus ag teacht le físeog na haoise ina maireann muid. Char bheag sin.

Cló A4 atá ar an iris anois. Níl sí chomh slachtmhar i gcuma agus a bhí na heagráin roimpi ach is dócha gur saoire an cur amach úr. Braithim fosta go bhfuil athrú dearcaidh ag an eagarthóir ar úsáid an chaighdeáin oifigiúil thar mar a bhíodh, mar is léir ó na samplaí seo a thug mé faoi deara in ailt éagsúla:
fachta; sara dtéann; níos domhaine; den tsórt; leathanacha; moltaí praicticiúla; chuile dhuine acu; achan scoil.

Ba chuma liom fúthu sin ach neamhúsáid an chaighdeáin a bheith á chur i bhfeidhm go tuisceanach críochnúil. Is measa liom go mór ná sin na bunlochtanna teanga seo thíos ar scaoileadh leo:

> go bhfuil sé de ádh orthu í a bheith ceadaithe acu ag an Roinn Oideachais
> i dtreo cineál áirithe de shlite beatha
> faoi nithe a bhfuil sibhse ag saothrú leo
> cúrsaí inseirbhíse fiúntacha

Is mór an áis a bhfuil d'eolas agus de thuairimíocht ar fáil san eagrán seo de Theagasc na Gaeilge. Char mhaith liom go measadh daoine de thairbhe a bhfuil ráite agam go bhfuilim ag lochtú an eagráin. Chan fhuil ach is é gnó an léirmheastóra aird an léitheora a tharraingt ar an ábhar mar is léir dó é. Spreag an t-eagrán reatha mise le smaointe go leor a nochtadh. Déanfaidh sé amhlaidh libhse. Cha beag sin de theist ar a bhfuil ráite ann. Molaimis Comhar na Múinteoirí Gaeilge as an saothar a chuireann siad orthu féin an iris a chur amach go rialta. Nára fada uainn an chéad eagrán eile.

Language International, Volume 1, Issue 1 (1989). John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia. General Editor: Geoffrey Kingscott. ISSN in application.
The Phonetician, A Publication of ISPhS International Society of Phonetic Sciences, CL-47/48, Spring/Fall, 1988. ISSN 0741-6164

Dónall P. Ó Baoill,
Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann.

Language International is published six times a year. The volume under review is the first of the 1989 issues. It has a very pleasing format and the articles on the whole make for very light reading. The content is varied, ranging over such areas as languages and the computer, lexicography, terminology, the Khmer language of Cambodia, translation and an international calendar of language events. It focusses mainly on practical issues such as the use of language in computers; the contribution of different textbook designs and recent advances in technology to teaching and training of personnel in large companies and other institutions. There are a number of articles on the promotion of minority and local rather than imposed languages and the practical problems that can ensue. All in all this is an attractive publication and a welcome addition to the ongoing debate about the practical contribution of computers and microprocessors in storing and analysing literature and data dealing with any aspect of language. We wish the journal every success.

The Phonetician is a slight publication of some 28 pages. It contains three fairly short articles on phonetics and its role in the Phonetic Sciences and linguistic theory generally. The rest of the journal is taken up with news items about various meetings/conferences, new equipment, new publications and a report on the ISPhS business meetings during 1988 and early 1989.
The three articles focus mainly on the role of phonetic theory and its future development as well as the interaction of application and theory. It is concluded that phonetics is interdisciplinary in nature contributing to developments in many different areas not only of an academic nature but also in clinical and commercial fields. Phoneticians should be proud of the tremendous advances that have been made in the phonetic sciences in the last 30 years. Indeed it is a record of which we can all be proud.

Review of Robert F. Ilson (ed.), A Spectrum of Lexicography: Papers from AILA Brussels 1984. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1987.

David Singleton
Trinity College Dublin

There are at least two elements in the title of the volume under review that may put off potential readers. The first is the word "lexicography," which could suggest that the book is only of interest to people involved in dictionary-making. The second is the indication that the volume is based on papers from the 1984 AILA World Congress; it is unfortunately the case that conference proceedings are not always an enticing prospect.

To take the second point first, not the least achievement of the book is that it sets the record straight with regard to AILA 84. It shows that, if this congress -- like most other events of its kind -- had its hiccups, there is absolutely no doubt but that there were some very good papers on offer in Brussels. As far as the lexicographical focus of the collection is concerned, in fact what these papers demonstrate is that, of its nature, lexicography impinges on and interacts with virtually every other area of linguistics and applied linguistics. Thus, every single contribution to this volume treats of topics and issues that have relevance far beyond the realm of dictionary-making -- from semantic prototypes to word-frequency counts and from valency theory to language transfer.

The collection comprises ten papers, plus an editorial introduction. The papers are arranged in three broad groupings. First come five pieces dealing with monolingual dictionaries, next a group of four papers relating to bilingual dictionaries and foreign language vocabulary teaching, and finally a single paper on the use of the computer in the processing of lexicographical data.

In the opening paper of the "monolingual" section, "Types of semantic information in dictionaries," Dirk Geeraerts reflects on the not altogether straightforward relationship between theoretical linguistics and lexicography, and attempts a threefold classification of dictionaries in terms of the kind of description they offer, the purpose they serve, and their knowledge-constitutive interest ("reflective," "communicative/hermeneutic," or "technical"). This is followed by Luis Fernando Lara's "Methodology in a non-Spanish dictionary of the Spanish language: The Diccionario del español de Mexico," which describes a project to produce a dictionary of Mexican Spanish without shrinking from discussing the serious theoretical and practical problems posed by the delineation of the regional variety in question and by the definition and compilation of an appropriate corpus of source material. The third paper, "A proposal for a valency table of English" by Thomas Herbst, argues that entries in monolingual dictionaries for advanced learners should be organized around valency information (i.e., information about complementation possibilities), and explores not only the types of criteria which might be deployed in establishing such information but also the precise forms that valency-based entries might take. Fritz Neubauer, in his paper "How to define a defining vocabulary," which is the fourth of the "monolingual" group, is concerned with a rather different aspect of dictionary entries, namely, the vocabulary used in defining the lexical items which the dictionary seeks to elucidate; his suggestion for limiting this defining vocabulary in a principled manner is that it should be based on a "sense-marked" frequency count of terms actually attested in the definitions of a range of already existing monolingual dictionaries for a given language. The last paper in the "monolingual" section of the book is Robert F. Ilson's "Towards a taxonomy of dictionary definitions," which like Neubauer's contribution is focused on definitions in dictionaries, but which is concerned not with the actual terminology of definition so much as the various ways in which a dictionary definition may arrange and distribute information about the syntactic and semantic category and subcategory of its definiendum.

The first paper in the "bilingual" grouping is by Jean-Claude Choul and has the title "Contrôle de l'équivalence dans les dictionnaires bilingues." As this title indicates, the paper looks at the problem of cross-lingual equivalence; it proposes some "objective" tests of the equivalence of items presented as translations of each other in bilingual dictionaries -- tests which on the one hand refer to actual use and on the other to definitions of the items in question in monolingual dictionaries of the relevant languages. Gabrielle Schorr in the paper that follows -- "Deux types de dictionnaires bilingues de poche" -- is less preoccupied with equivalence per se than with the two very different uses to which small bilingual dictionaries are put, as aids to decoding and encoding respectively, and the implications these different uses have for the amount and varieties of information that need to be provided relative to the two languages treated. The next paper, "Scientific and practical problems of a Hindi-German dictionary" by Lutz Baganz, is largely devoted to the difficulties involved in coping -- in the context of a Hindi-German dictionary -- with the fact that Hindi, unlike German, has ergative constructions, is heavily aspectual, and lacks articles. Finally in the group of papers concerned with bilingual dictionaries and foreign language vocabulary teaching, Bruno Callebaut's contribution, "De l'interférence au transfert, ou peut-on enseigner le SAE?", offers some arguments and evidence in favour of the view that formal and semantic similarities between the lexical systems of European languages should be exploited pedagogically through the incorporation of an explicitly contrastive-analytic dimension into foreign language vocabulary teaching.

The last paper of the collection is entitled "A practical semi-automated strategy for homograph discrimination" and is contributed by Nina Devons. It presents in some detail the "FREQSUCON Homograph Discrimination Strategy," which is applied to "keyword in context" concordances and consists in five procedures, the first three manual and the remaining two mechanical -- an elementary FORTRAN program and a SORT routine. This strategy, which was developed in a strictly lexicographical context, would seem to be usable in many other types of research based on concordances drawn from large-scale corpora.

Perversely enough, my conclusion is largely supplied by Robert Ilson's introduction to the book, in the last paragraph of which he says:

> The range of the subjects [the authors of these papers] chose to discuss, and the common concerns that emerge in their papers, bear witness both to the extraordinary diversity of contemporary lexicography and lexicology, and to their underlying unity. This collection does not by any means treat every lexicographic problem or discuss every type of dictionary. But it does illustrate the breadth and depth of lexicography and lexicology today. (p. ix.)

This, as far as I am concerned, sums the book up admirably. I would add only that, with one or two exceptions, the contributions are remarkably accessible, and certainly do not assume a high degree of lexicographical expertise on the part of their readers. Any linguist or language teacher with an interest in lexical aspects of language and/or language learning would find this collection a most enriching read.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

1. Singleton, D. (1989), Language Acquisition: The Age Factor. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon. 330 pp. £43 (h), £14.95 (p) (sterling)

Designed to 'provide an overview of research and thinking on age-related dimensions of language acquisition' for a wide variety of readers. Topics discussed include the notion of 'speech milestones,' the critical period hypothesis, theoretical approaches, and practical educational issues. This important book will be reviewed in full in TEANGA 11 (1991).

2. Oleksy, W. (ed.) (1989). Contrastive Pragmatics. Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia. 282 pp. Hfl 140 (US $62).

A collection of papers largely written in 1984, divided into six papers concerned with speech acts in a contrastive framework (e.g., praising and complimenting in Polish and English; the viability of cross-linguistic speech act taxonomy; and pragmatic strategies related to power and control in the acquisition of Antiguan Creole and English), and five devoted to pragmatics in interlanguage and second language contexts (e.g., foreign language classroom discourse, blending of syntactic structures in advanced second language learners' usage).

3. Code, C. (ed.) (1989). The Characteristics of Aphasia. Taylor and Francis, London. 212 pp. £24 (h), £12 (p) (sterling)

Ten papers examining aphasia, of special interest to those working in 'speech pathology and neuropsychology,' designed as in 'introductory but comprehensive account' of major characteristics of aphasia. Topics include a general/historical overview of paradigms for understanding aphasia, and specific chapters on fluency, word-finding, comprehension, phonology, apraxia, and reading and spelling disorders.

4. Square-Storer, P. (ed.) (1989). Acquired Apraxia of Speech in Aphasic Adults: Theoretical and Clinical Issues. 294 pp.

Designed as a ' "forum" for ... leading clinicians/researchers representing various disciplines ... to present their own perspectives, standpoints, and working hypotheses' on apraxia and its treatment. Eleven papers examine general aspects of apraxia of speech and other apraxias, clinical issues related to diagnosis and therapeutic strategies, the efficacy of specific intervention techniques, and treatments involving severe apraxia (including apractic mutism and the role of augmentative communication systems).

Little, D.G. and D.M. Singleton. (1988). *Authentic Materials and the Role of Fixed Support in Language Teaching*. CLCS Occasional Paper No. 20. Centre for Language and Communication Studies, Trinity College Dublin. 26pp.

A critical examination of the role of 'authentic' texts (e.g., *Authentik* materials) in language teaching/learning which concludes that learners require 'an information bank and a text-exploitation kit' in addition to appropriate textual materials: the information bank would include 'information about the target language and information about acquiring and performing in a second language,' while the text-exploitation kit 'is envisaged as a source of detailed, practical suggestions about text-processing.'

TEANGA

Bliainiris na Teangeolaiochta Feidhmi in Eirinn
The Irish Yearbook of Applied Linguistics

UIMHIR/NUMBER 11

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Walsh, Irene P. Speech Therapist, Children's Department, Cluain Mhuire Family Centre. Review of *Bruce E. Murdoch (ed.)* **Acquired Neurological Speech/Language Disorders in Childhood.** Taylor Francis, 1990. (347pp.) 87

Kallen, Jeffrey L. Trinity College Dublin. Review of *Devitt, S. (1989),* **Classroom Discourse: Its Nature and its Potential for Language Learning,** CLCS Occasional Paper No. 21, CLCS, Trinity College Dublin, 72 pp.; *Cook, V.J. (1989).* **The Relevance of Grammar in the Applied Linguistics of Language Teaching,** CLCS Occasional Paper No. 22, CLCS, Trinity College Dublin, 43pp.; *De Vriendt, S and Van de Craen, P. (1990),* **Bilingualism in Belgium: A History and Appraisal,** CLCS Occasional Paper No. 23, CLCS, Trinity College Dublin, 52pp. 91

Mac Mathúna, Liam. St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra, Dublin. Review of *Mary Snell-Hornby and Esther Pöhl, Eds,* **Translation and Lexicography: Papers read at the EURALEX Colloquium held at Innsbruck 2-5 July 1987,** Kirksville, Missouri: John Benjamins, Paintbrush and EURALEX, 1989, Pp. 238. $60:00. 96

Réamhrá

Shocraigh IRAAL tamall ó shin TEANGA a fhoilsiú faoi leagan amach nua ag tosú le huimhir 11. Socraíodh clúdach lannach a chur ar an iris agus clóchur a dhéanamh uirthi ar inneall barrdheasc. Ba mhaith linn ár mbuíochas a ghabháil le hInstitiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann as an tseirbhís dheiridh seo a chur ar fáil dúinn. Bunaíodh na hailt atá san eagrán seo ar chainteanna a tugadh ag na seimneáir ar Aistriúchán agus ar Aistriú Teanga a bhí ag IRAAL le bliain go leith anuas. Tá alt breise againn ó David Barnwell ar chúrsaí trialacha nár fhéad sé a sholáthar dúinn do TEANGA 10. Tá súil againn go dtaitneoidh an éagsúlacht agus an cur amach nua atá ar TEANGA 11 lenár léitheoirí. Cuirtear TEANGA a fhoilsítear gach bliain, TEANGLITIR a fhoilsítear faoi dhó sa bhliain agus foilseacháin AILA ar fáil do bhaill IRAAL. Le tuilleadh eolais a fháil faoi bhallraíocht in IRAAL scríobh chuig: An Rúnaí, IRAAL, f/ch ITÉ, 31 Plás Mhic Liam, Baile Átha Cliath 2.

An tEagarthóir,
Deireadh Fómhair 1991.

Introduction

IRAAL decided some time ago to publish TEANGA in a new format beginning with number 11. It was decided to use a laminated cover and to have the contents typeset on desktop. We would like to extend our warmest thanks to Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann for providing us with the desktop facilities. The articles contained in this issue were delivered at two seminars on Translation and Language Transfer held by IRAAL during the previous eighteen months. This issue also contains an article by David Barnwell on testing which he was unable to make available for TEANGA 10. We hope that the new appearance and format of TEANGA 11 will appeal to our readers.
Members of IRAALautomatically receive TEANGA published yearly, TEANGLITIR published twice a year and AILA publications. For information regarding membership contact: The Secretary, IRAAL, c/o ITÉ, 31 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin 2.

The Editor,
October 1991.

Ní gá gurb ionann na tuairimí atá nochtaithe in aon alt agus tuairimí IRAAL nó An Bhoird Eagarthóireachta.

The views expressed in any of the articles are not necessarily those of IRAAL or of The Editorial Board

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ACCULTURATION AND THE PIDGINIZATION PROCESS IN SECOND LANGAUGE ACQUISITION: A CASE STUDY

Brian Mac Anna
University College, Dublin

ABSTRACT

This paper hypothesizes that success in learning a second language is dependent on social and psychological factors; the greater the social and psychological distance between the learner and the TL community the more difficult it is to acquire the TL. This hypothesis is supported by a data-based longitudinal study of an adult second language learner. The case study suggests that the learner must undergo a process of acculturation into the second language culture if L2 acquisition is to develop. The research provides evidence that a learner's failure to acculturate can result in a fossilized reduction and simplification or pidginization of L2 output.

Schumann's pidginization hypothesis

Schumann (1978) predicted that

> "where social and psychological distance prevail one will find pidginization persisting in the speech of second language learners" (*Schumann, 1978, p.viii*)

Schumann drew on the extensive literature on pidginization and creolization in order to throw light on SLA.

A pidgin is characterized by a reduced, simplified grammatical structure, stylistic range and lexicon (*Crystal, 1985*). Schumann observed many similarities between pidgins and interlanguage. Both evolve from the use of a simplified register and a broken language. Furthermore, pidgins are second rather than primary languages and according to *Ferguson and DeBose (1977)* a weakness of inflectional morphology obtains in both together with an elimination of many of the syntactic transformations necessary for correct utterances (*Ibid.,p.261*).

The Decreolization Continuum.

In relation to the differential degrees of proficiency and variability in linguistic development *Stauble (1978)* makes an analogy between SLA and decreolization. This followed evidence from *Bickerton (1975)* on how decreolization involves a plethora of stages along the continuum between a creole (a pidgin language that has been adopted by the whole community) and a "model" TL.

Bickerton suggested that the transmutation of the creole as it passes along the line to the model language resembles SLA in its more advanced phases. This development involves the abolition of non-standard forms by replacing them with new restructured ones. Post-creole development is divisible into Basilect, Mesolect and Acrolect. In a presentation on Guyanese Creole, *Bickerton (1975, Cit. Stauble 1978)* discussed the importance of contact between creole and model language speakers. Inadequate contact with model TL speakers reduces reinforcement and the Creole speaker can become fossilized in any of the lectal phases.

Alleyne (1971,p. 180) adopted the opinion that acculturation allowed a decreolization along the SLA path. Where pidginization is characterized by restricitive simplification that reduces grammar to a controllable level, elaborative simplification complexifies grammar bringing it towards the standard TL in a wave of decreolization (*Meisel 1976*). This study fixes on a pre-decreolization phase where the subject is trapped as a deculturated learner.

Social and Psychological Distance

Schumann considered social and psychological distance between the learner and the TL community to be largely responsible for pidginization. Social and psychological distance can confine a learner to the communicative function of language thereby falling short of a more integrative and expressive use. Restricting a language to the communicative function can mean transmitting only the most referential and denotative information.

Schumann and his fellow researchers (1976) managed to link up this construct of social and psychological distance with the phenomenon of pidginization. They predicted that a stronger sense of social and psychological cohesion between the learner and the TL group would produce a healthier, more facilitative learning environment.

This viewpoint was shared by *Roger Anderson (1981)*, who exemplified it by reference to the experience of immigrants who would normally have abundant opportunities to access the TL community on a social level but due to the difference in mentalities the L2 group may not acquire the TL with the same degree of speed or accuracy as they might have done had they been more psychologically receptive to the TL group.

For *Evelyn Hatch (1978c)* this whole idea made perfect sense. She interpreted second language learning as a discovery or gradual assimilation of its semantic properties. This exfoliation of a speech system was achieved by means of inter-personal communication which obviously requires some social and psychological understanding between the parties.

Guiora et al (1972a) expounded on the connection between personal interaction and SLA by focusing on the notion of the ego permeability of the learner. He claimed that language ego is cultivated by the growing appearance of language boundaries. In early SLA these boundaries are flexible and permeable, but as SLA escalates the boundaries harden and settle into a relative impermeability leaving language learning as more difficult to achieve.

It is important for the learner to be able to relax ego boundaries to maintain a flexible psychic state which would allow on empathic ebb and flow of empathy between the learner and the TL community. The Alcohol study (*Guiora et al, 1972*) analysed the pronunciation of Thai sentences after small, measured quantities of alcohol had been administered to non-native speakers of the language. The project revealed that one and a half ounces of alcohol produced sentences that were closest to the pronunciation of Thai native speakers. It was conditional that the subjects had eaten prior to the test. The results varied according to the quantity of food or alcohol consumed.

The experiment demonstrated that alcohol induces a pliable psychic condition which reduces inhibition equipping the subject with a more permeable "affective filter" (*Krashen, 1981,p. 167*). Such evidence would lead one to speculate that ego permeability positively responds to social and psychological proximity.

In 1978 Schumann reviewed his views on pidginization and social and psychological distance and expressed the idea that the point at which a learner acculturates to the target language group controls his acquisition rate. Acculturation became for *Schumann, Larsen and Smalley (1972)* and *Stauble (1963)* the chief variable in SLA.

Acculturation refers to the adaptation of the learner to the socio-cultural norms of the second culture while at the same time keeping grip of previously acquired cultural patterns from the first culture. The situation permits a certain relaxation of ego boundaries, a sufficient lowering of the affective filter to allow L2 input into the learner's internal system (*Krashen, 1982*). At this partial level of integration with the L2 group input would not be fully transformed as intake. Fuller integration or assimilation may be required before the learner's speech begins to decreolize or approximate to the complex structures of the target language.

According to this ideology, linguistic and cultural development in the learner ought to synchronize. Whenever this coordination breaks down between language learning and culture learning one can witness a fossilization (*Selinker, 1972*) of TL linguistic forms; that is to say a learner can incorporate into his linguistic competence a relatively permanent set of defective linguistic forms which can manifest as resembling those forms typical of pidgin languages. Pidginization, as the reduction of morphological and syntactic complexities to their universal base, is quite normal in early SLA, but the problem arises where acculturation is not acceded to. In this case the learner would seem to debar himself from any progressive acquisition of the more specific features of the second language.

Acculturative Influences on Motivation.

Acculturation really involves a transmutation in one's whole epistemology. And there appears to be an increased motivation to learn the target language once the acculturative process has commenced. Both the learner's behavioural system and corpus of knowledge alter with the shedding of elements from the learner's own culture and the adoption of new cultural values. Social and psychological adjustment ensues with the closer acceptance of a new belief and value system.

Rosenthal (1966, p.275-88) presents acculturation in contradistinction to assimilation by reference to the settlement pattern of the Jewish community in Chigago earlier this century. This pattern flows as a "race-relations cycle" ranging from acculturation to assimilation.

There was a relocation of the Jewish population which was to some extent based on a voluntary segregation from Gentiles, on a preservation of ethnicity and a reluctance to assimilate into secular American life. This account demonstrates how an acculturative condition can be sustained in a relatively permanent state. This appears to be the case with language learners who hover in suspension between a native and non-native culture with distortive linguistic implications incarnating as pidginization.

A Case Study

To examine the effects of acculturation and the phenomenon of pidginization a case study was carried out (*Mac Anna, 1988*). A subject was sought whose English was still at an early stage of acquisition but who would have ample exposure to the TL. Furthermore, a subject was needed whose English had fossilized and who came from a non-European background. This was because a subject from a European environment might have shared too many cultural norms with the TL group rendering social and psychological distance too close.
A subject from a Romance or Teutonic language background could conjecture meanings in the TL whereas a speaker of a Semitic or Oriental language would

encounter minimal interlingual similarities and would be forced to depend more solidly on social and psychological proximity as a learning facility. This led to the selection of an Arabic speaker, Hesham.
Hesham is a tempercmental individual with high social outreach; an "impulsive speaker" (*1973 cit. Dulay and Burt 1975, p.57*). He was an anomic learner, distrustful of the TL culture (*Durkheim, 1987*). His openness was more to the culture of Spain which had provided him with a fiance.

He was experiencing a loss of status due to an involuntary dependency on native L2 speakers, with a satellized, subordinate connection centered on them *(Ausubel, Sullivan and Ives, 1980)*. His underdeveloped linguistic competence left him "infantilized" (*Stern, 1981,p.382*).

He had some regular exposure to the TL both formally and informally though this brought no significant observable change in the level of his L2.

He was instrumentally motivated to learn English in the first instance though integratively motivated to learn Spanish (*Gardner and Lambert, 1972*). Acquisition in the latter superseded that of the former.

As Hesham's L2 input was highly restricted and his motivation to communicate in L2 robust it can be said that acquisition occurred within a pidgin setting.

Measurement Instruments used to test the subject's affective variables, language aptitude and proficiency.

Aptitude and intelligence tests were administered but Hesham showed no psychological difficulties. This leaves the way open to hypothesize that his pidginized speech was due to his social and psychological distance from TL group members.

Placement tests in English and Spanish showed Hesham's differential proficiency and tests on attitudes and motivation revealed his need to learn the TL was instrumentally based.

The first test administered was the Wechster Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS). This showed an absence of any intellectual impairment and an exceptionally high language learning aptitude. Next came a fully comprehensive test battery which checked auditory comprehension, syntax and semantics. This Clinical Evaluation of Language Functions (CELF) was applied as a general screening. Originally the test was designed

> "to provide differentiated measures of selected language functions in the area of phonology, syntax, semantics, memory and word finding retrieval"

(*Semel and Wiig, 1980*)

The test revealed the subject was devoid of language disorders which appeared to countenance the acculturation-pidginization hypothesis.

In another variant the subject was presented with a questionnaire stating possible reasons for needing to learn English. The objective was to establish a rating of instrumental and integrative motivation. This, together with a semantic differential scale devised by Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957), confirmed Hesham's negative attitude to the TL community and instrumental requirement for the language.

His proficiency in English was calculated by means of both the standardized Oxford Placement Test which was administred in week one of the study and tested his control of phonology and the writing system in English. A second part to the test gauged his command of grammatical structures. The overall aim was to measure communicative performance. The result was upper elementary.

A Spanish language test disigned by the Spanish Cultural Institute Dublin was administered by a native Spanish speaker. Hesham passed the test which he sat at the end of the five months data collection period when sufficient effort had been invested in learning Spanish.

Data was collected by recording spontaneous speech, through elicitation using pictures to stimulate the production of grammatical structures, and through pre-planned sociolinguistic interaction. It took an average of eight hours to transcribe each tape. The transcriptions exceeded two hundred and fifty pages.

Results

The data analysis was based on the developmental sequence of certain sub-systems: the negative, the interrogative, the possessive, the past tenses, progressive and plural morphemes and the auxiliaries.

The analysis revealed that, with the exception of the aux-negative and the plural and progressive morphemes, Hesham's speech evidenced no development. Obligatory contexts of use for WH - questions were left totally unused and possessive morphemes were clearly eschewed. Control of past tenses deteriorated throughout the five months and there was a sharp drop in the acquisition rate of auxiliaries.

It may be deduced from all of this that Hesham's linguistic performance in English was reduced and simplified in form; that is, pidginized. In spite of formal instruction at university his English remained in early SLA.
From all the tests carried out, social and psychological distance from the TL group was seen as responsible for this fossilized, pidginized speech. The study hypothesized the solution that a development of social and psychological proximity would allow acquisition naturally to complete its course through to a complexification of grammatical structures just as a creole language complexifies as it steadily approximates to the native language to which it is drawn.

The subject's social and psychological proximity to Spanish culture and the need to acculturate into the Spanish language community can be seen in the light of Hesham's rapid acquisition of Spanish during the five months. There would seem to be a positive correlation between acculturation and language acquisition in this case.

The call of this paper then is for further studies to be done on this correlation between acculturation and SLA in order for final decisions to be made.

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THE RELEVANCE OF LINGUISTIC CONSTRAINTS ON INTER-LANGUAGE TRANSFER: EVIDENCE FROM IRISH ENGLISH

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1. Introduction

To talk about the relevance of linguistic constraints on phenomena of language contact and transfer sounds a little outdated in view of the fact that much of the recent literature on the subject is devoted to proving that linguistic factors do not suffice to explain contact-induced change. One good example is Thomason and Kaufman's book **Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics**. They bring forward masses of evidence from numerous language contact situations to refute the view, according to them commonly held in previous research, that a "language's structure determines its subsequent development", and more specifically, what will happen to it in a situation of interface with some other language (*Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 9, 34*). Instead, they - along with many others - argue for a conjunction of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, of which the latter are claimed to be more important and capable of overriding the linguistic constraints.

So why bother to swim against the tide? Because, firstly, even acknowledging the influence of extralinguistic factors, the linguistic factors have also been shown to have some role in determining the outcome of contact situations; and, secondly, because this role has been satisfactorily explained in hardly any of the contact situations discussed in the literature, including the Irish situation. Therefore, there is a need to explore the boundaries or domains of applicability of linguistic factors so as to ascertain to what extent they can be used to account for the specifics of any given contact situation.

My aim in this paper is to discuss briefly three familiar linguistic constraints against this general background. They are **language distance, markedness**, and the (systemic) **level of grammar**. Since it is very hard to assess the relevance of these concepts **in abstracto**, I will mainly use the Irish contact situation, and especially Irish English (IrE), as a 'testcase' to confirm or disconfirm their validity. My discussion is necessarily limited to very few 'clear cases', and it must be understood as proposing a research programme rather than arguing for a definitive point of view.

2. LANGUAGE DISTANCE

Language distance is here used as a convenient cover term for structural and typological similarities or differences between the languages concerned. These are perhaps the most often cited sources of transfer. Besides language contact studies, they have been a popular topic in the field of second-language acquisition (SLA) studies, and at one stage even led to the establishing of a whole line of research known as **Contrastive Analysis.**

From the literature on language contact and inter-language transfer it is possible to extract a number of generalizations concerning the role of language distance and the effects which similarities or differences between languages may have, or have had, on the outcomes of contact. Thus, speaking of grammatical interference, Weinreich (1953, p.39) mentions **formal and/or functional similarity** of morphemes or categories as one of the factors which lead to interference in the speech of a bilingual. Similarly, the greater the 'linguistic affinity' or 'typological fit' between the languages in contact the more likely it is that features will be transferred from one language to another (*Lehiste 1988, p.59*). On the other hand, **lack** of typological fit has equally been shown to be a source of transfer pheneomena. Word order, for example, is one of the areas which easily gives rise to transfer if the languages at issue are typologically different in this respect (*Weinreich 1953, p.38*).

In order to better understand the nature of transfer based on cross- linguistic similarities and differences, numerous attempts have been made to classify the effects of such transfer. One such attempt is that made by Weinreich in his account of the different types of phonic interference (1953, p.18). These include (i) under-differentiation of phonemes, (2) over-differentiation of phonemes, (3) reinterpretation of distinctions, and (4) phone substitution. On a more general level, Odlin (1989, p.36) classifies similar effects as follows (his point of view being mainly SLA):

- *A.* Positive Transfer
- *B.* Negative Transfer
    - a. Underproduction
    - b. Overproduction
    - c. Production Errors
    - d. Misinterpretation
- *C.* Differing lengths of acquisition (of the language studied as a second language).

Odlin's classification has a special advantage that it takes into account the

Odlin's classification has a special advantage that it takes into account the possibility that one's native language can also have a **facilitating** influence on the acquisition of the target language. Transfer can thus be either positive or negative, whereas the other common term used for these types of influenceint erference - usually implies only negative transfer. This is actually explicitly stated, e.g. in Weinreich's definition of interference phenomena. By these he means "those instances of **deviation** [emphasis added - MF] from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language" (*Weinreich 1953, p.1*).

We could now look at some data from Irish English to see if there are any 'clear cases' of the influence of language distance. It is of course easier to cite examples of negative transfer, which are perhaps more noticeable at the level of phonology. An obvious and oft-mentioned source of negative transfer is the presence in the Irish consonant system of the distinction between **palatal** and **non-palatal consonants**. This has led to a reinterpretation (rather than misint erpretation) of some features of the corresponding English consonants so that some IrE consonants (especially [t, d, ʃ , ʒ, n, l) correspond to the Irish palatal consonants, and others ([t̪, d̪, s, z, r]) correspond to the Irish non-palatal consonants (*for details, see, e.g. Bliss 1984, pp .137-138*). This I think is a clear case, where it would be very hard to argue for any other motivation for transfer than language distance, i.e. dissimilarities of the Irish and English consonant systems.

From IrE syntax we can also point out some features which are due to either positive or negative transfer based on the similarities or differences between Irish and English. The IrE uses of so-called **cleft sentences** is one such feature: on the one hand they reflect positive transfer in that a formally and structurally very close parallel exists between the two languages in this respect (i.e. a close resemblance between the Irish 'copula construction' and the English **it was John who did it** - type of cleft sentence). But on the other hand IrE cleft sentences are also the result of negative transfer, because some of the patterns used, e.g. putting a part of the verbal predicate into focus as in **it is looking for more land they are,** are not encountered in the original target language (*for further discussion of similar examples, see Filppula 1986 , p.136ff.*)[1]. Hence, we have here a clear case of 'overproduction' and possibly 'reinterpretation' of a syntactic pattern of the target language.

Other, equally clear cases could be mentioned which demonstrate the role of such purely linguistic constraints as language distance in a language contact situation. Ideally, these could be presented in the form of a 'chart' covering all levels of grammar - phonetic/phonological, grammatical, and lexical - and specifying

way as Weinreich (1953, pp. 64-65) has done.
However, some fundamental problems arise with this type of argumentation, problems which are largely common to language contact studies and contrastive analysis in SLA research. The basic problem is this: our explanations based on considerations of language distance are almost without exception **post hoc** in nature, and incapable of **predicting which** differences or similarities will lead to transfer. Or indeed, which are more likely to result in transfer - differences or similarities. Therefore, we don't have satisfactory explanations for why **some** features of Irish have been transferred, while others have not. In the absence of such knowledge, we don't have a clear picture of the real **extent of transfer** based on considerations of language distance, typological fit or the lack of it.

I now move on to the second major linguistic contraint, which is that of markedness.

3. MARKEDNESS

Markedness or ummarkedness of a given feature is another linguistic factor which has been claimed to play a significant role in language transfer. The majority of opinion seems to favour a view according to which universally marked features are less likely to be transferred in language contact that those which are unmarked. In a language shift situation in particular, this results in the **simplification** of the contact-language grammar (i.e. simplification in relation to the target-language grammar). In learning the target language, speakers 'fail to acquire' marked features, and even if some of them do acquire them, they are less likely to spread to the whole population shifting to the new language. (*Thomason & Kaufman 1988, p.51*). The usual formula is thus $\overset{>}{m}$->$\overset{<}{m}$ ('from more marked to less marked').

This generalization has emerged especially from studies in pidgins and creoles; there the term 'naturalness' is often used instead of markedness, but with little or no difference in meaning. The work of Peter Mühlhäusler (see, e.g. *Mühlhäusler 1986*) and of Derek Bickerton (*e.g. Bickerton 1981*) can be especially mentioned in this connection.

The main problem with the concept of markedness is a definitional one: what constitutes a 'universally marked' feature (or a 'natural' feature, if that term is preferred)? Note that markedness is ultimately defined in universal terms, and this already reveals that it is a highly **theory-bound** concept, i.e. its definition follows from the general theoretical framework, theory of grammar or of language, which one happens to subscribe to.

It is possible to detect a difference in general theoretical orientation between those who speak of markedness and those who prefer naturalness. The last-mentioned tend to be more **functionalist** in their approach, associating the concepts of markedness and naturalness with relative **productive and perceptual ease** (*see, e.g. Thomason & Kaufman 1988, p.26*). Elaborating on the notion of naturalness, Mühlhäusler (1986, p.61-62) lists the following properties of what he calls 'language-internal natural rules': they are more resistant to change; more frequent with respect to token frequency, and also more frequent across languages; more likely to be the basis of neutralization; and, finally, natural rules are more likely to be the model in analogical change than 'abnatural categories'.

For Mühlhäusler, the best evidence of the operation of 'natural rules' is to be found in pidgins (for others, like Bickerton, the best source is first-generation creoles). Pidgins are characterised by the absence of highly marked sounds, such as rounded front vowels and clicks; voiced sibilants are replaced by voiceless ones; tonal distinctions are lost, so is the passive; the present infinitive is used for verbs in almost all tenses; the masculine is used for all genders, the singular form of the noun caters for the plural meaning as well, etc. In Mühlhäusler's words, pidgins are thus 'maximally natural languages' (*Mühlhäusler 1986, p.62*).

By contrast with the functionalist view, those who prefer the term markedness are associated with Chomsky-type generative grammar, and more specifically, with the notion of Universal Grammar (UG). It is assumed to form the main contents of the genetically inherited 'language acquisition device', which is activated in conditions of restricted input from the linguistic environment, i.e. typically in circumstances of first-language acquisition, or again, pidgin and creole genesis, which is equally characterised by the 'poverty of the stimulus' from the environment. A central component of UG is the **theory of markedness,** which (ideally) specifies the unmarked/marked values for the parameters laid down by the theory of UG. The set of unmarked options (rules) then forms the core **grammar,** with the marked options being relegated to a **marked periphery** in the overall structure of grammar. A child learning a language, although he is innately endowed with UG and the associated theory of markedness, needs the experience from the linguistic environment to be able to fix the values of the parameters of core grammar; if there is no evidence to the contrary, he will always select the unmarked option - hence the maximally unmarked nature of the child's grammar in the initial stages of the acquisition process (*for further discussion, see e.g. Chomsky 1981, chapter 1.*).

It is obvious that the generativists' notion of markedness is in a certain sense more demanding than that of the functionalists: it cannot be simply defined as something that is easy to produce and perceive, but it should rather derive from the theory of UG which is supposed to define the parameters and boundaries of a possible human language grammar. It is also noteworthy that these parameters do not necessarily entail features which are more frequent cross-linguistically or easier to produce. For example, Kaye (1990) - working within the framework of so-called Charm and Government Theory - explicitly denies that markedness is a function of frequency at the representational level (i.e. at the level of segmental markedness), and this is also revealed by his list of the universally most unmarked vowels, which include [I], [U], [ᵻ] (lax high, back/central, unrounded vowel), [a], [ɨ] and (the tense counterpart of [ᵻ]) Note especially the absence from this list of [e] and [o], which according to the theory, are actually combinations of [a] and [I], and of [a] and [U], respectively. All this follows from the theory worked out by Kaye and others, on the basis of a long chain of argumentation which I cannot go into in any detail here.

There are researchers who have abandoned the whole notion of markedness because of its elusive nature (*see, e.g. Odlin 1989, p.121, fn.6*). Yet it seems to be one of those concepts which keeps coming back no matter how hard one tries to dispense with it. Therefore, it may be wiser to look for some common ground between the differing views and, for purposes of language-contact studies in particular, to lean on some 'clear cases', which may then be used to further develop the theory of markedness.

The usual examples of marked features are drawn from phonology, and in most cases one can point to some articulatory, acoustic, functional or cognitive considerations which can be used as some sort of 'objective' criteria for markedness. For instance, a language with an eleven-vowel system (like Vietnamese) is definitely more marked with respect to this feature than one with a five-vowel system (like Spanish) (*cf. Odlin 1989, p.46*).

In syntax, markedness is admittedly a lot more difficult to define. Chomskyan 'core grammar' with its set of unmarked values of syntactic parameters presents itself as one possibility; a complicating factor is the abstract and fragmentary nature of most of the work in this area so far, which makes it difficult to apply the framework to the study of particular languages and contact situations. The more surface-oriented typologies established by linguists like Greenberg, Comrie, Keenan and Dik are more concrete and therefore 'readier' to be used as yardsticks. For instance, in defining marked word order one could resort to the type of functional universals proposed by Dik: on those grounds we might say that an English sentence which starts with a fronted, focussed constituent (as in **A great orator he is**) exhibits marked word order by virtue of the universal 'P1-Rule', which assigns special prominence to the initial position in the clause. Similarly, leaning on the universals established by Greenberg, we could argue that a lan-leaning on the universals established by Greenberg, we could argue that a language with a VSO order combined with postpositions is more marked with respect to this feature that one with prepositions. This follows from 'Universal 3', which states : "Languages with dominant VSO order are always prepositional". (*For further discussion, see Dik 1980; Greenberg 1963*).

Let us now consider the possible role of markedness constraints in the genesis of IrE. Not surprisingly, phonology provides the clearest examples of their obvious influence. It is a well-documented fact that Irish speakers shifting to English 'failed to acquire' the English voiced/voiceless dental fricatives [ð] and [θ]. This can now be said to have simplified the IrE phonological system in the sense that some **marked** features of the superstratum were not transferred (although the opposition itself is retained and expressed in IrE by using dental stops). In this case there is strong independent evidence to show that the existence of this distinction in English is, indeed, universally marked: among the fricatives, the distinction between voiced and voiceless dental fricatives is both functionally and phonetically (acoustically) the weakest one (considering languages in general), and therefore, it has only a very restricted distribution in the languages of the world. Thus the presence of this distinction in English - and the very existence of these sounds in English - can with a fair amount of justification be described as a marked feature. (*Cf. Lauttamus 1984, p. 259f.*).

If the general formula predicting a change from marked features to unmarked ones was confirmed on that phonological point, matters are not so straightforward with IrE syntax. One can find there examples of some evidently marked syntactic features being transferred from Irish to IrE, leading to complication rather than simplification of the target-language grammar. One example would be the so-called after-perfect, as in '**They're after building a big block of offices here in Tralee**' (i.e. '**They've recently built...**'). It would seem unreasonable to argue that this feature amounts to a simplification of the English tense/aspect system, or that it could be part of the 'unmarked core' of tense/aspect options.

Another apparent counterexample questioning the broad generalization would be the so-called subordinating **and**-construction of IrE, as in **I only thought of him there and I cooking my dinner** ('...while I was cooking my dinner'). This feature, too, can scarcely be said to represent an unmarked coordinating (or subordinating) construction in any type of syntactic theory.

These few examples already indicate that markedness constraints are particularly sensitive to the **level** of grammar - at least it seems easier to demonstrate their role in phonology than in syntax, for example (matters may of course change discussed, especially, by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), the influence of markedness also appears to crucially depend on the type of **contact situation**. In a **language shift situation**, where we are dealing with **substratum transfer**, the aforementioned formula ('from marked to unmarked') generally yields the right predictions according to Thomason and Kaufman, whereas in **a language maintenance situation**, which is characterised by **borrowing transfer**, marked features may also be transferred with consequent complication of the grammar. As Thomason and Kaufman further point out, typological considerations also enter more prominently into the latter type of situation (*for more detailed discussion and examples, see Thomason and Kaufman 1988, p.51f.*)

Thomason and Kaufman's observations open up interesting possibilities for further research in the Irish context, which is rather unusual in that both types of contact situation are still represented here. At the same time, inclusion of these considerations reveals some of the limitations of purely linguistic constraints; distinguishing between different types of contact situations already leads us to the domain of extra-linguistic factors.

4. THE SYSTEMIC LEVEL OF GRAMMAR

There is nothing new in the observation that the different systemic levels of language are not equally liable to change under contact influences. The usual generalization offered states that the more arbitrary the level, the more liable it is to absorb influences from another language. In other words, the lexicon is likely to be affected most (through the various kinds of borrowing), whereas syntax and especially inflectional and derivational morphology, being the most non-arbitrary areas of grammar, are relatively impervious to contact influences.

This view, already expressed in the earliest literature on language contacts, lingers on even in the most recent discussions. One example is Givon's (1979) article, one subsection of which carries a telling title '**Why languages do not borrow grammar?**' A largely similar view is presented by Mühlhäusler (1986) with regard to the development of creoles. There is a strongly dissenting voice, however, and it is that of Thomason and Kaufman (1988). According to them **all** levels of grammar can be affected by contact, including syntax and inflectional ('bound') morphology, and this can happen even between typologically different languages. One of their best examples is Asia Minor Greek, which has borrowed grammatical categories of all levels from Turkish; an even more compelling example is the Aleut spoken on Mednyj Island, which is reported to have lost its agglutinative verb inflectional system in favour of a flectional one due to the strong pressure from Russian (*Thomason and Kaufman 1988, p.18*).

Again it seems that we have to transgress the boundaries of linguistic constraints to reach significant generalizations about the role of the level of grammar in the process of inter-language transfer. According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), the **type of contact situation** is yet again the crucial extra-linguistic factor here: transfer affects the different levels of grammar in a different order, depending on whether the situation is one of borrowing or one of substratum transfer ('interference through shift' in Thomason and Kaufman's terminology).

Borrowing starts from the lexicon, from where it spreads on to syntax and other levels (if there is intensive contact over a long period of time). Substratum transfer, on the other hand, follows a different course, beginning generally with the phonetic/phonological, and syntactic levels (*Thomason and Kaufman 1988, p.49ff.*). Within each level, it is furthermore possible to note hierarchies of transfer. On the basis of Weinreich's discussion of interference 'in grammatical relations' (i.e. syntax), it seems possible to generalize that, at the syntactic level, word order patterns are perhaps the most liable to be transferred (provided that significant differences exist between the languages at issue), whereas less pervasive, relatively rare, syntactic patterns are not so likely to be transferred (*Weinreich 1953, p.37ff.*).

The Irish situation gives us a good opportunity to test these generalizations, and there the facts about IrE seem to confirm Thomason and Kaufman's prediction about the course of substratum transfer: phonetic/phonological (inlcuding prosodic) and syntactic influence from the Irish substratum has been considerable, but there has been relatively little lexical transfer, at least judging on the basis of the number of direct loans from Irish. As Bliss (1984, p.141) writes, "the number of actual Irish words used in Southern Hiberno-English is small, even in rural areas; educated people do not use them at all, except by conscious rusticism". Of course, Irish has also exerted various kinds of indirect influence on IrE vocabulary and idiomatic usage, and a closer investigation of these aspects may well change the overall picture of the extent of Irish impact (*cf. also Bliss 1984, p.140*).

The other major type of contact situation, language maintenance, also exists in Ireland, but it remains almost totally unexplored from a general language-contact point of view (see, however, Stenson's (1990) recent work on borrowing and code-switching in the speech of Irish speakers). The interesting question would be whether the present-day Irish language (and its earlier stages) displays a different profile from that of IrE: if the general prediction is borne out by facts about Irish usage, we ought to find there a lot more lexical borrowing from English, with relatively less influence on phonetics/phonology and syntax.

5. Conclusions: The Boundaries Of Linguistic Constraints

Summing up, I hope to have shown that linguistic constraints do have a certain role to play in inter-language transfer, and also that, despite the problems involved in reaching agreement on the exact nature of concepts like markedness, these type of contraints are worth investigating, and they can be applied to the study of actual transfer phenomena such as those found in the linguistic situation in Ireland. Further work will no doubt have to address more thoroughly the problem of the interplay of the various linguistic factors. Even the short discussion here has made it obvious that the linguistic constraints do not work independently of each other; thus, we saw, for example, that markedness and the level of grammar act together in determining the outcome of contact, and quite possibly there is interaction between all of the linguistic factors mentioned (and several others not even touched upon here).

Finally, the discussion of markedness and the level of grammar, especially, revealed the importance of combining linguistic factors with extra-linguistic factors, such as the type of contact situation, its intensity and length, the size of the population concerned, and many more. Although we can abstract from the extra-linguistic factors in order to see how far the purely linguistic constraints will take us, it remains clear that the best explanations and predictions, if we are to try and formulate a more general theory of language contact, will crucially involve a conjunction of both types of evidence.

[1] The examples from IrE are drawn from my tape-recorded corpus of present-day spoken Irish English (*for further details, see Filppula 1986*).

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INTRA-LANGUAGE TRANSFER AND PLURAL SUBJECT CONCORD IN IRISH AND APPALACHIAN ENGLISH

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INTRODUCTION

Studies of Irish English (IrE) have traditionally focused on putative cases of inter-language transfer from Irish to English, mediated by the effects of widespread bilingualism and language contact, or on the retention in modern IrE of older British English linguistic features: for review see Kallen 1985 and Corrigan 1990. More recent approaches include the examination of the role of linguistic universals in the development of Irish English, as seen, for example in Filppula 1990 and Kallen 1988, 1990. Yet another way in which to view IrE, however, is suggested by Harris 1986, 1990, Rickford 1986, Montgomery 1989, and others who have examined the role of IrE in the intra-language transfer of features from 'Old World' into 'New World Englishes'. In particular, Montgomery (1989, n.d.) has both presented empirical investigations of selected features which may establish a link between IrE (especially Ulster English) and Appalachian English, and suggested theoretical criteria by which to evaluate claims of language transfer. As Montgomery (1989) makes clear, there are good demographic reasons to suppose a link between Ulster and Appalachia: what is more difficult to establish is whether strong linguistic affinities can be recovered from historical and contemporary data[1].

'Plural subject concord' refers to the use of verb forms with plural subjects: those forms with zero-markings show concord (**they go, children read, Pat and Robin walk, people are sick**), while forms with -s marking show lack of concord (**they goes, children reads, Pat and Robin walks, people is sick**). The starting point of the following discussion is the supposition that Scottish, Ulster, and Appalachian English are all sensitive to what *Montgomery (1989, n.d.)* terms the 'subject type constraint,' i.e., a constraint which is sensitive to the type of plural subject governing the verb. Specifically, this constraint excludes non-concordant verb forms with pronoun subjects. Implicit in Montgomery's analysis of links between Scottish, Ulster and Appalachian English is the view that the subject type constraint is not a widespread feature of British English dialects. Overall, *Montgomery (1989, pp. 248ff)* provides evidence that the pattern with the plural subject type contraint 'was largely confined to ScIrE and Northern BrE' (p.253), citing among other things modern Cockney non-concordance with all types of plural including pronominal we, you, and they.

This paper examines the status of 19th century Southern IrE (SIrE) and the subject type constraint. The works of *Montgomery (n.d.)* and *Policansky (1982)* demonstrate that Ulster English (UE), both historically and in modern times, shares the subject type constraint with Scottish English. Fragmentary data presented by *Henry (1958)*, however, suggest that contemporary SIrE does not follow the subject type constraint, but, rather, allows for non-concordant verb forms with all types of subject. If there is a clear split between Ulster and non-Ulster varieties of IrE with regard to this grammatical variable, then there is strong support for the suggestion of a specific Ulster link between the Scottish pattern of non-concordance found in Appalachia. On the other hand, if SIrE follows the same subject type constraint as UE, the possibility of an Ulster link to Appalachia, while not necessarily diminished, must be understood in the wider context of English historical variation and calls for further enquiry.

THE SUBJECT TYPE CONSTRAINT

Montgomery (1989) provides ample evidence for the existence of a plural subject type constraint in Scottish and Appalachian English. Drawing on unpublished work by *Jack Aitken, Montgomery (1989, p.250)* notes that 14th century Scottish English (ScE) had -**is** endings for all verb forms whose subjects were not adjacent personal pronouns. Where the subject was an adjacent personal pronoun, the -**is** ending was used only with singular subjects in the 2nd and 3rd person: the 1st person singular and all plural forms received the zero-ending. Montgomery (1989) cites 19th century work by *J. Murray* as well as an unpublished study by *C. Macafee* to indicate that the same pattern holds in more recent ScE. Analysing a set of letters from a 17th century Scottish household, Montgomery (n.d. p.15) quantifies the nature of the plural subject type constraint: out of 83 tokens of 3rd person plural subjects, only one in 14 (7.1%) with **they** as the subject shows lack of verb concord. For the remaining 69 non-pronominal subjects, however, some 33.3% show lack of concord between subject and verb.

Further studies cited by Montgomery (1989, n.d.) also establish the existence of a subject type constraint in Appalachian English which is remarkably similar to the paradigm reported for Scotland. Additionally, though, Appalachian English shows a further dynamic, in which lack of concord is most strongly favoured for the verb **be** (henceforth 'BE' to refer to all forms), while other verbs show nonconcordance at a significantly lesser rate. Table 1 demonstrates this pattern, using the results of Montgomery's (n.d.) analysis of interviews of natives of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in Tennessee and North Carolina, recorded in the late 1930s and early 1940s. (*See also Montgomery 1989, pp. 258-59. A typographical error in this source prevents its use as the basis for Table I* *here.*)

Table I: Concord in the Smoky Mountains (from Montgomery n.d.)

Type of Verb (+ or - concord)

Type of Subject	BE present +	-	% - concord	Other verbs +	-	% - concord
They	35	2	5.4	149	1	0.7
Conjoined	1	1	50.0	1	3	75.0
There __NP	3	24	88.9	0	3	100.0
Other NP	9	24	72.7	27	35	56.5
TOTAL	48	51	51.5	177	42	19.2

PLURAL SUBJECT CONCORD IN IRELAND

Very little evidence has been available by which to assess the nature of plural subject concord in Ireland. Montgomery (n.d.) has analysed a group of 47 letters from Ulster emigrants to the United States, written over the years 1736 to 1871, observing a subject type constraint similar to that discussed thus far. Hence, in Montgomery's sample, while roughly 50% of tokens of BE show lack of concord, only 10% of tokens with pronominal **they** are non-concordant. With other verbs the pattern is even more striking: the overall percentage of nonconcordance reduces to 36.4% of 77 tokens, with all 22 tokens of subject **they** showing verbal concord. In contemporary Ulster, Policansky (1982) confirms the existence of the plural subject type constraint, as do the comments of Milroy 1981, pp. 12-13.

Plural subject concord does not appear to have made an impression on the early writers of general accounts of IrE: Burke (1896), Hayden and Hartog (1909), and Joyce (1910) do not discuss this feature. Henry (1958, pp. 130-131), however, cites 25 examples of nonconcordant verb forms from around Ireland, including **there is accidents**, **people rejects them**, and **they learns it**. Henry's account is simply a list of forms, without reference to frequency and without an indication as to whether the list is exhaustive or merely a sample of available data. It is thus not analysable in the same terms as the data in Table I. Table II, however, arranges the nonconcordant verb forms cited by Henry according to subject type and location. Significantly, while Henry lists 11 examples of nonconcordant verbs with **they**, none comes from Ulster: all Ulster forms are in the 'Other Noun' category. This pattern, if upheld by a more systematic sample, would indicate a clear separation between Ulster and non-Ulster varieties of IrE.

Table II: Location of Non-concordant Forms in Henry (1958)

Subject Type

	We	They	There __NP	Other NP
	Wexford	Galway	Galway	Tyrone
	Waterford	Kilkenny		Antrim
	Tipperary	Waterford		Armagh
	Limerick	Tipperary		Co. Dublin
	Kerry	Clare (2)		Wicklow
	Cork	Limerick		Galway
		Kerry(2)		Mayo
		Cork (2)		
TOTAL:	6	11	1	7

Continuing with contemporary SIrE, Table III presents material from my own data files based primarily in Dublin (*see Kallen 1989*). Seventy one tokens with plural subjects are analysed here, representing familiar nonconcordant types such as **Wednesdays does be 50p now and Sundays does be 30** versus concordant **the past couple o nights are after bein marvellous**. In order to present a more detailed picture of the 'Other NP' category, two subcategories are introduced: 'Them NP' (e.g., **them potatoes is nice**) and 'Mass/quantifier' where mass nouns such as **people** or quantifiers such as **many**, **few**, **several**, and **the likes of** may be used (*see also Montgomery 1989, p. 258 and Milroy 1981, p. 12*). The **do be** construction is treated as an 'Other' verb, rather than a BE type, as tense/number is marked on **do** rather than BE.

TABLE III: Concord in Dublin (Kallen data file)

Type of Verb (+ or - concord)

	BE present			Other Verbs		
Type of Subject	+	-	% - concord	+	-	% - concord
We	0	0	0	4	0	0
You	0	0	0	2	0	0
They	11	0	0	28	0	0
Conjoined NP	0	0	0	0	0	0
There __NP	0	2	100	1	1	50
Them NP	2	1	33.3	1	0	0
Mass/quant	0	1	100	0	1	100
Other NP	7	0	0	7	2	22.2

Perhaps surprisingly in the light of Henry's observations, Table III, like Table I, demonstrates the plural subject type constraint and shows a preference for nonconcord with BE. Concord is categorical with pronouns, while the percentage of nonconcordant forms with BE is nearly double that of the other verbs. In view of this possible modern counter-evidence to the distinctiveness of the plural subject type constraint as an Ulster feature, it becomes necessary to establish what patterns may have been prevalent in different regions of 19th century Ireland.

The most accessible source of information on 19th century IrE is that of Anglo-Irish literature. The use of literary dialect for evidence of the spoken vernacular presents many problems: for an overview, see Ives 1971, and for specific comments on the relationship between spoken IrE and Irish characters in 17th to 19th century drama, see *Sullivan 1980*. Of particular concern in the analysis of literary material are factors such as (1) the author's familiarity with the speech portrayed, (2) the author's intention in portraying speech patterns, and (3) the textual history of the material itself. There are no automatic assumptions to be made with these considerations: no matter what the author's degree of familiarity with actual vernacular usage, for example, there is no inherent reason that an author will aim for 'naturalistic' dialogue. Some writers appear consciously to develop a literary language based on, but not intended as purely reflective of, vernacular norms; others, such as many of the playwrights cited by Bliss 1979, use features of IrE for caricature and burlesque. Literary convention and the expectations of readers may also influence the choice of form. Moreover, as Wall 1990 points out, editors and publishers unfamiliar with IrE have at times made textual changes which obscure significant characteristics of spoken language present in the original manuscript.

The analysis which follows is based on four prose literary works. Three of these works are from writers with strong regional affiliations: William Carleton from Tyrone, John and Michael Banim from Kilkenny, and Gerald Griffin from Limerick. These authors are all critically regarded as having both a knowledge of the peasant population portrayed in the works discussed here, and a sympathetic attitude in their portrayal. Thus, Sloan (1986, p.58) comments that the Banims' long story 'Crohoore of the Bill-Hook' (analysed here) 'is the first Anglo-Irish novel to tap the feelings, intimacy, loyalties and hostilities of such desperate people' as the Whiteboys. He further observes (p.73) that the works of the Banim brothers and the early work of Griffin 'advance the reader's understanding of Ireland and the Irish not least because of the spirit and sensibilities of the writers themselves.' As for Carleton, Sloan takes the view (p.139) that 'Carleton was an Irish peasant, and there was no distance between his own feelings and way of thought and those of his characters,' arguing as well (p.171) that 'his dialogue in particular, captures the idiom of the changing language .... and he succeeds in giving Anglo-Irish fiction its first unique voice.'

The fourth piece, an anonymously presented work by Edward Adderly Stopford, is not strongly localised nor is it part of the canon of Anglo-Irish literature. Stopford, Archdeacon of Meath at the time he wrote this work, did not intend a realistic depiction of Irish peasant life in general, but rather used dialogue as a background for what is essentially a tract furthering the cause of Protestant evangelism. Accounts of Stopford's personality stress his close involvement with his parishoners and interest in education (*see for example Mc Dowell 1967*). The dialectal orientation of the work analysed here, however, is unclear. Authorial footnotes refer to Navan (*Stopford 1854, I, P.145 and II, p.25*) and there is no linguistic or other evidence of an attempt to set the dialogue elsewhere than in the Meath region. Stopford's father, however, had served in various ecclesiastical capacities in Ulster during Stopford's youth before becoming Bishop of Meath in 1842 and appointing the younger Stopford as Archdeacon in 1844 (*see Leslie 1911, p.56, 151*). Hence, while it is plausible to understand Stopford as writing with Meath in mind, one cannot discount the possibility that he may have been influenced by UE.

Bearing in mind the above considerations, the following discussion concentrates on plural subject concord as portrayed in passages of vernacular IrE speech. Code switching is found in the texts both inter-linguistically between Irish and English (occasionally interspersed with Latin) and intra-linguistically between various registers of IrE. Authors often mark a vernacular register with dialect spelling or a high frequency of Irish loanwords from solidary rather than status domains, yet this marking is by no means universal or consistent. Though some characters speak only in a marked vernacular register, others engage in code-switching which is problematical for linguistic analysis. Brief speeches in a more formal register may be averaged with vernacular passages to show variation, yet a long formal passage (as in a speech to a courtroom judge) may distort the search for vernacular patterns. It has not been possible here to exclude all tokens which may have been intended as part of a formal register, yet the weight of evidence is towards the exclusion of any long passages in a formal register. Also excluded from analysis are: (1) the author's voice, which is invariably in a literary register, (2) material presented as the author's translation of the Irish spoken by the character, also generally given in a literary register, and (3) dialogue from non-Irish characters. The emphasis in analysing texts linguistically is on passages of conversation: narrative passages have a tendency to slip away from vernacular usage and into the author's voice.

Table IV thus shows the distribution of a sample of plural subject tokens from

Table IV thus shows the distribution of a sample of plural subject tokens from Carleton's **Tales and Sketches Illustrating the Character of the Irish Peasantry** (1845). As with the work of the Banim brothers and Griffin, Carleton (1845) consists of a collection of short sketches and narratives; of these sources, Carleton contains the highest percentage of naturalistic dialogue in relation to the text as a whole. Note that in the following tables, BE tabulations include both present tense and a small number of past tense forms.

Table IV: Concord in Carleton's *Tales and Sketches* (1845)

Type of Verb (+ or - concord)

	BE			**Other Verbs**		
Type of Subject	+	-	% - concord	+	-	% - concord
We	19	0	0	23	0	0
You	8	0	0	11	0	0
They	33	0	0	26	0	0
Conjoined NP	3	7	70	4	4	50
There __NP	1	14	93.3	0	0	0
Them NP	1	3	75	2	1	33.3
Mass/quant	1	2	66.7	0	2	100
Other NP	14	9	39.1	5	13	72.2
TOTAL	80	35	30.4	71	20	22.0

Carleton follows the subject type constraint categorically, also favouring nonconcordant forms with BE over other verbs. This later balance, though, is largely accounted for by the near-categorical use of non-concord in the 'There__NP' sentence frame: in the 'Other NP' subject category, other verbs actually predominate over BE for nonconcordance. Small sample numbers in some categories indicate the need for further data collection.

That Carleton should follow the plural subject type constraint is not surprising: the real test for the status of southern IrE comes with the examination of other works. In view of the pattern suggested in Table II, these works would not be expected to follow the plural subject type constraint. In Table V, then, a sample of plural subject tokens from **Tales, by the O'Hara Family**, written by John and Michael Banim and published in 1825, is analysed according to the conventions discussed above.

Table V: Concord in Banim and Banim, Tales, (1825)
Type of Verb (+ or - concord)

	BE			Other Verbs		
Type of Subject	+	-	% - concord	+	-	% - concord
We	10	0	0	37	1	2.6
You	3	0	0	1	0	0
They	17	1	5.6	19	2	9.5
Conjoined NP	6	0	0	2	0	0
There __NP	0	5	100	0	0	0
Them NP	2	1	33.3	1	2	66.7
Mass/quant	4	2	33.3	1	4	80.0
Other NP	14	5	26.3	10	4	28.6
TOTAL	56	14	20.0	71	13	15.5

The Banim brothers present our first significant exceptions to the pronoun subject constraint. These exceptions would appear to be genuine counter-examples to the constraint, as they do not involve any material intervening between verb and subject and do not represent historical presents (see Montgomery n.d.):

(1) there they is, now (*I, p.185*)
(2) as if they gives one o' them to a young creature (*I, pp. 284-5*)
(3) fen dey sees myself peepin' out at 'em (*II, p.47*)

Yet these three examples are decidedly in the minority among all uses of **they**, and the overall percentage of nonconcordande with pronouns (4.4%) is quite low. It may even be possible to discount (3) above on the grounds that the speaker portrayed here, unlike the other characters of the story, shows marked characteristics of Irish - English contact phonology as conveyed in literature (*see Bliss 1979*). Hence this speaker may not have been portrayed as a speaker of the local dialect, but as one whose knowledge of English was at a more rudimentary, first contact stage. The pattern of distribution for nonconcordance of BE and other verbs is not altogether like that of Carleton. As with Carleton, though BE nonconcordance outweighs that of other verbs, it does so only when the 'There NP' category is included. Unlike Carleton, however, the Banim brothers' pattern within the 'Other NP' category shows a virtually even breakdown between BE and other verbs.

Gerald Griffin's **Tales of the Munster Festivals** (1827) are unabashedly oriented towards the portrayal of life in Munster, and it is in his work that one might expect to see the clearest violations of the subject type constraint if a geographical restriction operates within IrE. The style of Griffin does not demonstrate as much vernacular speech as that of Carleton or the Banim brothers, yet a clear pattern emerges in Table VI below.

Table VI: Concord in Griffin, *Tales of the Munster Festivals* (1827)

Type of Verb (+ or - concord)

	BE			Other Verbs		
Type of Subject	+	-	%-concord	+	-	%-concord
We	10	0	0	4	1	20.0
You	3	0	0	2	0	0
They	10	1	9.1	28	4	12.5
Conjoined NP	0	1	100	1	2	66.7
There __NP	0	6	100	0	0	0
Them NP	0	1	100	0	2	100
Mass/quant	3	0	0	2	1	33.3
Other NP	8	5	38.5	3	1	25.0
TOTAL	34	14	29.2	40	11	21.6

In Table VI, we see the subject type constraint once again, though not with the same categorical strength as with Carleton. The one token of a singular verb form with subject **we** does not show immediate adjacency between subject and verb.:

(4) it's now we both feels it to our cost (p.340).

Of the examples with subject **they**, only a minority involve immediately adjacent verbs in affirmative sentences. Thus the relative clause in (5) and the first plural subject form in (6) are the only absolute violations of the pronoun subject constraint:

(5) that they says hasn't e'er a bottom at all to it (p.324).

(6) its no great friends he has in me, only the cracter [character] **they gives** of him, that **knows** him best (p.319). Emphasis supplied).

The second plural verb with **-s** is a complex elliptical structure which may be glossed as 'they ... that knows him best,' while sentences (7) and (8) include intervening material and a negative marker respectively:

(7) it's they that does come round uz (p.325)

(8) they doesn't care how many turnens they'll make (p.183).

Considering, then, that the total percentage of pronouns forms showing lack of concord is only six out of 63 (9.5%), as opposed to 52.8% nonconcordance for non-pronoun subjects, Griffin's adherence to the subject type constraint is strong.

Griffin also demonstrates the pattern in which nonconcordance with BE and other verbs is roughly balanced. Though BE is favoured overall for noconcordance, the six nonconcordant tokens of the 'There __ NP' type count significantly. Unlike

Carleton, though, Griffin does not favour nonconcordance with other verbs and the 'Other NP' subject type; rather, Griffin shows a moderate favouring of nonconcordance with BE and this subject type. Finally, one may note the striking similarity between Griffin and Carleton in the total rate of nonconcordance: these two writers, though geographically separated, show a substantially greater use of nonconcordance than the Banim brothers.

Stopford's **The Talk of the Road** (1854) was originally published in serial form in the **Catholic Layman** in 1852 and 1853. Though Stopford displays no particular literary intentions and shows no strong localisation, he does show a desire to use dialect faithfully. Thus the anonymous voice of the author claims (pp. iv-v) that he 'has but recorded faithfully the expressions which plain men have actually used in their own plain way', observing moreover that the influence of a peculiar language on models of thought sometimes Survives the general use of the language itself; and when Irishmen come to speak English they, almost of necessity, use it in an Irish fashion.

With the author's promise to present a true to life picture of the 'talk of the road' in mind, it may be helpful to consider Stopford (1854) not only as showing further evidence of the plural subject type constraint, but as illustrating the relationship between this type of source and the material of mainstream Anglo-Irish writers. Table VII presents the distribution of plural subject forms.

Table VII: Concord in Stopford, *Talk of the Road* (1854)

Type of Verb (+ or - concord)

	BE			**Other Verbs**		
Type of Subject	+	-	% - concord	+	-	% - concord
We	3	0	0	22	0	0
You	1	0	0	1	0	0
They	10	0	0	20	2	9.1
Conjoined NP	0	3	100	0	3	100
There __NP	2	8	80.0	0	0	0
Them NP	0	6	100	3	3	50.0
Mass/quant	1	9	90.0	1	10	90.9
Other NP	5	16	76.2	8	6	42.9
TOTAL	22	39	63.9	55	24	30.4

Stopford, then, approaches categorical use of the plural subject type constraint. Though Stopford uses nonconcordant forms liberally, reaching nonconcordance of 90% or more in five subject categories, concordance is still the rule with all pronoun types. Even the two examples of nonconcordance with they do not meet the strict criterion of adjacency between verb and subject, occurring within the complex construction of (9) below (emphasis supplied):

> (9) **they** that **gives** us the Bible always **wants** us to leave the Catholic Church (p.14)

The other major pattern seen in Table VII is the favouring of BE for nonconcordance. Although the balance is again affected by the eight nonconcordant 'There NP' tokens, a more significant pattern lies in the favouring of nonconcordance with BE in the 'Other NP' and 'Them NP' categories. This last finding is more compatible with the Appalachian pattern than that found in any of the sources examined thus far. Thus Stopford, apparently writing from a Meath perspective, but perhaps influenced by Ulster, demonstrates both the pronoun subject constraint and the preference for nonconcordance with BE.

PATTERNS IN PLURAL SUBJECT CONCORD

Comparison of the data sets presented here shows variation grouped around two themes: the strength of the plural subject type constraint and the favouring of nonconcordance with BE. Table VIII compares the patterns of all previous tables, collapsing the separate categories of pronouns and other NPs into two larger 'Pronoun' and 'Other NP' categories. (Note, however, that for the Montgomery Smoky Mountain data, only the pronoun **they** is considered.) The strong tendency in all data sets to preserve the plural subject type constraint, as well as the differentiation between BE and other verbs, is clearly evident in the table.

Table VIII: Plural Subject Concord in all Sources Examined

Type of Verb (+ or - concord)

	BE			**Other Verbs**		
PRONOUNS	+	-	% - concord	+	-	% - concord
Montgomery data	35	2	05.4	149	1	0.7
Kallen data	11	0	0	34	0	0
Carleton (1845)	60	0	0	60	0	0
Banim & Banim (1825)	30	1	03.2	57	3	5.0
Griffin (1827)	23	1	04.2	34	5	12.8
Stopford (1854)	14	0	0	43	2	4.4
OTHER NPs						
Montgomery data	13	49	79.0	28	41	59.4
Kallen data	9	4	30.8	9	4	30.8
Carleton (1845)	20	35	63.6	11	20	64.5
Banim & Banim (1825)	26	13	33.3	14	10	41.7
Griffin (1827)	11	13	54.2	6	6	50.0
Stopford (1854)	8	39	83.0	12	22	64.7

Scanning these figures carefully, two points of special interest may be noted. Considering the initial hypothesis that the plural subject pronoun constraint is strongly associated with Ulster, it is tempting to see something of a continuum from the work of Carleton, who shows categorical prohibition of nonconcordance with plural subjects, to the Munster dialect of Griffin, whose frequency of nonconcordance with pronouns rises to 12.8% with verbs other than BE. This continuum would be in keeping with the fragmentary data of Henry (1958), though it would not be compatible with the contemporary Dublin data, where the pronoun constraint is also categorical across 44 tokens. The suggestion of this continuum should not overshadow the relative distribution of nonconcordance across subject types: in all cases, non-pronoun subjects greatly outweigh pronoun subjects for nonconcordance. Even Griffin's 12.8% must be compared to 50% nonconcordance with other subjects and verbs other than BE, alongside 54.2% nonconcordance with BE and non-pronoun subjects. Whatever the percentage of nonconcordance with pronoun subjects in the data, then, the frequency of nonconcordance with other NPs is in all cases substantially greater.

Turning to the comparison between BE and other verbs, Stopford (1854) shows the strongest affinity to the Appalachian pattern. Indeed Stopford's shift in the non-pronoun NP category from 83% with BE to 64.7% with other verbs, is quite parallel to the Smoky Mountain 'Other NP' figures of 79% and 59.4% respectively. This pattern is not, however, seen in any of the other Irish sources: the Dublin figures are identical across the two verb classes, while Carleton roughly balances the two and the Banim brothers show a higher percentage of nonconcordance with other verbs than with BE. Excluding the possibility of variation due to chance, though, the Stopford sample does imply the existence of a pattern in 19th century Ireland which favoured nonconcord with BE and non-pronoun subjects.

CONCLUSION

The preceding discussion has examined the possible link between Scottish, Irish, and Appalachian constraints on plural subject concord, focusing on the hypothesis that the constraint against nonconcordance with pronoun subjects is particularly associated with Scottish and, by extension, UE. The use of literary data has been guided by linguistic and sociolinguistic principles, noting, for example, Labov's (1972) observation that literary evidence may be a valuable complement to the evidence of actual speech provided that it is evaluated in the light of what is known about linguistic variation in the spoken medium. In the case of plural subject concord, we are fortunate to have a variable whose history in Ireland spans both a period of sympathetic (rather than satirical) dialect writing and the present. The selection of a variable with relatively little salience as a marker of

'Irishism' (*cf. Goeke and Kornelius 1976*) has enhanced the possibility of finding vernacular norms in Labov's sense of the vernacular as showing the least conscious monitoring of speech. Thus the 19th century literary evidence is close enough in general character to the oral data of the later period to suggest a reasonable degree of confidence in the analysis.

This analysis suggests that the subject type constraint was widespread throughout Ireland and is still important. There is an implication that the samples provided by *Henry (1958)* do not give a valid impression of the overall pattern of plural subject concord. Ruling out the possibility that IrE outside of Ulster selectively borrowed this particular feature of UE, the pattern seen here suggests that the plural subject type constraint is more widely spread than the original hypothesis suggested. It may have been brought independently to Ulster and to the rest of Ireland; it may have developed outside of Ulster from some inherent feature of general English; it may be that some conspiracy of phonological and semantic factors contributed to the development of this pattern. (Perhaps, for example, the ready availability of pronouns for contraction with **be** and **have** contributes to the pronoun subject constraint; or perhaps some constructions such as the 'There NP' frame relates differently from other sequences to the functioning of subject-verb agreement in English.) Of course the results here are also perfectly compatible with the suggestion that the Appalachian constraint developed from transmission via Ulster and Scotland; the point made is simply that the subject type constraint does not appear to be limited to Ulster within IrE.

A final point for further research is raised by the distribution of nonconcord for BE and other verbs. Although the balance of Irish historical evidence is in line with Montgomery's suggestion (1989, n.d.) that the favouring of BE is an Appalachian innovation, the Stopford (1854) pattern must not be discounted. Again, the 19th century Irish data may be related not to a single British variety (Scottish, in this case), but to several varieties, each of which may have contributed in interacting ways to the development of plural subject patterns. Thus the Stopford pattern may reflect an Irish development which may or may not have been transferred to the New World, a British pattern which has yet to be uncovered, or other possibilities. Clearly, there is sufficient literary material to allow for the further investigation of these and other suggestions in complement to the continued analysis of contemporary spoken IrE.

NOTE

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TRANSFER FAILURE: AN EXPLORATION OF REASONS FOR FAILURE TO TRANSFER FLUENCY SKILLS FROM THE CLINIC TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD

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Speech pathology and therapy are fields that have developed relatively recently. Although interest in speech and language disorders was shown by eminent neurologists such as Broca, Wernicke and Marie towards the end of the 19th century, it was not until the 1940's and 50's that speech and language therapy assumed professional status. This coincides interestingly enough, with the beginning of discussions on language transfer with the work of Charles Fries and Robert Lado (*Odlin, 1989*). Despite the fact that transfer means different things in different disciplines, there are several links between the concepts as used in applied linguistics and in speech and language therapy.

FLUENCY TRANSFER

In therapy for stuttering, transfer represents the third and arguably the most difficult stage. The first two stages are identification and establishment or modification of fluency. In identification, the problem is analysed with core features, accessory and secondary behaviours specified and identified by both clinician and client. The selection of technique and orientation of therapy is determined after this. During the establishment or modification stage, the client changes elements of the suprasegmental features of speech, reduces the degree of articulatory contact in plosives that are produced with excessive tension, and unlearns accessory features such as concomitant body movements that are not usual in speech performance. The therapy process may also involve experimenting with social skills and aspects of self presentation e.g., acting as if confident, relaxed, in control etc.

Although this may a be a fairly intricate and involved process, it is relatively easy in comparison to the transfer stage. After 10-15 hours in therapy, the client will usually be adept at using normal sounding fluency inside the clinic. Appropriate eye contact and gestures will be established here and involvement in group sessions to help ease the transfer of learned behaviours to the outside world would be typical.

Initially transfer assignments will be scaled from easy to difficult, and the newly acquired fluency will be used in a limited number of situations. Behaviourist principles of reward and punishment are generally exploited to some degree (*Boberg, 1976; Mowrer, 1975*). For the majority of clients, however, fluency will not be transferred into the more difficult situations and switching to stuttering patterns is common, despite high levels of motivation and establishment of the necessary fluency skills.

TRANSFER FAILURE

The suggested reasons for transfer failure include: habit strength (*Sheehan, 1984*); the punishing effect of practice for the client whose fluency has improved dramatically in therapy; loss of spontaneity because of the careful monitoring required to be fluent, and the delayed reward for fluency practice (*Boberg, Howie & Woods, 1979*). *Gregory (1989)* refers to 'personality characteristics' that may influence relapse to stuttering and *Kuhr* and *Rustin (1985)* noted the depressing effect of fluency on some participants in their programme.

While these suggestions may account for some failure in therapy, other issues arise in relation to the roles played by the client in self-presentation. *Leahy & O'Sullivan (1987)* addressed these by questioning the relative degree to which stuttering and fluency may be indicated as part of the self-definition, and whether there are indications of a greater ability to elaborate the stuttering experience than the fluent one. Where stuttering is strongly part of the self-definition it is likely that the elaboration of stuttering is also strong and therefore relapse to stuttering easier for the person who has recently become fluent in therapy. In this sense, the stuttering and the newly-learned fluent speech may be compared to the high and low speech styles used in different roles, which *Ferguson (1959)* referred to as diglossia.

SPEECH STYLES AND STUTTERING

Lehiste (1988) reports studies on different speech styles that closely resemble studies on the 'stutterer stereotype'. *Arthur et al. (1974)* used a semantic differential scale to check responses of UCLA students to matched guises speaking Chicano-English and local L.A. standard dialect. The scale rated success, ability and social awareness. They found that speakers using standard dialect were considered to be more friendly, intelligent, strong, honest, hardworking, ambitious, upper class, dependable and educated. *Woods* and *Williams (1971, 1976)* used a similar semantic differential scale for checking perceptions of stutterers and fluent males and found that fluent males are considered as more friendly, at ease, intelligent, ambitious, decisive, trustworthy and agreeable than their stuttering counterparts. Such negative stereotyping may have direct implications for transfer failure, particularly where stuttering is part of the self-definition.

LANGUAGE TRANSFER AND LANGUAGE FAILURE

Odlin's (1989:27) working definition of language transfer is that it is "the influence resulting from similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired". He considers that it is not simply a consequence of habit formation, nor just of interference, nor simply of falling back on native language. He also refers to the psychological aspects of transfer and to conditions that trigger judgements of identity or similarity with the native language. *Lehiste (1988)* too considers the effect of different settings e.g., the cultural versus the school settings on transfer of rules. In general transfer occurs where L1 is better or longer established than L2.

It could be argued that fluency is the 'mother tongue' of the person who stutters, as it is almost always established before the child begins to stutter. However, the stuttering pattern will have built up over many years and is probably the major 'style' of speaking for the adult who stutters. In stuttering therapy, fluency can be learned and established in the clinical setting. Here, the role of 'the stutterer' is played by a highly motivated client who is becoming fluent in a relaxed, accepting and understanding setting. Even if he does stutter, he is assured of being accepted by the therapist whose warmth and genuineness he can trust. But in the outside world, the role of 'the stutterer' is one that is rejected. He is likely to be treated as handicapped, with his intelligence, decision-making ability and trustworthiness called into question. In a sense, since stuttering is so undesirable, the expectation might be that transfer of fluency skills would be eased instead of disrupted. After all, it is far more desirable that he does not stutter and so be treated in the same way as others. So why is transfer difficult?
We may refer back to habit formation, or interference, or falling back on the 'native' stuttering, but as with language transfer, these do not fully explain the failure to be fluent.

When old, familiar patterns of behaviour take precedence over more desirable ones, the person may experience a relative comfort or security that comes with familiarity. Returning to the familiar role of 'the stutterer' even with all the negative traits that are associated with it, may have other meaning and may serve to 'justify' one's role in a particular setting.

For example, the person who cannot transfer fluency into situations at home and at work, and is also the youngest at home and at work, regards his role as 'vulnerable', 'protected', 'non-threatening' and 'gentle'. The stutterer role means that he is not treated as equal to others, but this may have some good consequences as well as bad. The possible results of being fluent is these two situations include losing the 'protection' that stuttering brings even if this stuttering role has several negative implications. And the conflict experienced also includes the loss of being non-threatening. If being non-threatening is integral to his self-definition, then the implications of being fluent are too great. So even if equality may be gained from being fluent, there may be too much lost. The "depressing effect" of fluency (*Kuhr & Rustin, 1985*) and the "personality characteristics" (*Gregory, 1989*) mentioned earlier, may also be linked to the loss of an element of integral importance - such as being non-threatening - to the person who has a history of stuttering in a particular situation.

In another instance, the clergyman who had acquired fluency and is successful at transferring it into all situations, except one - preaching a sermon - may also be threatened by being fluent. In exploring similarities and differences between his role as counsellor/confessor and that as preacher, it emerged that by being fluent he was at risk of losing an important element of his self-definition, that of being on an equal standing with members of his congregation.

Habit strength or loss of spontaneity when using a fluency technique cannot account for the failure to transfer in either of these two cases, but perhaps an identity with the stuttering and its dual set of implications may begin to shed some light on the issue.

Resolving the problem remains, but it may be eased by exploring similarities and differences between the different settings and the meaningfulness of the stuttering and the fluency roles adopted. Such understanding, as suggested by *Odlin (1989)* and *Lehiste (1988)*, may also shed some light on the problems of language transfer experienced by second language learners.

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TRANSFER IN L2 PRODUCTION: A CASY STUDY

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INTRODUCTION

The term transfer covers a wide field and it is difficult to be sure where its boundaries lie. In the area of second language acquisition transfer has been constantly redefined - one only has to see the broad range of definitions in *Gass and Selinker (1983)*, for example. Research into transfer in interlanguage has tended to shift focus from the kinds of errors which learners produce to the different cognitive processes involved in second language learning and use. This paper looks at one aspect of a longitudinal study I made, namely the role of mother tongue knowledge in second language performance. The study uncovered a phenomenon which can occur in the speech of some second language learners who, in spite of considerable exposure to and practice in the target language, remain entrenched in L1-based linguistic behaviour. Such was the case of one of the subjects who took part in the study. She was an advanced learner of French with English as her L1. Written tests showed that she had a good command of the target language's grammatical system. Along with three other subjects she spent six months immersed in a French-speaking environment. Whereas the other three subjects developed an L2-based communicative style during their time away, this particular learner's speech style did not change significantly; on her return to Ireland it was still strongly influenced by L1-based features. In particular the pragmatic level of her communicative style was still heavily based in the L1; what *Scarcella (1983)* calls 'discourse accent' had not changed, in that she continued to use L1 discourse markers. The use of L1-based performance features instead of native-like discourse markers and fillers raises questions about the development of communicative competence in advanced learners. If an advanced learner, with a sound knowledge of the L2's grammatical system, seems unwilling or unable to transfer aspects of strategic competence (which presumably are already developed in his or her L1) to the L2 situation, then non-linguistic as well as linguistic factors need to be considered to explain this type of verbal behaviour.

THE STUDY

The four subjects had all attained good grades in Leaving Certificate French and none had been to France before. They were interviewed in French by their teacher, a native-speaker, and the recordings were transcribed. In addition, each subject gave an introspective report immediately after each interview. They were remembered experiencing a problem. It was usually quite apparent when they had been in linguistic difficulties because of the hesitations which preceded the problem. Usually the hesitations were due to lack of L2 lexical knowledge, or because the task stress was such that they could not recall a lexical item on the spot. Other studies of L2 production of advanced learners have shown that causes of problematicity tend to be lexical (*for example, Haastrup and Phillipson 1983*). This procedure took place twice: once before they left for France and once again on their return to Ireland. A profile of each subject's coping style in oral performance was built up at each stage. The term coping style was used to describe their use of communicative strategies and other performance features when faced with linguistic difficulties in the two interviews, and the following taxonomy was used:

1. Compensatory strategies:

code-switching (use of an L1 word)
word-coinage (a word made up from L1 or L2 knowledge)
Paraphrase in the L2
direct appeal to the interlocutor
waiting until a lexical item was recalled

2. Performance features

self-correction
restructuring
repetition
pauses, drawls and gambits

In the first set of interviews, made before they went away, all four subjects used the above communication strategies and performance features with similar frequency. In other words their communicative styles when analysed according to these criteria were not significantly different from each other. They all occasionally code-switched or coined words. Two subjects used L2 paraphrase occasionally, the others did not use them at all.

There were varying degrees of self-correction, repetition and restructuring, as indeed there would have been if they were speaking in their mother tongue, but it was not possible at this stage to identify a particular communicative style which was peculiar to each subject. It was interesting to see that not one subject made use of L2 type drawls or fillers (for example, the French filler 'euh') although the interviewer, their teacher, used them constantly. You could say that a drawl in French is a typical way of gaining planning time, but the subjects gained planning time by using L1 fillers, such as 'uh' or 'oh' and they did not drawl. The occasional nervous cough was used to fill in the keep communication going.

When the subjects returned from France, it was clear that each of them had developed her own individual coping style. As outlined above, one of the four subjects seemed to have come to rely on her knowledge of L1-based strategies, structures and performance feature when speaking the second language, even though she had been surrounded by the spoken word for six months, and had not spoken any English for that time, apart from a weekly phone call home.

Mother tongue influence showed itself in the oral interview of this learner at various linguistic levels. Although her pronunciation had become more native-like, she nevertheless surprised the interviewer by pronouncing 'Brussels" (where she had spent some time) in a distinctly mother-tongue way. At the syntactic level she simplified structures and made obvious literal translations of L1 grammatical structures. For example, when asked how she made up a baby's bottle, she started her reply with 'la première chose j'ai fait' - a literal translation of 'the first thing I did'. This structure is appropriate in an English context, of course, but not in French. It was clear that this learner was often translating her thoughts word for word. Her slow, deliberate speech style fuelled this impression: it sounded at times more like that of a beginner rather than that of an advanced learner. As *Blum-Kulka and Levenston (1983)* observe:

> All second language learners begin by assuming that for every word in their mother-tongue there is a single translation equivalent in the second language. (p.132)

Because the particular subject in my study was an advanced learner, with an advanced knowledge of L2 structures, one is tempted to infer that she had come habitually to rely on using literal translation as a regular communication strategy when speaking the L2.

At the pragmatic level, this subject's speech performance had changed very little over the six month period. It was noticeable too that, unlike the others, she had not acquired the use of drawls - although in a similar study *Raupach (1987)* found too that not all of his subjects (advanced German-speaking learners of French) had acquired drawls as part of their repertoire during an extended stay in France.

COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES AND PROFICIENCY LEVELS

Although separate grammatical written tests showed that this subject's grammatical competence had grown during the six monthe period, she did not make any use of L2 paraphrase in the second interview. This finding raises the question whether we can assume that the more proficient a learner is in terms of knowledge of a language's grammatical system, the more likely it is that the learner will use L2-based strategies (for instance L2 paraphrase) as a device to cope with lack of lexical knowledge. Two studies of the use of communication strategies - *Tarone (1977)* and *Bialystok (1983)* - suggest that advanced learners use L2 paraphrase more frequently than less advanced (and clearly this is to a certain extent predictable, since a learner needs to have acquired a certain minimum proficiency level in order to paraphrase in the target language). In contrast to these two studies, my subject did not use paraphrase in her oral performance. In their study of learners with five years' learning of the target language, Haastrup and Phillipson find the same phenomenon among some of their subjects. They say

> we were quite suprised that most of our learners make frequent use of L1-based strategies, as one might expect that learners, after five years of English teaching, would rely more on IL-based strategies. (1983, p.154)

In a review of studies which raise the question of a link between strategy preference and proficiency levels of learners, *Bialystok (1990, p.48)* concludes that the results are either mixed or inconclusive. It seems that other factors may determine preferences for different kinds of communication strategies, for example, personality factors. However, my own study was too small-scaled to undertake personality tests with the subjects, and indeed other studies like that of Haarstrup and Phillipson have not specified what kind of personality is likely to use L1-based strategies rather than L2-based strategies.

TRANSFER AS A COPING MECHANISM

L1 knowledge can be instrumental in maintaining communication when lack of L2 knowledge threatens a breakdown or the effectiveness of L2 communication. L1 knowledge can be used in a compensatory way to make up for lack of L2 lexical knowledge, for example. *Faerch and Kasper (1989, p.186)* call this type of transfer 'strategic transfer'. In such instances this type of transfer occurs with the learner being to a certain extent conscious of the process. An L1 lexical item may be used as a substitute for the intended, but unknown or forgotten, L2 item. *Corder (1983, p.94)* refers to this procedure as 'borrowing' and its function is to help keep communication going. As example from my data: the subject had forgotten the word in French for 'walk'. (Introspection revealed that this was entirely due to task stress.) She uttered therefore: 'je (—) walk (-) je je walk je prom je me promenser'. When L1 knowledge is activated in this way, the speaker's attention is focussed on a) the linguistic problem and b) the solution. This was clear from the introspective data.

A second use of L1 knowledge is again triggered by a desire to keep communication going, but transfer occurs at an automatic level. The learner's attention is focussed at a planning level other than at the lexical level: for example, the learner intends to avoid a topic or needs to gain message planning time. Automatised L1 fillers such as 'well' or 'uh' help smooth over message production difficulties without the speaker being aware of using them. The subject in the study who had not acquired the use of L2-type fillers was unaware that her L2 utterances were interspersed with L1-type fillers until it was pointed out to her later. She had been entirely unaware of her linguistic habit when listening to the recording of her performance.

IDENTIFYING TRANSFER IN L2 PRODUCTION

Because L1 knowledge has different functions in L2 production, it is problematic to identify what kind of transfer is being used: whether it is a performance phenomenon or whether it reflects the state of the learner's interlanguage. Interlanguage is by definition an interaction of L1 and L2 knowledge, and the cognitive processes involved in speech production are not always open to analysis. A traditional way of detecting transfer has been error analysis: however, this method of data analysis is also not without its problems - *Kellermann (1984)* warns against assuming that L1 influence is 'proven whenever the erroneous presence of features in the L2 which are reminiscent of the L1 is detected' (p.98).

If we want to avoid error analysis, an alternative method of gaining insight into the process of transfer is introspection. This method I found was effective with three subjects, who were perfectly able to recall linguistic problems and to talk about how they had solved them. However, the learner who was most heavily influenced by her L1 could not recall experiencing linguistic problems - apart from a few instances which were extremely obvious because they were announced by massive hesitation. This learner also found it almost impossible to explain how she had solved these problems - she did not have the metalinguistic wherewithall to do so. It is tempting to hypothesise a link between lack of metalinguistic awareness and heavy use of transfer, but that would demand a separate study.

An alternative, possibly globally more successful way of using introspective report is that used by *Zimmermann (1989)*. In a study of lexical search he uses a think-aloud protocol in a translation task, and finds that some learners retrieve an L2 lexical item via the use of L1 knowledge, a procedure which may take place in oral production, but which is hard to find evidence for. The interactive nature of the face-to-face interview makes different demands on the learner from the more relaxed translation task, and therefore we cannot assume that the processes involving transfer are the same from task to task.

NON-LINGUISTIC FACTORS AND TRANSFER

With regard to the subjects in my study, I was curious to find out why one learner seemed apparently unwilling to take on more L2-based strategies and L2-type performances features. On her return from France and Belgium she answered a questionnaire about her experiences there. Along with the other subjects, she evaluated her stay abroad most positively, describing it as the best six months of her life. I could not therefore put her non-nativelike performance down to some kind of unhappy conflict of identity when she was in France or Belgium, but this may be a factor with other learners.

Brown (1973) suggests that 'a person is forced to take on a new identity if he is to become competent in a second language. The very definition of communication implies a process of revealing oneself to another' (p.233). In other words, some learners may feel a need to show the L2 speech community that they wish to preserve a separate identity, and they may do this by adhering to L1-based structures and features as a means of establishing their difference from the L2 speech community. In a slightly different approach, *Schumann (1975)* suggests that positive or negative attitudes to the L2 environment can affect processes involved in second language learning.

Another factor which needs to be taken into account when a learner's speech is heavily influenced by the L1 is what *Kellermann (1983, p.114)* calls the learner's 'psychotypology' - that is, the learner's perception of the distance between the mother tongue and the second language. According to Kellermann, the learner's notion of the relationship between the L1 and the L2 can either act as a limiting constrainer or as a trigger of transfer (p.113). In addition, the learner's perception of his or her mother-tongue may be a factor in determining whether transfer will occur, and to what degree. The learner may have a notion of which L1 items or structures are transferable or not. However, any introspective report by the learner on a language as system presupposes that the learner has a minimum level of linguistic awareness, and my study showed that introspection and consciousness-raising about language do not come easily to all learners.

CONCLUSION

Clearly, after a small-scale study like this, there are many unanswered questions. On reflection its methodology was incomplete, in that it did not take into account the communicative style of the subjects' L1 performance. Studies comparing L1 and L2 performance are starting to be undertaken more widely than previously: for example, *Bongaerts and Poulisse (1989)* have made a study of the similarities between L1 and L2 referential behaviour. In addition, more in-depth questionnaires would have had to be answered by the four subjects to find out more about their relationship to a) the target language, b) the country where they had lived, and c) their personal experiences there. Thirdly, useful data could have been elicited in the form of different tasks and text types to see whether each subject used the same levels of transfer from task to task. The study showed that identifying transfer in a face-to-face interview is difficult - strategic transfer, used consciously as a resource to help communication, is visible and that is because L1 knowledge is usually used consciously to overcome a possible breakdown in communication. Introspection into strategic transfer is possible, but not necessarily with all learners. If introspection is not possible, or is inadequate, then systematic analysis of transfer patterns is also difficult. All one can say is that there is some evidence of L1 influence at work.

The study showed that a learner can have knowledge of an L2 system, and not be able to use it procedurally in oral performance. Since learners' proficiency in the L2 is sometimes assessed orally (for instance in job interviews in the target language) then the question is raised whether strategic competence can be taught; whether it is possible to teach a learner to use effective native-like performance features and L2-based strategies as a means of coping. In my experience it is possible actively to encourage learners to exchange L1-based strategies and other L1-based performance features for L2 features, but only when the learner has reached sufficient maturity and ability to talk about his or her oral performance in an objective way.

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LINGUISTIC AND PEDAGOGICAL ASPECTS OF ENGLISH PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS*

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1. Linguistics and language teaching: Why the passive is linguistically interesting and pedagogically relevant

The passive, which is dealt with under "voice" in English and "genus verbi" as well as "Diathese" in German, has always, among the grammatical phenomena of these, though also of many other languages, been given special attention. There are a number of good linguistic and pedagogical reasons for this, for example:

1) The close syntactic relationship between active and passive, already postulated by traditional linguists, whereby the active assumes the role of "source" or "underlying structure" for the passive, i.e. where a sentence like "Columbus discovered America" is seen as the basis for "America was discovered by Columbus."

2) The question of semantic similarity or even identity of active and passive sentences on the one hand, and their fundamental semantic differences on the other.

3) The special use of the passive (probably best explained within text linguistics) which manifests itself above all in the omission of the agent constituent; in this way about 80% of all English passive sentences do not contain prepositional phrases starting with "by".

4) The discourse and register-specific use of the passive, which is characteristic of newscasts, and of legal and scientific texts. This register-specific use correlates with the situation-specific use of the passive in texts of a more formal nature.

5) The differences between German and English, more specifically with reference to the structural possibilities in forming the passive in English, for example with three-place verbs:

   (1) The regular was immediately given a beer and two bags of crisps by the barman
   (1') *Der Stammgast wurde sofort ein Bier und zwei TÜten Kartoffel chips gegeben

In contrast, the German language has a larger stock of lexical and grammatical alternatives available, for expressing the meaning of the passive, e.g.

(2) Dans läßt sich nicht ändern
(2') Nothing can be done about that

6) The above mentioned characteristics ***and*** the linguistic problems surrounding the English passive demonstrate clearly the relevance of this construction for the teaching of general language- and LSP-courses. Keeping this in mind, it is the following areas that I will concentrate on in my discussion of English passive constructions: syntax and semantics, text linguistics, register-specific uses and differences between English and German.

1.1 The passive transformation: generative but also traditional

1.1.1 Syntax: Restrictions and expansions

The most famous quotation of the passive can be found in N. Chomsky' Syntactic Structures (1957), and it serves as an indication of the superiority of generative grammar.

(A) If S1 is a grammatical sentence of the form
NP_1 - Aux - V - NP_2,
then the corresponding string of the form
NP_2 - Aux + be + en - V - by + NP_1
is also a grammatical sentence. (Chomsky 1957:43)

This formulation is based on the assumption that, in the active-passive area, we're dealing exclusively with a structural relationship between sentences - without any sort of semantic implication - and that consequently this relationship is best presented as a syntactic transformation. On first reading, the meaning of this quotation seems quite straightforward, however it soon becomes clear that it is empirically false. In spite of this it cannot be said that we're dealing with a useless statement; after all, it does come from Chomsky! Furthermore it is an adequate characterisation of the core part of the passive spectrum. Essentially it is that which is described as "agentive passive" by Svartivik (1966:141) and as "central passive" by Quirk et al. (1985:171). Incidentally, the assumption of relationships between active and passive sentences is nothing new. This can easily be shown by referring to the appropriate traditional grammars of English, for example Jespersen, Kruisinga or Poutsma. It was left to Chomsky to present the passive in the context of a general linguistic theory - at the expense of empirical adequacy.

Let us now have a look at those cases which can't be handled with Chomsky's rules, at cases which therefore represent the restrictions. The rule "fails" for example:

- when NP2 is a reflexive pronoun:

(3) She taught herself
(3') *Herself was taught

but

(3'') She was taught by herself

- with symmetrical verbs like *resemble, equal, marry:*

(4) Fred resembles his brother
(4') *Fred is resembled by his brother

- with the occurrence of quantifiers like *many, few, some, all* etc.

(5) Many people read few books
(5') #Few books are read by many people

Furthermore, there are a number of passive constructions which cannot be traced back to an active structure à la Chomsky or indeed any active structure. In these cases, the rule doesn't have to be constrained in its capacity, but it needs expanding. The following expansions would therefore also have to be taken into account, for example:

- with the passive subjects which do not refer back to an NP, but to a PP of a corresponding active sentence ("stranded prepositions")

(8) *The affair* was looked into by the committee
(8') The committee looked *into the affair*

Those NP's which act as part of a prepositional phrase of an active sentence, expressing locative meaning, and functioning as the subject of a passive sentence, are particularly interesting from a contrastive point of view:

(9) Five people have slept in this bed
(9') *This bed* has been slept in by five people
(9'') *Dieses Bett wurde von fünf Leuten geschlafen

- furthermore the so-called "statal passive":

(10) The cups are broken
(10') *Someone breaks the cups
(10") ?Someone has broken the cups

- then "adjectival passives":

(11) Bill was (very) worried by the new plan

There are also passive constructions, which appear agentless, where there is no agent - and which therefore cannot be related to any active equivalent:

(12) Suddenly our friendly neighbour was taken ill
(12') *Our friendly neighbour was taken ill by bronchitis

or even:

(12") *Bronchitis took ill our friendly neighbour

and similarly:

(13) Her new husband is said to be an excellent cook
(13') *They say her new husband to be an excellent cook

- finally the use of *get* and other auxillary verbs like *become, grow, appear, seem* as quasi-alternatives to *be*. Quasi-alternatives, because these verbs differ from *be* in their syntactic behaviour, as they require periphrastic constructions with *do* in questions and negations:

(14) He got (himself) arrested
(14') *Got he himself arrested?
*He got not himself arrested
(14") Did he get himself arrested?
He didn't get himself arrested

The restrictions on the "conventional" passive transformation or passive correspondence, illustrated by examples (3)-(5), as well as the existence of examples of the form (6)-(14) make it clear that:
1) there is no direct 1:1 correspondence between active and passive, and
2) an appropriate description is not possible without invoking semantics.

Therefore, instead of starting out with a distinctive, homogeneous passive category with an unambiguous and direct relationship to the active, I'll follow the proposal of Quirk et al. (1985:167,171), who postulate a so-called **passive gradient.**

(B)

This violin *was made* by my father [1]
This conclusion *is* hardly *justified* by the results [2]
Coal *has been replaced* by oil [3]
This difficulty *can be avoided* in several ways [4]
We *are encouraged* to go on with the project [5]
Leonard *was interested* in linguistics [6]
The building *is* already *demolished* [7]
The modern world *is getting* ['becoming'] *more highly industrialized and mechanized* [8]

I Central passives
(*a*) With expressed agents: [1],[2],[3]
(*b*) Without expressed agents: [4]

II Semi-passives: [5],[6]

III Pseudo-passives:
(*a*) With 'current' popular verbs *be, feel, look,* etc.: [7]
(*b*) With 'resulting' popular verbs *get, become, grow* etc.: [8]
(Quirk et al. 1985:167, 171)

All sentences in (B) are similar in that they contain the structure *be (get)* + past participle, and this common ground is defined syntactically.

1.1.2 Semantics: identity vs. distinctiveness

Considering the semantic qualities of the passive one can say that, in contrast to the active, the passive reports events in the opposite order:

(15) My father made this violin
(15') This violin was made by my father

Whereas in example (15) the starting point of the sentence is represented by a human agent as the grammatical subject, the direction of the sequence is changed in (15'), where the object of the active sentence becomes the grammatical subject of the passive. From a semantic point of view the passive subject, although only occasionally connected with suffering, has nearly always got something to do with "having something done to something/someone".

Using this semantic definition of the passive as a basis, we can observe along with the structure

be
+ past participle
get

a few other alternative possibilities to express the semantic concept "passive":
(16) T-shirts wash easily
(17) T-shirts are easily washable
(16',17') T-shirts can easily be washed

Sentences like (16) are described in the English language as "mediopassives" or "notional passives" (*Quirk et al. 1985: 170*), they imply an agent which is never syntactically realised. In German "mediopassives" are generally translated by *Lassen, Konnen*, or by reflexives. The highly productive morpheme - *able* (see (17)) is another possibility in English to render the passive.

My discussion of the syntactic (formal) and semantic (functional) characteristics of the English passive has shown that neither of the two definitions alone can supply a comprehensive and satisfactory definition of the passive. The relationship between linguistic form and function must be seen as dialectical, not only in this particular case; it is a phenomenon holding true for the description of individual languages in general. Form cannot truly exist without function, and vice versa.

The general disadvantage of a semantic approach lies in the danger of its subjective application and the concomitant difficulty in identifying its linguistic correlates. On the other hand, such approaches offer the advantage of being able to relatively easily manage cross-linguistic comparisons, as languages often have the common quality and task of having to express similar semantic relationships and, of course, at the same time it is in the formal-syntactic areas where languages differ most. A further advantage of a semantic approach is that it often allows a native-speaker to express intuitions about his language better than a structural approach would. This may be a reason for the lasting success of traditional grammar in language teaching, i.e. that the conceptually and notionally defined categories of this grammatical model comply with the intuition of the learner as well as his linguistic awareness, brought about by the teaching and acquisition of his own mother tongue. The disadvantage of a structural, syntactic passive classification can be illustrated using the example of the mediopassives - in other words in constructions whose passive meaning is felt also by English native speakers, but which lie outside the formal defintion of the passive. The advantage of a formal approach to the passive exists in the easy identification of the respective constructions, so that data on formally defined passives can be quickly collected and statistical analyses can be easily carried out.

In connection with the discussion on a semantic approach to the passive we are also faced with the question of semantic identity vs. distinctiveness of active and passive sentences. In retrospect it is hard to understand how passionately both positions, especially the identity hypothesis, have been put forward. Basically, we're dealing with a fictitious controversy, which can be put down relatively easily to the different use of the concept of "semantics". Assuming the semantic identity of active and passive sentences, the *tertium comparationis* for identity in this case refers to the cognitive meaning or the propositional content, the truth value and the respective illocutionary potential of the statement. The second position, which emphasizes the functional character i.e. the semantic differentiating potential of different syntactic forms, has been notably - and very successfully - presented by linguists like Randolph Quirk and Dwight Bolinger. The latter once wrote:

(C)
"Tell him [the man in the street] that if two ways of saying something differ in their words or their arrangement they will also differ in meaning, and he will show as much surprise as if you told him that walking in the rain is conducive to getting wet. Only a scientist can wrap himself up in enough sophistication to keep dry under these circumstances". *(Bolinger 1977:1)*

Meanwhile there has been sufficient proof to show that in this issue it is best to trust Bolinger and the man in the street, as long as one doesn't want to stand in the rain. As soon as one includes the component "style" in semantic analysis i.e. interpreting a certain language not as one homogeneous system, but as a system of subsystems with specific communicative functions, the dogmatic character of the identity position can no longer be sustained. In this case, the linguist is obliged to explain the diverse usages - i.e. why a choice took place in one or another direction, and the language teacher has to teach their usages. Obviously, there are semantic and stylistic differences between active and passive, but these differences are, however, not so serious that they rule out once and for all the basic relationship between active and passive, as regards, for instance, the common propositional contents of active and passive constructions.

2. Text linguistics: Why the agent can disappear

Almost all accounts of the passive point towards the ability to leave out the agent constituent and, as already mentioned, it's missing in about 80% of the cases. Huddleston even claims that "it [the agent] is always ommissible". Of course, that is not true, as the examples (18)-(20) show:

(18) An irresistible desire to run away possessed me
(18') *I was possessed
(18") I was possessed by an irresistible desire to run away
(19) Unworthy motives actuated him
(19') *He was actuated
(19") He was actuated by unworthy motives
(20) On his death his daughter succeeded him
(20') *On his death he was succeeded
(20") On his death he was succeeded by his daughter
(for (18)-(20) cf. Stein 1979:127)

An adequate description of the passive must, with regard to the agent, describe when its presence is obligatory, under which conditions it can be omitted, and under which communicative circumstances it does appear, where it could be left out from a syntactic point of view. It is obvious that adequate results cannot be expected from a description which doesn't reach beyond the sentence boundary; linguistic context beyond the sentence and extra-linguistic context must be included as relevant factors.

The following pieces of advice on signs can be found in parks (21), the underground (22) in London and in a plane (23):

(21) Ball games must not be played in these gardens
Exercising dogs and cycling prohibited
(22) Tools and appliances are kept in the guard's compartment for use in an emergency
(23) Passengers are kindly (*please) requested to abstain from smoking

In all three cases the agent is easily deduced from the context: (21) for instance "by anyone entering these gardens", (22) "by the guard", (23) "by the airline company" or "by the crew". In this respect it is redundant, and its omission in the passive structure makes the sentence linguistically more economical. The passive, therefore, offers the possibility of not having to express, but saving information, which would be obligatory in a corresponding active sentence. The use of the passive in examples (21)-(23) is in line with the formal use of the

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sentences and points out their illocutionary force "request" only indirectly.

Sentences like (24) and (25) differ in their surface structure, essentially in the sequence of their syntactic constituents.

(24) Our neighbour nicked a bicycle
(25) The bicycle was nicked by our neighbour

The varying sequence of otherwise identical constituents can be interpreted as an expression of the speaker or writer informing the reader or hearer of events from a different perspective. In accordance with the theory of functional sentence perspective, developed by the Prague School in the 1920's and later on further developed by other linguists, it is appropriate to state that for English and German "known" or "given" information *(theme)* is introduced at the beginning of a sentence and that "new information *(rheme)* is brought in later, so that the most important information in a sentence appears at the end. Whereas in example (24) "a bicycle" functions as the "rheme", "the bicycle" becomes the "theme" in (25) - notice the concomitant switch from the indefinite to the difinite article. This change in syntactic order goes together with the changing into the rheme of the thematic agent of our active sentence, namely "our neighbour" becoming "by our neighbour".

It is true that in a normal, unmarked active sentence in English, theme, agent and grammatical subject coincide. The rigid word order of English, brought about by the almost complete loss of inflection, does not generally allow for the subject to be taken out of the initial position. This results in the identity of theme and grammatical subject, which is characteristic of English. The passive structure therefore is assigned the task of disassociating the agent from the theme and subject, with the possible, though rather rare result, that in this way the agent of the active sentence becomes the rheme in the passive sentence. However, it is more often the case that the theme of a potential equivalent active sentence, which is grammatically an object, is simply made the rheme and the agent is left out. Consequently, and here we find the specific communicative function of the passive - the **result** of an action is made the focal point of the information.

This possibility may be the main reason why the passive is frequently used in LSP-texts. Along with the cases of omission of the agent already mentioned and illustrated using the examples (21)-(23), a few more cases can be distinguished, cases in which the non-occurrence of the agent can best be explained from a text-linguistic perspective, e.g. when

- the agent can be deduced from the linguistic context:

(26) In this paper, it is argued [?*by me] that a wide range of sound change phenomena can only be explained in social terms

- the passive form appears in a subordinate clause and so, for example, retention of the subject is made possible:

(27) The car, which had been severely damaged, wasn't worth repairing

- or when it is advisable to retain the subject in a coordinated structure:

(28) She rose to speak, and [she] was listened to with great enthusiasm

- Furthermore, the agent is omitted when he or she is unknown, when he is supposed to be kept secret or when the speaker deliberately wants to keep the identity of the agent vague:

(29) I have been told that you're only after my money (but I won't tell you by who)

3 Discourse types/registers: Why LSP-texts prefer the passive

3.1 Comments on inter-subject comparison

There are various works on the use of the passive according to discourse type (e.g. Svartvik 1966, Huddleston 1971, Beier 1977, Gerbert 1970). The table given here is taken from Celce-Murcia/Larsen-Freeman (1983:228).

(D)

least number of passives per number of words	**converation, fiction**	**journalistic writing**	**scientific writing**	**highest number of passives per number of words**

(Celce-Murcia/Larsen-Freeman 1983:228)

Gerbert (1970:88), in his monograph on the syntax of technical languages in English, attributes the frequent use of the passive in such texts to the relative unimportance of the researchers, i.e. the agents, and the great importance of the object of the research. As a corollary of this, Gerbert maintains that - due to the authors' intentions to report on their research objectively and impersonally - the personal pronouns I and we are hardly ever employed in LSP-text

The first analyses that we carried out, however, did not always confirm the alleged "almost complete disappearance" of *I/we*.

Almost all the works dealing with the use of the passive in scientific texts differentiate in their analyses according to subject areas, but they do not question the general linguistic homogeneity of such texts. Basically, they work on the assumption that the grammatical phenomena are evenly distributed throughout a text. In the course of a research project on contrastive text analysis of German and English scientific articles, we were, however, able to show, for example, that differences between certain text parts such as *abstract*, *introduction* and *conclusion* are also reflected on the linguistic-structural level. As regards the use of the passive we have been able to ascertain with the help of a few random samples that its distribution within text parts can vary. This first piece of research was carried out using articles from different journals covering different subject areas, namely theoretical and applied linguistics (*Language*, *Applied Linguistics*), physics (*Journal of Physics*), as well as mechanical engineering (*Transactions of the ASME*).

(E)	finite verb-forms	active	passive	1.p.	3.p.
Abstr	65	39	26	1	38
LG		(60%)	(40%)	(1.5%)	(98.5%)
Concl	237	196	41	33	163
LG		(82.7%)	(17.3%)	(16.8%)	(83.2%)
Abstr	142	109	33	15	94
AL		(76.8%)	(23.2%)	(13.8%)	(86.2%)
Concl	297	242	55	34	208
AL		(81.5%)	(18.5%)	(18%)	(85.9%)
Abstr	94	52	42	5	47
JP		(55.3%)	(44.7%)	(9.6%)	(90.4%)
Concl	166	115	51	6	109
JP		(69.3%)	(30.7%)	(5.2%)	(94.8%)
Abstr	73	25	48	1	24
TA		(55.3%)	(65.8%)	(4%)	(96%)
Concl	132	76	56	7	69
TA		(57.6%)	(42.4%)	(9.2%)	(90.8%)

LG *(Language)*, AL *(Applied Linguistics)*, JP *(Journal of Physics)*, TA *(Transactions of the ASME)*

The results put together in Table E show clearly that the proportion of passive forms in the **abstracts** is always larger than that in the **conclusions**. Moreover, this difference looks smallest in the application-oriented journals. How can the varying distribution of the passive in the text parts **abstract** and **conclusion** be explained?

3.2 Abstract and conclusion: How to distinguish between them functionally and structurally

Firstly, a definition of the abstract in scientific journals in accordance with the German industrial 1426:

> "An abstract is a non-committal statement of the contents of a document, essential for information and documentation purposes. Its aim is to make it easier for the user to judge the relevance of the document."
> *(translated from Fluck 1988:69)*

The fact of it being a non-committal account is therefore the most important feature of this text-type. As the above discussion on the passive has shown, the essential feature of the passive is that it brings the result of an action or event into the foreground, thereby achieving an objective and impersonal representation of scientific facts by omitting the agent. In this respect the agentless passive construction proves itself to be an especially suitable structural equivalent of a non-committal mode of representation. Conclusions which are found at the end of an essay look rather different. Our communicative-functional analysis of conclusions has shown that the authors lay great emphasis on presenting implications, and the scientific value of the results of the research that they themselves have carried out (see Gnutzmann/Oldenburg in print). Here we give three typical examples.

(31) To my knowledge, it is the most general solution that fits the data
(Language)
(32) ... we have been able to incorporate a large number of heretofore puzzling phenomena
(Language)
(33) As a theory of SURFACE case, our position is quite different from and superior to GB Case Theory *(Language)*

When shifting the results of one's own research into the foreground, thus stressing the importance of the author and the researcher, the complementary voice, i.e. the active, presents itself as the adequate mode of expression. The results from table E support this view. As illustrated in the example sentences (31)-(33) as well as partly by table E, the use of the form of the first person is a further - in principle the ideal - means to stress the author's own results. The fact, however, that abstracts are formed using other conventions is clarified in example (34), where all finite verbs show an agentless passive structure.

> *(34)* The pressure dependence of the normal conductivity with respect to volume in mixed insulating crystals *is investigated*. The logarithmic derivative of the thermal conductivity with respect to volume *is calculated* assuming the presence of phonon-phonon umklapp and simple mass defect scattering processes alone, this quantity being expressed in terms of the elastic, thermal and structural parameters of the material. Results *are compared* with the experimental data for the mixed-crystal system AgCl-AgBr. *(Journal of Physics)*

4. The passive in comparison: Why there are more active-passive correspondences in English than in German

In a comparison between the English and German passive one must firstly ascertain the status of this category. Should the passive be defined as a formal structure or understood as a semantic concept? In the first case, the structure would consist of an auxilliary verb and past participle, i.e.

be, get (become, grow, appear, feel, seem) + Ven

On the other hand, from a semantic point of view an affected subject and the change of the unmarked or normal sequence of the event, i.e. a change in the perspective, would have to be considered as important criteria for a definition. Using a formal definition of the passive I would like to put forward the hypothesis that the passive appears more often in English than in German. The following arguments can be used to substantiate this claim:

(1) Under the assumption that transitivity constitutes an essential, perhaps the most important pre-condition for passivisation, it comes to light that passivisation is made a lot easier in English, as every nominal object can appear morphologically unchanged as the passive subject, and no formal distinctions between nominative, dative and accusative forms have to be made. As a result, one can argue that due to the more or less complete neutralisation of the English as direct objects and therefore can become subjects in passive constructions.

(35) She helped him
(35') He was helped (by her)
(36) Sie half ihm
(36') *Er wurde geholfen

A similar example in a text-linguistic context:

(37) It's sherry with the soup. This is followed by white wine with the fish.

There is no passive counterpart for (37) in German, so that an active form is used instead:

(37') Es gibt Sherry zur Suppe. Darauf folgt Weißwein zum Fisch.

(2) The English language has the possibility of double passivation of three-place verbs:

(38) His new firm gave him a company car
(38') He was given a company car by his new firm
(38") A company car was given to him by his new firm

From a semantic point of view of the passive it can be observed that English - in spite of the mediopassive and the passive morpheme *-able* - is inferior to German in its structural possibilities of realising this semantically defined passive; numerically inferior, a German has more alternative constructions available. Here are just a few of the various possibilities:

(39) It is to be assumed...
(40) Eine LÖsung dieses Problems wird *sich finden*
(40') A solution to this problem will be found
(41) Die Mitgliedschaft *ist* schriftlich *zu beantragen*
(41') Membership must be applied for in writing
(42) Finanzkürzungen und Stellenstreichungen *lassen sich* kaum als nützliche Beiträge für eine erfolgreiche Universitätsreform *vorstellen*
(42') Financial cuts and the elimination of vacant positions can hardly be thought of as useful contributions to a successful university reform

(3) Furthermore, there are constructions where German gives preference to the active form and where English uses the passive. The choice in both

languages of a different voice category is, on the one hand, determined by the tight connection between theme, agent and grammatical subject in English, due to the rigid word order. On the other hand, in German we can afford a greater variability in word-order quite often resulting in a breaking-up of theme and subject. This is because in German a large part of marking grammatical relations is handled by the inflection system - a task which English, being to a large extent an inflection-laking language, has to compensate for with the rigidness of its word order.

(43) *Dem Kanzler* bereitenten Reaktionen auf die Interviews wenig Unbehagen
(43') *The chancellor* was not in the least worried by the response to the interviews
(44) *Der gewerkschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit* in dieser Frage entstand dadurch großer Schaden
(44') As a consequence, *union cooperation* on the issue was seriously harmed
(45) *Ihm* schuldete die Firma noch drei Monatsgehälter
(45') *He* was owed three months' salary by the company

5 Implications for the teaching of general English and English for special purposes

In this section, I will be dealing with a few pedagogical implications of our linguistic description of the passive, implications which mostly concern German learners of English.

1. Due to the wide applicability of the concept of transitivity in English (e.g. with verbs like *help, follow*, with complex verbal expressions such as *take account of*, by the possibility of double passivization with 3-place verbs like *give, offer*) structural exercises on the active-passive correspondence in English are justified in spite of their being frowned upon by "dogmatic" communicative language teachers. Moreover, their application means that potential interferences, such as e.g. (46) can be counteracted:

(46) *Him was offered a free trip to Dublin

2. Our earlier account of the omittance and appearance of the agent suggests that the example sentences for active-passive transformations are to be selected in such a way that they demand a decision from the learner regarding the possible or even necessary deletion of the agent, in order to avoid them being turned into mechanical drills.

(47) Someone had invited him to the party by mistake
(47') He had been invited to the party by mistake (?*by someone)

3. The explanations and exemplifications of the communicative structuring of passive sentences in the framework of the theme-rheme-sequence of utterances make it clear that it is necessary to use the passive in its text linguistic contexts, as in the following example, in which the learners would have to identify the text-linguistically "more natural" variant.

(48) After going through a series of difficult spells the young couple decided to celebrate the first anniversary of their wedding in style. So they went to the best and most expensive restaurant in town,
a) *where they were welcomed by their marriage guidance counsellor.*
b) *where their marriage guidance counsellor welcomed them.*

As "their marriage guidance" represents the "*new*" information in the sentence and "they" refers to the already mentioned "young couple", which is "known" information, the passive sentence structure would be the more probable, even though we cannot obviously exclude the active.

4. The use of the passive in special languages makes it necessary to treat the application of the passive in this context in a different way. Here, it should be based on authentic LSP-material, and the language teaching should -ideally - be closely linked with the contents of the subject. The specific purpose of the passive can be explained relatively clearly by a linguistic analysis and partly by translation.

(49) A sedimentary rock *is modeled* by a random packing of identical spherical particles. The connected pore space *is filled* with an inviscid, compressible fluid. A low frequency expansion technique *is used* to calculate the effective wave speeds explicitly in terms of the microstructural properties of the rock considered. The effect of both the pore fluid and the initial confining pressure to which the rock *is subjected can be included* in the calculation (*Transactions of the ASME 1987*).

When doing these exercises one should be aware of the danger of an over-learning effect with the negative result that excessive use of the passive could result in an over distanced and too impersonal mode of representation. There are, as we have seen, a few important differences in the conclusions of German and English articles in journals: firstly, in English, particularly American, conclusions the authors more readily make reference to themselves, probably in order to stress the importance of their own results. This is, for example, indicated by the explicit use of the pronouns I/we and my/our. In German, however, the idea of a conclusion or summary seems to play a less important role; take, for example, the following statement from an article by W.Klein and Chr. von Stutterheim:

> *(50)* Wenn der Gedanke, den wir darzulegen versucht haben, bis hier nicht klar geworden ist, dann wird dies auch im Schlußwort nicht gelingen. (*Linguistische Berichte 109/1987*)

> *(51)* If the idea that we have tried to present has not become clear yet, we will not succeed in clarifying it in a conclusion, either. (translation of (50))

I would not say that this quotation is representative of German articles, but the idea put forward in it is not atypical, either.

6 Summary

Let me now finish with a brief summary. The main aim of this paper has been to provide an appropriate linguistic basis for teaching the English passive, particularly to German students. In pursuing this aim I have concentrated on the following areas in my discussion of the passive: syntax and semantics, text linguistics, register-specific uses and differences between English and German.

I thought it important to underline the functional character of the passive, i.e. to show that the passive is not a "linguistic luzury" and that it does not, after all, belong to the "swindles and perversions", as Geroge Orwell described it in his 1946 essay *"Politics and the English Language"*. I'd much prefer to quote William Wordsworth, who speaks of the "wise passiveness", even though it was in another, neither linguistic nor pedagogical context.

* This version is the revised version of a paper given at the Annual General Meeting of the Irish Asscociation of Applied Linguistics in Dublin on 15th February 1990.

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THE ANATOMY OF CHAOS: TRANSLATION THEORY AND THE TRAINEE TRANSLATOR

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In 1645 the French scholar, Sorbière, asked Descartes what were the works in physics he valued most. Descartes showed Sorbière into a back-yard where a calf was being dissected and declared pointing to the animal, "that is my library" (*Droit, 1988*) The philosopher and critic Roger-Pol Droit quotes the anecdote to demonstrate how Descartes' mechanical and medical theories have been unjustly neglected in favour of his metaphysics. Thus, he claims historians of philosophy have consistently failed to see the experimental basis of Cartesian thought.

Even for the linguistically squeamish, the teaching of translation theory at undergraduate level ideally takes the form of anatomy lessons. The study of authentic texts leads to the inductive extrapolation of more general translation principles. Gideon Toury argues in his In Search of a Theory of Translation that translation theory must be strongly supported by description which "focuses on existing translations rather than on hypothetical ones, on actual products rather than on the process of translation on the one hand and on a priori 'translatability' on the other" (his emphasis) (*Toury, 1980, p.7*). In the following article we would like to explore two questions. Firstly, certain difficulties that are intrinsic to translation theory and that must be faced up to by researchers in the field. Secondly, the problems encountered in teaching translation theory on an undergraduate translation course.

The goal of a Unified Translation Theory has proved as elusive as the Grand Unified Theory in particle physics. The production of a plausible or scientifically acceptable principle or body of principles to explain translation phenomena is far from achieved. As Susan Bassnet McGuire observed in 1980, "the systematic study of translation is still in swaddling bands" (*McGuire, 1980, p.1*). One of the most obvious and recurrent problems is the diversity of the translation phenomenon encompassing areas such as text translation, interpreting, dubbing, subtitling, in addition to the various divisions within text translation itself such as literary, scientific, commercial and technical translation. Wittgenstein's hope expressed earlier this century seems touchingly naive: "Translation from one language into another is a mathematical task, and the translation of a lyrical poem, for example, into a foreign language is quite analogous to a mathematical problem?" (*Gorlee, 1987, p.167*).

The problem has of course been solving the problem. To continue the mathematical analogy it would appear that Goedel's incompleteness theorem is also applicable to translation theory, there are always undecidable propositions, statements or cases outside the remit of theory.

A major problem in work to date on translation is terminology. Translators whose brief is frequently to standardize terminology in various fields are not very good at standardizing their own. Indeed Roda Roberts in "*The Need for Systematization of Translation Theory*" claims that terminological confusion hampers the growth and effectiveness of translation theory (*Roberts, 1987, pp. 117-123*).

In the case of a concept as fundamental as meaning, scholars such as Delisle, Seleskovitch, Pergnier, Vinay and Darbelnet use different terms to designate the same concept. Even theoreticians belonging to the same school such as the Paris school of translation theory do not use a standard terminology. The converse problem is polysemy. In the case of a term like "signification', the same designation is used to denote markedly different concepts. The consequences for a translation theory is that the basic similartities between theoreticians are masked by new technologies. An illusion of progress is sustained by coinages that confuse rather than clarify. Roberts argues that the emphasis should be placed on what theories have in common, not where they differ. There is a need to move from a disjunctive model (based on juxtaposition/opposition of competing theories) to a linear, logically consistent model, theory moving cumulatively from partial result to partial result.

Like writers who distrust literary critics and the industry of scholarship, translators are wary of theoreticians. This is despite the fact that many theorists are also practising translators. However, there has been a tendency hitherto for translation theory to be prescriptive rather than descriptive. Referring to *Etienne Dolet's* **La manière de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre** (1540), B. F. **Tytler's Essays on the Principles of Translation** (1790) and *Nida and Taber's* **The Theory and Practice of Translation** (1969), Raymond van den Broeck claims that the principles they advance for a good translation mean that "they more rightly deserve to be labelled translation **poetics**. Their statements mainly refer to translational **norms** i.e. socially shared opinions about desirable, favourable or at least tolerable translational behavior in historically determined situations" (his emphasis) (*van den Broeck, 1987, p. 136*). Undue pessimism in translation theory, though fashionable, is not, however, particularly helpful. Despite the numerous difficulties encountered, translations appear every minute on the planet and a certain amount of useful theorisation is possible.

A course on contrastive stylistics (CS) is offered to students of French, German and Spanish on the translation degree in Dublin City University. In this article, we will confide our remarks to the French course. As the title would suggest the approach to theory is explicitly rooted in a comparative approach to language, an examination of recurrent lexical and syntactic differences between English and French. It its conception the course owes much to the work of Jean-Paul Vinay, Jean Darbelnet, Michel Paillard, Hélène Chuquet and Jean Delisle. Authentic texts are used to illustrate principles both to clarify points and facilitate their recognition and retention by the student. The topics covered include the following: transposition, modulation, expansion, contraction, tense usage, passive/active shifts, word order, clause types, aspect, translation units, valency and collocation.

The course also examines questions of register, metaphorical and figurative language and the role of deixis and anaphora in English and French. The text linguistics of De Beaugrande and Dressler is considered with its stress on the function and style of a text, categorisation of readership and investigation of different kinds of contact. The tendency to simply consider sentences in isolation is discouraged by emphasising the organic structure of a text, what Delisle calls the "organicité textuelle" (*Delisle, 1980, p. 198*). It is important that students realize that one translates not only from one language to another but also from one text to another. However, Peter Newmark is right to point to the limitations of a text-bound approach to translation (*Newmark, 1987, pp. 66-71*). Words on the page is all there is after all. Ideology and situation, extra-textual circumstances have to be considered in translation but unlike words, they can often be a matter of conjecture.

There are three main advantages in having such a course on a translation degree. Firstly, there is a remedial function. Students are given a proper linguistic description of the languages with which they work. This knowledge is particularly important for MT and NL applications in the language industry. Secondly, students are alerted to syntactic and lexical contrasts between languages which reduces the dangers of SL interference when translating into the TL or vice-versa. *Wojnicki and Ulijn* have pointed out in "*Contrasting Structures in LSP Translation*" that even at high levels of linguistic proficiency, students are often hampered by a failure to recognize syntactic differences (*Wojnicki and Ulijn, 1987, pp. 110-116*). Thus, for example, more concise idiomatic translation can be achieved through appropriate substitution of relative clauses in translation from French to English or by the modulation of repetitive elements in the shift from the AL to TL. Similarly, it is possible to avoid translatorese or what Delisle calls "*la traduction anémique*" (*Delisle, 1980, p. 212*) through the awareness of the ability of metaphorical and metonymical modulations to retain the figurative

force of language.
The third benefit of CS lies in "linguistic revisionism" i.e. it demythologises the translation process. For students, translation can often be synonymous with a conjuring trick where they muddle around in outer darkness with gnashing of morphemes and non-restrictive clauses until the lecturer whisks the fair copy from his/her briefcase and the light tends not so much to clarify as to blind. CS foregrounds translation procedures and features of language which help to objectify the translation process. This has the additional effect of widening the range of possibilities open to the student, for example, transposition exercises often encourage the student to overcome an initial reluctance to change the grammatical categories of the source text in translation.

There are a number of difficulties with the CS approach. A restrictive version of CS based on linguistic relativism leads to somewhat dubious propositions about the psychology of different peoples. French as an "abstract" language is opposed to English as a "concrete" language. *De Buisseret* has strongly criticised the Vinay and Darbelnet distinction between the "*plan du réel*" and the "*plan de l'entendement*" which underpins this alleged opposition between the two languages in her **Deux langues, six idiomes** (*De Buisseret, 1975, p. 93, 94, 96, 98, 314, 409*). Sauvageot in his **Portrait du vocabulaire francais** contends that there is no valid linguistic basis for the abstract/concrete opposition posited by Vinay and Darbelnet (*Sauvageot, 1964, pp. 123-132*). Traditional CS exercises often neglect the importance of context. In the absence of context, however, translation becomes merely transcoding. In addition, the definition of key notions such as modulation and the translation unit is highly problematic. Modulation, in particular, if loosely employed can cover just about anything that happens in translation.

It is not the aim of CS to provide translation algorithms. In its narrowest definition, it is more akin to an a posteriori taxonomy of translation problems than an investigation of the cognitive process of translation. On the other hand, used in conjunction with the more recent insights of translation theory and with a proper attention to textual, contextual and extra-linguistic factors it does help students to a) improve the quality of translations b) give them a valuable linguistic and theoretical knowledge of their language pairs and c) make them more curious about the nature of the translation process.

Moving backwards in the history of philosophy, from Descartes's dissecting table to Aristotle's animate world, it is worth noting an observation of *Richard L. Gregory* in his **Mind in Science**. He claims that the Greek philosopher would not have supported the notion of Animism if autonomous power sources other than living organisms were in existence at the time, a claim based on Gregory's main thesis that "technological innovations typically come before conceptual bases by which they are understood; as understanding grows, principles can be described with increasing generalization to allow deeper analogies" (*Gregory, 1981, p. 43*). At a more mundane level, Bud Scott from the American Logos Corporation has argued that the United States has fallen behind Japan in the area of machine translation because the projects are technology rather than language driven. Linguists unlike engineers can never agree on how to do a MT job (*Joscelyne, 1989, p.28*). It is arguable that it is technological innovation in the area of machine translation which will lead to advances in translation theory, significantly altering the contents of translation theory courses on translation degrees. The Cartesian translation library of the next few decades may well lie in the heart of Tracy Kidder's new machines.

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HORSES FOR COURSES: QUESTIONS OF TRANSLATOR PROFILE

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Many discussions in Translation Studies in recent years have concentrated on text types, translation strategies, translation procedures and terminology. In this paper I wish to focus attention on the most important element in the translation process, namely the translator. It is, after all, the translator who takes decisions about strategy, procedures and terminology and who is responsible for producing an appropriate register and style in the target language (*Wilss 1990, p.26*). The theorists can devise the most comprehensive theoretical framework - their efforts will be in vain if an unsuitable translator is chosen for the job, for the result will be disappointing. Dissatisfied clients then conclude that translation is a waste of money and the profession as a whole suffers a further setback it its search for appropriate status and remuneration.

There is a widespread view, mostly outside the profession, that a translator should be able to tackle any translation job simply by virtue of being a translator. This kind of logic is not applied to other professions; for example, the term 'doctor' is applied to both an obstetrician and a dermatologist yet people would not dream of going to an obstetrician if they developed a rash. Our drive for professional status must include a discussion about translator profile and the need to match translator profile to translation job.

To illustrate the point, I have analysed a corpus of translated material, involving one text type and two languages between which a considerable cultural gap exists. The purpose of this investigation is twofold: firstly, to establish the elements of the ideal translator profile for this particular job, and secondly, to draw some conclusions about translator profile in general.

The analysis is based on 12 issues of **DDR Revue** and its English-language version **GDR Review** (August 1988 - July 1989). This is an official government publication which, during the period under review, attempted to present GDR society in its most positive light. It is therefore an informative/vocative text type, i.e. it aims to inform and persuade. The language pair (GDR-German and British-English) present particular difficulties in view of the different social systems in operation in the two linguistic communities at the time. It would, of course, be quite possibe to demonstrate the point by reference to a different text type. The advantage of an informative/vocative text lies in the fact that it requires a translation which will persuade and convince the TL reader and it therefore tests a translator's creative powers to the limit. It is also to be hoped that the following discussion will dispel any lingering doubts that so-called 'general' translation (i.e. **DDR Review/GDR Review**) is easier than so-called 'specialised' translation.

The first requirement of a translator for this job is that s/he can identify the text type and understands the overriding importance of its persuasive function. Secondly, the translator must be able to produce and sustain an appropriate register and style in English; in other words, s/he must be a native English speaker. Related to this is the requirement that s/he should have a basically sympathetic attitude to the GDR - or at least be willing to adopt one for the duration of the job, what Fritz Paepcke (1986, p.99) calls 'solidarity with the text', otherwise the persuasive function might fail to be conveyed. At the same time, the translator who identifies strongly with the SL text must resist the temptation to alter the original meaning, e.g. through amplification (*Nida 1976, p.59*).

Culture specific terms present the translator(s) of **DDR Revue** with a major problem, for they range from items with no equivalents in English to those which have a high degree of equivalence. This paper will concentrate on the handling of these terms as an indicator of the translation skills required and, thereby, of an appropriate translator file.

A daunting aspect of **DDR Revue** from a translator's point of view, is the very wide range of subjects covered. Besides the regular reports on social, economic and political aspects of GDR life and international affairs, there are interviews with prominent scientists and authors (including extracts from their works) as well as features on topics as diverse as new industrial processes, the arts, all kinds of sport (from women jockeys to Olympic skiers), ethnic minorities, the Churches and the twins club. The translator or, in this case more likely, the translating team would need to be extremely widely read in English. It is, of course, a basic requirement for every translator to read regularly, enthusiastically and widely in their native language. This presents a particular challenge in translator training where we need to achieve a balance between the specific skills required - in terminology, in questions of register, in technology and in the nuts and bolts of the profession - and the more general requirements such as intellectual curiosity, enthusiasm about language, and a love of reading. From the point of view of translating, the translator's first foreign language is his/her native language. In the case of **GDR Review**, for instance, the translator would need to be aware that *'The Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR'* is not an appropriate translation for *"Bund der Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR'* (April 1989, p.21). on two counts: firstly, because *'Council of Churches'* is the usual collocation in

English, prefixed in this instance with 'The GDR', and secondly, because the connotations of 'evangelical' do not corrspond to those of 'evangelisch'. Furthermore, the translator ought to be familiar with the standard, published titles of GDR novels in translation. Readers wishing to follow up the article on Stefan Heym's ***Der König David Bericht*** (June 1989, p.48) should be given the title of the published English translation ***The King David Report*** and not, as in ***GDR Review***, *'King David's Account'*.

As a result of the emphasis on contemporary events and issues in GDR Review the translator is frequently faced with neologisms. The successful translation of neologisms requires not just an English native speaker but one who is in close contact with an English-speaking community. In some instances 'close contact with an English-speaking community' can be defined as 'regular access to the quality British Press'. For example, the standard translation of '*das gemeinsame Haus Europa*' which appears in **GDR Review** variously as '*common European house*' (February 1989, p.19), '*joint European home*' March 1989, p.21) and '*common European home*' March 1989, p.19) could be checked by reference to English-language newspapers. The same probably applies to 'fun run', a more usual translation of '*die Volkssport-Wettbewerbe Meile*, 5 Kilometer...' (October 1989, p.21) than '*mass participation mile*'. However, a translator who took up residence in the SL culture 10 years ago and only returns for short visits is unlikely to be familiar with '*Dinosaur Park*' (der "Urtierzoo", February 1989, p.51) or '*conservation volunteers*' (ehrenamtliche Naturschutzhelfer', January 1989, p.3).

Prolonged absence from the TL community results is such "contaminated" translations as '*baby year*' (*Babyjahr*', October 1988, p.5) instead of '*12 months' maternity leave*', and the ubiquitous translation of '*Haus*' in the titles '*Haus der lehrer*', '*Haus der Kultur und Bildung*', '*Haus der Pioniere*' as '*House*' instead of '*Centre*'. As linguists we are aware of the process of interference which sets in after a certain period of residence in another culture. The particular circumstances pertaining in the GDR between August 1961 and November 1989 intensified this process with the result that linguistic interference from the SL culture is responsible for many of the translation errors in **GDR Review**. The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that translators engaged in this type of work should be principally resident in the TL community. The wide range of electronic aids which are becoming more and more available makes this an increasingly viable proposition. As *Sue Ellen Wright (1987, p.123)* of the American Translators Association has stated pithily: '"Made in Germany" may be a mark of quality on an automobile, but it is the kiss of death for an English text'. However, the opposite extreme is also to be avoided, i.e. The person who writes beautiful English but whose knowledge of German is faulty and who has never been to the GDR. In-depth knowledge of the SL and prolonged exposure to the SL culture are as essential as the TL requirements already mentioned. The GDR term for 'translator' - Sprachmittler (a kind of linguistic go-between or 'intermediary'), similar to Brislin's concept of 'mediating persons' (1976, p.35) - provides a good illustration of the two aspects of the translator's role.

Two reasons for residence in the TL community have already been discussed: the problem of SL interference and the need to be aware of developments in the TL. Another equally important one relates to the handling of culture-specific terms. Only an English native speaker, mainly resident in an English-speaking community, is in a position to decide on appropriate translation procedures for culture-specific terms for s/he will be aware of improbable collocations, possible connotations and unhelpful association in the TL.

For certain recurring categories of terms viable equivalents exist in English. These include terms relating to local and central government, to childcare as well as to aspects of industrial and commercial life in the GDR. The translation of educational terms is a universal problem and not specific to **GDR Review**, although it is unlikely that an English native speaker resident, for example, in Britain would have produced 'rector of the Technical College of Applied Arts' as a translation for '*Rektor der Fachschule fur angewandte Kunst*' (March 1989, p.32) instead of '*Director of the College of Art and Design*'.

A TL native speaker translator should have little difficulty in handling terms which have viable cultural equivalents. A much stiffer test is posed by terms which have a low degree of equivalence in English or none at all. Here the translators of **GDR Review** appear to operate on the principle 'when in doubt translate literally', i.e. word-for-word translation is the preferred procedure in the majority of cases. While this works quite well in a few instances, e.g. '*democratic land reform*' ('*die demokratische Bodenreform*', September 1988, p.9), it produces improbable collocations in others such as '*factory-based vocational guidance cabinets*' (*Berufsberatungskabinets von Betrieben*', February 1989, p.30), instead of '*career guidence units*'.Some word-for-word translations tend to obscure rather than convey meaning. A '*Kommunalvertrag*' (September 1988, p.18) denotes a contract agreed between industry and the local community to aid the restoration of old buildings, or the construction of community facilities. The translation '*communal agreement*' simply does not convey this meaning. Word-for-word translations frequently produce undesirable connotations. A '*Schiedskommission*' is a lay tribunal which carries out some of the functions of a small claims court but also deals with problems of petty crime, truancy and absenteeism from work. The translation '*arbitration commission*' (December 1988, p.33) is inappropriate, firstly because 'arbitration' is used almost exclusively in the field of industrial relations, and secondly because *'commission'* does not in this instance equate with *'Kommission'*. *Solidarität'* causes problems since *'solidarity'* is used in English either in connection with industrial disputes or with political movements overseas. 'The People's *Solidarity Organisation'* (September 1988, p.19), therefore, suggests an organisation devoted, for example, to the Third World rather than, as in the case in the GDR, to community service. Similarly, the article dealing with flooding on the Oderbruch region of the GDR and which is entitled *'Solidarity with the people of the Oderbruch'* (September 1988, p.4) should read simply *'Help for the people of the Oderbruch'*.

'Residential District Committee' (November 1988, p.37) has overtones of middle-class suburbia which do not correspond to the connotations of *'Wohnbezirkausschuss'*, a *'Wohnbezirk'* being the smallest unit of municipal organisation, similar to the English 'ward'. Word-for-word translation becomes particularly problematical when the translator fails to recognize *'faux amis'* and writes about *'evergreens'* (January 1989, p.62) when s/he means pieces of music which have maintained their popularity over a long period, i.e. *'golden oldies'* or *'old favourites'*.

Such examples illustrate not only the inappropriateness of the word-for-word translation procedure for this type of text but they underscore the need for the translator to be both aware of and sensitive to the problems of collocation, connotation and readership reaction. Only if the choice of translation procedures is informed by this degree of sensitivity are they likely to be successful.

One procedure which the translators of **GDR Review** use to great effect for the handling of culture-specific terms is what Newmark (1988) calls a 'translation couplet' i.e. the combination of two procedures, in this instance transference and explanation: *'Dresden's "Kulturpalast" Civic Centre'* (January 1989, p.62) for *'der Dresdener Kulturpalast'*; 'the *"Jugendtourist" youth travel agency'* (May 1989, p.41) for *'Jugendtourist'*. This procedure conveys meaning succinctly while retaining a key term, a very useful means of dealing with culture-specific terms. In the absence of cultural equivalents the translators of GDR Review would otherwise have to resort to Newmark's functional equivalents.

The expectation of the readership are an important consideration in any translation job. Nowhere does this apply more than in a text which aims to inform and persuade. Here, the translator must be able to anticipate the reactions of the readership and shape his/her translation accordingly. For example, the terms *'nationalised industries'* and *'nationalisation'* have taken on very negative connotations in Britain during the past ten years, so much so that the Labour Party has replaced them in its literature with *'social ownership'*. The translator should bear this in mind when handling *'volkseigener Betrieb'/'VEB'*.

In the case of **GDR Review**, as in other vocative texts such as the Bible, the question of readership is a difficult one, as it includes people who are very knowledgeable about the GDR as well as the casual reader who may know very little about the subject. Clearly, the translator must take this range of knowledge into account and ensure both attention to detail for the well-informed reader and clarity for the less well-informed.

In conclusion, the ideal translator profile for this informative/vocative type of text would contain a number of elements which can be classified as follows:

I. GENERAL

i) a high degree of fluency in the SL (German)
ii) the ability to understand the contents of the text, recognise the text type and identify its function
iii) respect for the contents of the text
iv) respect for the requirement of the commissioner
v) the ability to produce and sustain an appropriate register in the TL (i.e. English)
vi) a love of reading

II. IN RELATION TO THE SL TEXT

i) extensive knowledge of the specific SL community and its linguistic characteristics (in this instance: the GDR and GDR-German)
ii) a period of residence in the SL community (i.e. GDR)
iii) a sympathetic attitude to the SL community (i.e. GDR)

III. IN RELATION TO THE TL TEXT

i) a native TL speaker
ii) mainly resident in the TL community
iii) sensitivity to problems of collocation, connotation and association in the TL
iv) knowledge of readership expectations and norms.

This type of classification could serve as a basis for determining translator profile in general. The elements in the first category are probably universal but requirements relating to the SL and TL will vary according to the type of translation job in hand and the needs of the person commissioning the translation. For instance, it may not always be necessary for a translator to be a native TL speaker; the translator's attitude to the contents of the text will not be as crucial in every instance as it is here. These categories might also form a useful starting point for a discussion of the core and variable elements in a translator-training programme.

I hope, therefore, to have shown that different translation jobs require different translator profiles. Failure to recognize this, both inside and outside the profession, will have serious consequences for the future of the translator and of translation itself. To return to the equestrian metaphor: a donkey is quite adequate for the beach but the requirements for the steeplechase, the point-to-point and the show ring are entirely different.

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CURRENT TRENDS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TESTING IN THE UNITED STATES

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It was in the United States that foreign language testing was initiated as a discrete activity. Its beginings as such, can be dated to the 1920s, when several books and many articles on testing grew out of the Modern Foreign Language Study of that decade. For the first time testing began to be seen as a field in its own right, and not merely as an appendage of foreign language teaching. Those practising the measurement of foreign language attainment in the late 1920s attempted to carry out their business within a very objective and scientific methodology, and this strong psychometric element has ever since been an important part of the United States language testing tradition.

The testing wave associated with the expansion of foreign language study in the 1920s subsided with the depression of the 1930s, and it was not until the Second World War that interest was renewed in language teaching and testing. The War created a demand for personnel able to function in a foreign language environment. To this end, the U.S. military, operating through the Army Specialized Training Program, set up a large number of courses. Dozens of languages were taught, to a student body numbering in the thousands. While there was never an official Army methodology in either teaching or testing, some of these courses gave rise to innovative testing approaches. Many were literally survival tests, aiming to test how well a soldier might survive in the foreign language and culture. The articulation of the view that a language test should forecast "readiness to perform in a life-situation" (*Kaulfers 1944*) marks the beginning of one of the great strands of the United States foreign language tradition. This goal in testing has ever since typified the practice of the United States governmental bodies. Born in the wartime Army programmes, and subsequently maturing in the U.S. Foreign Service in the 1950s and 1960s, the interest in functional language use is still very much in evidence today.

Though testing at U.S. government agencies concentrated on the measurement of overall ability to operate in a foreign language environment, testing within academe at the same period moved in a very different direction. The discrete-point and contrastive analysis framework, in theory at least, dominated formal approaches to academic language testing in the 1960s (*Lado 1964*). The 1970s was a crucial time in the evolution of language testing theory, with the publication of a large number of studies on test formats such as the cloze and dictation, and the theoretical contributions of people like John Oller. Oller and other researchers for the first time began to see themselves as forming a cadre that shared not just an activity but an academic discipline, one whose foundations were built on linguistic theory and buttressed by the incorporation of a new awareness of techniques of statistical analysis. Language testing finally came of age in the 1970s.

The great theoretical debates in foreign language testing of the 1970s centred around the testing of English as a Second Language, with foreign languages occupying but a peripheral place. This changed in 1981, when the American Council of the Teaching of Foreign Languages and the Educational Testing Service collaborated in the creation of a new scale for the measurement of language proficiency. This new scale was in large degree built upon the tradition of the Oral Interview used at the Foreign Service Institute in Washington. The ACTFL/ETS scale was published in 1982 and a reworked version published in 1986.

In many ways, the ACTFL/ETS "proficiency" concept dominated the decades of the 1980s. Hundreds of persons were certified to administer the oral proficiency test, and in countless workshops and seminars many more acquired an informal familiarity with the ACTFL/ETS procedure. The scales were incorporated into teacher certification programmes (*Hiple and Manley 1987*) and were used by universities as a means of defining entry and exit requirements to their foreign language programme (*Freed 1987*). In many states the proficiency movement had a significant impact on curricula and testing at the high school level, course goals being expounded in terms of points on the ACTFL/ETS scale (*Gutieriez 1988*). Some writers saw the possibility that the Oral Proficiency Interview might serve as a national proficiency examination (*Magnan 1988*). The venerable New York State foreign language Regents Examination, a test broadly comparable to the Irish Leaving Certificate examination level, was redesigned to reflect the proficiency orientation. The Federal Government and individual state education authorities proved especially fond of using the ACTFL/ETS scale in defining curricular goals and measuring outcomes.

At present there is considerable division within the United States on the status that should accrue to "proficiency" testing. There is unease in many quarters at the lack of a sound empirical base for the assertions and assumptions of the proficiency movement, as well as dissatisfaction with the haphazard way in which these notions have been disseminated throughout the profession (*Gaudiani 1987*). Proponents of the ACTFL test have perhaps fallen into the old pitfall of too quickly believing that a test measures what it claims to measure. Premature claims were made for the scale, it was thrust upon the foreign language community without proper explanatory and background information, and it rests on a very tenuous empirical base. Rather than institute its own programme of research on proficiency testing, ACTFL has preferred to hitch its test to the Foreign Service Institute star, despite the very narrow use for which the FSI interview is intended.

The ACTFL/ETS procedure has thus been subjected to attack on a variety of fronts. It has been pointed out that the concept of the "educated native speaker" as norm was incorporated from the Foreign Service Institute although it is by no means clear that such a construct has validity in the teaching and testing of students who have very different needs to those of Foreign Service officers. There is no evidence that the ACTFL scale really reflects the behaviour of native speakers, either in exhibiting proficiency or in evaluating it (*Barnwell 1989*). Several commentators (*Bachman 1988, Magnan 1987*) warn that the validity of ACTFL/ETS oral proficiency scores might not stand up to legal challenge, very relevant if such scores were to be used in hiring or promotion decisions.

Generally proponents of the scale have been quite introverted in the way their discussion focuses on the U.S. high school and university and ignores global language perspectives. ACTFL has tended to ignore the whole question of the assessment of the (semi-) bilingual speaker, an extraordinary omission in a nation that has a great diversity and richness of such speakers.

ACTFL has sought to control through certification those who are to administer and rate oral proficiency interviews, and has insisted on a long training period for prospective interviewer/raters. ACTFL justifies this lengthy process by claiming that the OPI instrument is a difficult one to use, and that care must be taken that the application of the scale in rating standards be uniform. The training of oral interviewers and the presentation of parallel workshops and seminars provide an important source of revenues for ACTFL. However, there is really no evidence that ACTFL's claims about the amount or kind of training needed to rate foreigners' speech are true. Indeed, studies with variations of the Foreign Service Interview have shown that a long training period is not necessary for the making of reliable judgements on proficiency-type interviews (*Frith 1979, Shohamy 1983*). ACTFL does not specify any elicitation mechanism for the other language modalities, though additional separate scales exist for listening, reading and writing. This is something of an anomaly, given the great stress that ACTFL has placed on the training and certification of oral interviewers. The listening and reading scales have themselves been subjected to critique. *Valdes et al. (1988)* report a study which seems to show that real-life learners do not follow the ACTFL scale's progression in listening comprehension. *Lee and Musumeci (1988)* have shown that the reading levels do not exist as separate hierarchical entities. Even a prominent spokesperson of the proficiency movement (*Phillips*

1988) admits that some students do not necessarily go through the hierarchical stages posited for reading.

Nevertheless, despite its deficiencies the ACTFL/ETS scale has proven the stimulus for useful work in testing. Some researchers working within the ACTFL model have wrestled with the difficulties posed in measuring the proficiency of speakers of languages that are remote from the west European core (*Stransfield and Harman 1988*). It has been found that, when testing departs from the traditional European languages, interesting problems of elicitation and appropriateness are encountered. The entire formal interview setting, and especially the elicitation mechanism of the role play, can evoke very different reactions from those of other cultures. In order to do well on the ACTFL/ETS test, at times it seems that a speaker needs to break some of the cultural or sociolinguistic rules of a language, even while apparently performing at a high linguistic level in that language. Another question relates to code-switching. Speakers of Hindhi, for instance, actually use English in professional and formal domains, Hindhi being used in informal and social settings. Hence the educated native speaker of Hindhi rarely gets the opportunity to operate at what ACTFL would call the professional levels of proficiency. To be a proficient speaker of Hindhi one needs to know when not to use Hindhi. This is hard to test. The case of Arabic also provides some interesting insights, related to the treatment of diglossia. Rather than accept the breaking of the mosaic of Arabic into a dozen or more regional dialects, those working on proficiency guidelines in that language have set up the scale to reflect Modern Standard Arabic. Ironically, this causes them to diverge from the native speaker and create an artificial norm, since the kinds of functions and contexts specified at the lower end of the ACTFL/ETS scale are ones for which MSA would never be used.

The position of Irish in Ireland is obviously quite different to that of Hindhi or Arabic in the U.S. yet those considering the testing of Irish might do well to be aware of the research carried out on the so-called "uncommonly taught" languages in the U.S. For instance, are there any theoretical implications for testing in the fact that few if any monolingual speakers of Irish survive? Could a scale such as ACTFL's, which describes proficiency in terms such as "Survival Proficiency" or "Professional Proficiency", be applicable in a setting in which we all know that Irish is rarely if ever required for such functions? Does the notion of "educated native speaker" have validity at a time when all-Irish education is in practice unattainable at the university level? We have many "educated native speakers" of Irish, but a decreasing number of them received all their education in that language. In this light, would it make sense to use the same scale for rating proficiency in say French, as for rating proficiency in Irish? And if not, how should the Irish scale differ from that employed in French, German or

Spanish? How could the unique cultural worth of Irish to Irish people be built into a testing scheme?

Returning to the American experience, it can be conceded that one good thing about the ACTFL/ETS proficiency scale is that it fostered interest in measuring advanced levels of foreign language attainment; its predecessors in the discrete-point tradition had focused excessively on beginners. The new interest in the higher reaches of proficiency has opened up some interesting fields for speculation. For instance, it may be that the invocation of the native speaker as the paragon towards which foreigners should strive is more complicated that might first appear. We possess few systematic studies of how societies react to the foreign speaker who effortlessly uses certain types of idiomatic language, for example, of very informal registers of speech. Instead of being admired for dominating such modes of expression, it may be that the foreigner somehow breaks a taboo by becoming too proficient. Natives have two sets of expectation, one for their fellows and one for non-natives. People, in some cultures at least, may react most positively to the speech of foreigners whose proficiency is not uncomfortably high. Hence rater behaviour when faced with the higher levels of proficiency can be less predictable than is assumed by an easy acceptance of the native speaker as the ideal to emulate. Standardized proficiency scaling presupposes what *Nichols (1988, p.15)* calls "uniform, incremental, and monotonic increases in the ability to speak a language". Such a model may not correspond to the sociolinguistic reality of communication. In short, a scale such as ACTFL's may be simplistic in viewing language proficency as a continuum which curves unexplorably upward. Rather than cleaving to the "Educated Native Speaker" norm, perhaps we should direct our attention to creating some kind of alternative model of abstraction to emulate - the good foreign language speaker, perhaps, or some such term.

ACTFL/ETS notions of testing "proficiency" have in practice had little influence outside foreign language education. The testing of English as a Second/Foreign Language has proceeded with little input from foreign language, and still focuses to a large degree on traditional tests such as TOEFL and the Michigan test. These tests, however, have been revised in recent years towards a more integrative format, with less emphasis on discrete points and multiple-choice.

On the theoretical level, interest in the use of the cloze format has continued, even though the cloze could scarcely be considered to respond to the " communicative" spirit of the age in language teaching. There is, however, little evidence of progress in building on the other testing format initially supported by John Oller in the 1970s, that of dictation and other "reduced redundancy" tests. Other integrative formats such as translation have for long been unpopular in the

United States, and remain out in the cold. One area which is recently reappearing as a focus for research is that of language aptitude testing. Little progress had been made in the science since the 1960s, but there now appears to be renewed interest (*Parry and Stansfield 1990*).

CONCLUSION

Language testing has become one of the most international areas of activity in applied linguistics. It is rather striking that, in spite of the large numbers of American practitioners of the art, the only journal specifically devoted to the topic is published in England. There is no longer a single figure who dominates United States language testing in the way that Robert Lado did in the 60s and John Oller did in the 70s. The debate Oller stimulated in the 1970s and early 1980s are no longer heated, and indeed Oller himself has admitted (1983) that he was in error in hypothesizing a "unitary factor" of language proficiency.

A focus that is solely on the theoretical can easily blind us to what is really going on in the classroom. As early as the 1920s researchers realized that the great majority of teachers worked oblivious of the debates in the professional journals - theory and practice were quite divorced. During the heyday of Audiolingualism's discrete-point and contrastive analysis tenets, it is certain that many classroom teachers were still committing the heresy of using compositions, translations and dictations. Decades later, with communicative goals apparently at their apogee, it is evident that many teachers are using non-communicative tests. No one has sought to find out what actually goes on in the classroom, and hence any discussion of testing that is based on the scholarly journals or proceedings at professional conferences is quite incomplete. A proper survey of testing would have to find out what teachers are actually doing in the classroom, what kinds of tests they were using and how they were grading them. To date no such survey has been carried out. Even the many studies to observe foreign language teachers at work in the classroom have ignored how teachers assessed learning outcomes. This is a great pity, since most tests are ephemeral, having a life-history no longer that the time it takes a teacher to clear the blackboard, clean off his desk, or simply reach the end of a conversation with a student.

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Review of **Bruce E. Murdoch (ed.) Acquired Neurological Speech/ Language Disorders in Childhood.** Taylor Francis, 1990 347 pp.

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Acquired Neurological Speech/Language Disorders in Childhood is a recent addition to the already popular 'Brain Damage, Behaviour and Cognition' series. There is little doubt, (as the series editor[illegible] out in the preface), that neuro-psychology is rapidly developing [illegible] area of central concern for a range of disciplines'; this book goes a long way to convince the reader that this is so, especially with regard to the subject of Speech and Language Pathology.

The book (comprising a variety of papers written by speech therapists, doctoral students and lecturers in Audiology and Speech Pathology), attempts a detailed coverage of those acquired speech/language disorders that may result from, or are associated with, various forms of injury to the developing Central Nervous System in Childhood. Along with discussions of the better known acquired neurological speech/language disorders in childhood (e.g. childhood aphasia/ dysarthria/dyspraxia) resulting from cerebral damage (e.g. closed head injuries, cerebrorascular accidents, tumours), communicative impairments associated with less familiar conditions are examined. These include speech/language problems associated with inborn metabolic disturbance, infectious diseases and neural tube disorders (e.g. spina bifida). A discussion of the effects of certain prophylactic drugs (used in the treatment of childhood cancer) on a child's speech and language functioning, adds yet a further dimension to the notion of 'acquired' speech and language disorders in children.

The introductory two papers are devoted to Acquired Childhood Aphasia. The first looks at the neuropathology, linguistic characteristics and prognostic factors of the condition (*Anne E. Ozanne* and *Bruce Murdoch*), while the second deals with assessment and treatment procedures, (*Jill Cross* and *Anne Ozanne*). Cross and Ozanne provide a comprehensive overview of many up-to-date standardised and non-standardised procedures that may be employed in evaluating the aphasic child's level of linguistic functioning. They advocate an essentially holistic approach to assessment and this theme is carried through to a discussion of treatment issues. All areas of linguistic functioning are considered, including the highly fashionable area of pragmatics; treatment suggestions reflect this, as the authors recommend for example, the introduction of creative dramatics and humour as part of group therapy programmes. Furthermore, the innovative assessment and treatment options outlined in this paper could effectively be applied to other areas of child language dysfunction. Though the authors admit that the procedures described have not been fully researched, it is apparent that such ideas are a valuable by-product of 'years of clinical experience in a rehabilitation setting' (p.66).

Faye Jordan's paper on *'Speech and Language Disorders following Childhood Closed Head Injury'* emphasizes the need for long-term follow-up review on children who suffer these injuries; such children are prone to high-level language deficits which may only become apparent when advanced academic demands are placed upon them. Jordon questions the previously held belief that young children often make a 'complete' recovery from such cerebral damage. Similarly, a certain vigilence towards comprehensive evaluations of children with infectious diseases is recommended by Veronica Smyth and her colleagues in *'Communicative Disorders in Childhood Infectious Diseases'*.
This paper encourages:

> 'the need for clinical surveillance well beyond the normal medical regimen in order to detect residual dificits which range from hearing impairment to subtle cognitive dysfunction and possible speech/language disturbances' (p.174).

Similar sentiments are echoed in Murdoch and Ozanne's paper on *'Linguistic Status following Acute Cerebral Anoxia'* where they warn that any child who may have experienced a type of anoxic episode is at risk for developing speech and language problems. Defining the 'linguistic status' of such children however proves a difficult task as a paucity of research in the area prevents making any generalisation, as to the exact nature of the linguistic difficulties these children may encounter.

When the speech and language functioning of children who suffer inborn metabolic disorders (e.g. phenylketonuria, galactosaemia, Wilson's disease) come under discussion by *Ozanne, Murdoch* and *Krimmer*, a lack of research in the area again prohibits any detailed description of the types of communicative impairments present, other than being described as part of the concomitant depressed intellectual functioning. However, though close monitoring of children with metabolic disorders, by the speech/language therapist is advised as essentially routine, the suggestion of each child needing assessment and treatment on an individual basis is unnecessary as surely this is taken as 'given' in dealing with any speech/language impaired population, at least as far as assessment is concerned.

That communicative impairments are also associated with Neural Tube Disorders and Childhood Brain Tumours, is discussed in papers by *Murdoch, Ozanne* and *Smith* and *Lisa Hudson* respectively. These papers are heavily weighted with medical/anatomical/chemical terminology which may be off-putting for the less medically oriented reader (in fact the same comment could apply to some of the other contributions in the book). Though both papers set out with the intention of looking at associated speech and language difficulties per se, the main discursive component of each paper is taken up with detailed expositions of both conditions (i.e. varying forms of spina bifida, and the nature of posterier fossa tumours), leaving discussions of speech/language issues being considered only in brief.

The penultimate paper in the book (*Hudson, Buttersworth* and *Murdoch*) looks at the effects of radio- and chemotherapy, in the treatment of childhood cancers, on speech/language functioning. Again, the reader is exposed to in-depth descriptions of what both therapies involve coupled with a three page listing of 'agents commonly used in protocols for the treatment of childhood cancer'. Aside from stating that radiotherapy and/or chemotherapy can have negative effects on cognitive and speech and language functions, no further details are given to delineate the possible form of such difficulties. The final paper however is devoted specifically to the motor speech disorders of acquired dysarthria and dyspraxia. The authors, Murdoch, Ozanne and Cross offer an extensive account of the varying types of acquired dysarthrias, (hypokinetic, hyperkinetic, ataxic etc), the nature of acquired dyspraxia along with an informative section on assessment and treatment of such motor speech disorders. The paper concludes with two, in depth case reports, thus serving to set the content of the paper into a realistic and practical framework.

Despite the reservations already alluded to, this book certainly makes for a stimulating read, particularly from a speech/language therapist's viewpoint. It is clear, and it certainly comes through from the text, that the area of acquired neurological speech/language disorders is poorly researched. Consequently it is difficult to detect common patterns of disorder across various neurological conditions and even more difficult to delineate the true nature of such communicative impairments. However, despite this, assessment and treatment procedures, (though often borrowed from work on adult aphasia) are showing innovative and exciting new directions, encompassing many aspects of language function, with particular emphasis on the functional and pragmatic approaches to intervention. In addition, the wide range of neurological conditions that may have associated speech/language difficulties, urges the speech/language therapist to keep a vigilant watch over any child who may present with, or who may have had a history of CNS damage, however minor.

'Acquired Neurological Speech and Language Disorders in Childhood' would be an extremely welcome and essential text and/or reference book to any course dealing with childhood communication disorders. In addition not only speech/language therapists, but also clinicians and researchers in psychology and medicine and other related fields would find the contributions, that make up this book, to be fundamental to any future research in this fascinating area of speech and language pathology.

Review of **Devitt, S. (1989), Classroom Discourse: Its Nature and its Potential for Language Learning,** CLCS Occasional Paper No. 21, CLCS, Trinity College Dublin, 72 pp.; **Cook, V.J. (1989), The Relevance of Grammar in the Applied Linguistics of Language Teaching,** CLCS Occational Paper No. 22, CLCS, Trinity College Dublin, 43pp.; **De Vriendt, S. and Van de Craen, P. (1990), Bilingualism in Belgium: A History and Appraisal,** CLCS Occasional Paper No. 23, CLCS, Trinity College Dublin, 52pp.

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These three papers represent a good spread across the field of applied linguistics. Cook's is addressed specifically to the link between linguistic theory and the applied linguistics of language teaching, while Devitt starts from the insights of discourse analysis to suggest improved methods by which to bring about language learning in the classroom. Through the approach of de Vriendt and Van de Caen is largely historical and descriptive, the material which they present is essential in the process of language planning, an activity which may itself be seen as a branch of applied sociolinguistics (cf. Eastman 1983).

Cook's paper updates the encounter between linguistic theory and language teaching. Cook begins by reviewing the growth of grammatical theories in the 1980s, pointing out that approaches such as **Government and Binding** (*Chomsky 1988*), **Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar** (*Gazdar et al. 1985*), and **Lexical Functional Grammar** (*Kaplan and Bresnan 1982*) have gone well beyond the early insights of Transformational Grammar (TG) and its immediate descendants to provide the basis for a considerable amount of psycholinguistic research into first language acquisition (see also *Sells 1985* and *Horrocks 1987* for general theoretical reviews). Cook's use of Chomsky's distinction between 'E-language' (external) and 'I-language' (internal) approaches to grammar runs as a crucial theme throughout the work: as Cook (p. 3) characterises it,

> An I-language approach concentrates on the knowledge of language stored in the mind of the individual ...; an I-language grammar tries to mirror this mental reality. An E-language approach on the other hand studies a collection of data separate from the speaker's mind; an E-language grammar describes the regularities and patterns found in the collection.

Despite the heuristic value of distinguishing between approaches in this way, and despite the continued development of theories which offer insight into the nature of linguistic knowledge, Cook points out that most language teaching materials and recent research on second language learning appears to 'have concentrated on the E-language perspectives' (p. 4).

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Following from this point, then, Cook divides the field of second language teaching materials into two broad approcahes: *'Structuralist Applied Grammar'* (SAG), which emphasises 'structures' as seen, for example, in substitution tables, and focuses on the sequential nature of syntax, and *'Descriptive Applied Grammar'* (DAG), which is based on descriptive grammars that attempt to catalogue the permissable sentence types and constructions of a language on the assumption that 'the learner can convert consciously acquired and understood grammatical rules into grammatical competence' (*Cook, p. 17*).

Not surprisingly, however, Cook finds both SAG and DAG approaches wanting, and devotes the remainder of this paper to a demonstration of ways in which the universalistic and knowledge-based approaches of recent syntactic theory may be applied in language teaching. Cook concentrates on the importance of implicational universals and on the role of universal grammar in linguistic theory. The former appear to condition the possibilities of learner's interlanguage, while the latter allow for comparison across languages in a particularly insightful way. In considering both implicational universals, with their orientation towards E-language characteristics, and universal grammar (strictly an I-language approach), an overall re-analysis of L2 learning arises, in which the learner's L1 capability is seen not as the source of interference nor as the basis of 'structural' comparison, but as a point of departure for generalising about language so as to mover from one set of language-specific principles to another. In a final statement, Cook argues (p.35) that

> applied linguists will have to look seriously at the advantages of contemporary models of grammar, ... rather than go back to the grammatical solutions of earlier generations ... Why should applied linguists take seriously versions of grammar that fail to encompass developments in the study of grammar since the 1950s — versions that are at least as far removed from contemporary views as the alchemists from modern chemistry?

Happily, Cook's critique does not apply to Devitt's paper, concerned as it is with the substance of communication in language teaching over and above the traditional preoccupation with linguistic form. This work may be divided into three parts: the analysis of what Devitt terms 'frameworks of knowledge,' both in the classroom and in general, a critique of language learning classrooms with particular emphasis on the 'communicative' approach, and some practical suggestions for overcoming the deficits which Devitt identifies in these classroom situations.

For Devitt, three types of knowledge are seen to underlie 'linguistic

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communication': (1) 'knowledge of the world,' (2) knowledge of the 'vertical structure of discourse,' and (3) knowledge of the 'horizontal structure' of discourse, i.e., of 'how words are combined correctly within and across individual utterances' (p. 3). Types (1) and (3) are fairly unproblematical: the thrust of Devitt's argument is that 'vertical structure,' which enables us to get messages across by the temporally sequenced juxtaposition of elements without necessarily fulfilling the conditions of well-formedness at sentence level, is neglected in estimating what language learners can actually do. Devitt suggests (p. 7) that 'second language learners are capable of understanding and even creating meaningful texts in the target language, even though they possess only minimal knowledge of the linguistic system, precisely because they possess' knowledge types (1) and (2) already. The force of this argument is demonstrated with several concrete examples of text-generation using variable levels of 'horizontal' organisational skills.

Turning to classroom discourse, Devitt illustrates a distinction between 'content' classes such as History and Geography, and the language class wherein emphasis is still largely on form and considerations of real-world communicative function largely peripheral. It would appear that many language classrooms, though adhering in principle to an approach which is 'communicative,' in fact fall short of their stated goals. This shortcoming, says Devitt, may be due to 'misinterpretation of principles,' 'problems in the principles themselves,' difficulties in putting communicative principles into practice, and the lack of 'pedagogical coherence' in the choice of topics in language lessons.

As a way out of these difficulties, Devitt concludes by proposing (p 49) that 'language should be taught through the teaching of other subjects,' especially aspects of history and culture which are 'necessary for an understanding of the people' in the target language community, and which 'already form part of the learner's history programme' (p. 50). Authentic texts could be used to great advantage, and the 'content' rather than 'form' made of discourse would naturally predominate in the classroom.

While Cook and Devitt both make proposals for practical application, De Vriendt and Van de Craen remain steadfastly detached, presenting a factual account of bilingualism between Dutch and French in Belgium from the Middle Ages to today. The complexity of Belgian demographics and language policy presents an ideal case study for the dynamics of language policy, yet standard works often contain only brief discussions (*see Eastman 1983, p. 31; Fasold 1984, p. 11*, and passing discussions in *Batens Beardsmore 1982*). The authors thus assure us (p. 2) that 'surprisingly enough, there has never been an in-depth study of' the 'history and evolution' of bilingualism in Belgium. The paper then traces the development of modern Belgium through three major periods: the years prior to the establishment of the Belgian kingdom in 1830, a middle period from 1830 to 1945, and contemporary times following 1945. The approach used combines historical and anecdotal material for the earlier period with quantified survey data in recent years: domains of language use considered include home and the family, civil service and administration, education, and language attitudes.

Cook's emphasis on the role of parameters and implicational universals in the learning process and Devitt's on the use of vertical structure as opposed to horizontal form are clearly applicable to a variety of fields in applied linguistics. I have, for example, already used some of Devitt's comments in lectures on clinical linguistics. Cook's comments on the need to use current linguistic theory take up the early challenge issued by *Crystal, Fletcher*, and *Garman (1976)*, who observed (pp. 36-37) that 'if the inquirer after syntactic truth seeks to avoid the theoretical disputes of the early TG models by turning to the more recent work, there is no solace: controversy and change abound still ... with few frameworks of any descriptive range and depth of detail emerging.' If this 'controversy and change' characterised syntax in the 1970s, how much more so in the 1990s — yet Cook has argued persuasively that it is just this controversy that provides the applied linguist with the tools for real insight into the language learning and teaching process. (Cf. *Spencer 1988* for similar arguments in phonology.)

Disappointments with any of these works may in part be related to their necessarily limited scope. Cook, for example, could be criticised for not going further in demonstrating the consequences of applying contemporary theory to language teaching: The few hypothetical examples of what **could** be involved would not satisfy the language teacher looking for practical suggestions or expirically-tested teaching programmes. Though Devitt's theoretical framework is insightful and critical, his ultimate suggestions concerning the use of cultural and historical material are somewhat anticlimactic, as they could be interpreted simply to suggest a return to traditional 'civilisation' materials. Identifying a target language speech community may also be problematical: considering French, what community is the cultural focus? Paris? Brittany? Quebec? West Africa? The Caribbean? Different students may have different answers. For De Vriendt and Van de Craen, more depth would be needed to examine issues such as language and the media, the role of diglossia throughout the historical period considered, and details of the political and legal instruments which have shaped Belgian language policy and attitudes.

The papers are generally well produced, with typographical errors too few to mention. The printing and reproducing of the current CLCS papers are not as clear as with some of the older papers; new technology will hopefully bring in a better typeface.

Turning to editorial matters, finally, I would note just a few small problems. Devitt's language classroom transcripts would be more informative if glossed for those who do not know the respective languages, which the Appendix, presented in a highly schematic form, is difficult to extract useful information from. De Vriendt and Van de Craen would have benefited greatly from the inclusion of a map or two, and some Tables could be improved. Tables 7 and 9, for example, give figures for the number of Dutch-medium schools in Brussels, but these figures are difficult to evaluate without comparable figures for French (or other) schools. Table 8, one presumes, shows percentages of speakers in various categories, rather than the 'numbers' referred to in the text, but does not indicate the size of the communities attached to these proportions: the geographical dimension and the dynamics of diffusion are, in general, rather neglected.

Despite any such problems, the papers considered here reflect well on the series as a whole, and contain many valuable and provocative arguments and findings. They will be useful to a wide audience.

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Review of **Mary Snell-Hornby** and **Esther Pöhl**, eds, **Translation and Lexicography: Papers read at the EURALEX Colloquium held at Innsbruck 2 - 5 July 1987**, Kirksville, Missouri: John Benjamins, Paintbrush and EURALEX, 1989. Pp. 238. $60.

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Translation and Lexicography contains 19 of the 21 papers read at the 1987 Colloquium of the same title, organized in co-operation with the Institute of Translating and Interpreting at the University of Innsbruck. The Colloquium had been prompted by "the current deficit in suitable dictionaries for professional and trainee translators" and 'the observation made at lexicographic conferences that dictionary makers seem unaware that translators have any special needs at all" (p. 5). The main focus was actually on "the reference needs of the professional and trainee-translator, mainly with German as the target language" (p. 225). In fact seven of the published contributions are in German. The proceedings concluded with a lively and insightful closing symposium on "Translation and the Lexicogapher".

The papers are of a high standard, reflecting their authors' continuous professional interaction with lexicogaphical works. Perhaps inevitably, however, the overall impression conveyed is a negative one as many shortcomings of bilingual and monolingual dictionaries are discussed. Time and again, attention is drawn to the inability of particular dictionaries to rise to the occasion and help the hard-pressed translator by supplying the equivalent of a neologism, a slang word, a technical term, a phrase, a collocation, or other requisite cultural information, including gesticulation (cf. the paper by **Renate Rathmayr**). Internal inconsistencies are pointed out, as is the inertia which allows dated usage to be presented as current, and which permits information proper to a monolingual work to be carried over and hog precious space in a bilingual one. But, in fairness to the translators, they do repeatedly affirm their awareness that the task of the lexicographer is to encapsulate the general lexicon, while that of the translator is to render a particular text from one language into another. At any rate, it must be self-evident that the advance of computerisation should greatly facilitate dictionary making, both as regards corpus control and handling consistency, thus eliminating many of the inherited handicaps.

On the other hand, it has to be said that the variety of characteristics desired of dictionaries by contributors to **Translation and Lexicography** - if not actually incompatible - would run the risk of bloating dictionaries to user-unfriendly size and ironically, would also have the practical side-effect of making the *mot juste* more elusive that ever. Given that dictionaries, traditionally at least, have been charged with data-basing a language's essence in a standard form, and that publishers cannot hope to recoup their research outlay in the short-term, one must beware of building in obsolescence. After all, today's lexical-organizational dream-plan might well be out of favour by the time any work it inspires comes off the presses. A certain caution, if not actual wariness, if probably an understandable ingredient in any major lexicographical project extending over years of preparation, publishing and selling.

But in point of fact the remedy is at hand and is adverted to by several contributors. What translators really require are first-rate general bilingual dictionaries, built on the foundations of monolingual dictionaries,
that is bilingual dictionaries which have been prepared according to agreed concepts with specific groups of users in mind. These can be complemented by specialist terminological dictionaries and the translator's own personal library of helpful supplementary texts dealing with particular areas of knowledge or literature. However, over and over again, contributors refer to the potential usefulness of thesaurus-type works and lexical field groupings (e.g. Radegundis Stolze, p. 24, citing Eugenio Coseriu, whose influence is to be seen elsewhere in this work, and Klaus and Renate Birkenhauer, who head the first section of their paper "Why literary translators prefer monolingual dictionaries arranged according to word-fields (Thesauri)", p. 89). Of course, it is ironic that these should be found lacking in the very Central European area which has done so much to advance them theoretically.

Translation and Lexicography is finely produced on "acid-free paper that exceeds the requirements of the American National Standard for Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials" (p. 2), although blank spaces stretching across the greater part of some lines suggest the incorrigible nature of word-processing right-hand margins. The standard of English achieved throughout the volume is almost uniformly excellent and testifies to the coming of age of "Euro-English" (*practice* as verb does, however, continue its advance against *practise*, and *outrules* is apparently used for *rules out* on p. 214). There are only a few misprints.

The need for more work "in fields of translation theory and lexicographic theory" is explicitly stated by Hans-Peder Kromann on p. 232, but is of course implicit throughout the volume. It is a call which should not go unheeded here in Ireland, where there is a robust tradition of translation and dictionary making, particularly for Irish, but where there is a dearth of published reflection on the principles underlying the work, and inadequate assessment of the calibre of the various productions. For instance, the question as to whether or not there is a cultural distance dimension between Irish and English (even Hiberno-English), which needs to be taken into account, has not been addressed by lexicographers (cf. Radegundis Stolze's comments on p. 22 and those of Reinhard Hartmann on pp. 9-10). Similarly, several practical difficulties compound the intellectual reluctance to acknowledge adequately a specifically Irish (including Hiberno-English) component in this country's increasing activity both with regards to continental European languages and the teaching of English as a foreign language (cf. *Tom Doyle*, **Teangeolas No. 27** (Summer 1990), p. 12). One might contrast the vibrancy of Modern Hebrew linguistic scholarship, as evidenced by the contributions of Yishai Tobin and Gideon Toury in the volume under review.

Fritz Senn's felicitous discussion of several translation cruxes from the prose of James Joyce is particularly arresting, and he confronts his fellow literary translators with a challenging conclusion: "Literary texts are overdetermined. Ideally, they carry no wastage, no noise, their fittingness is all-round. One result is that many diverse, partial, translations become possible, different according to preferences. It does not seem that translatology has made too many efforts as yet to even tabulate all the various aspects to be considered." (p. 86.) Practitioners of dictionary making will be interested in incidental references to particular approaches. For instance, Veronika Schnorr explains her *modus operandi:* "Verification is done uniquely against monolingual material; in a final checking phrase [*sic*, read *phase*?], each lexicographer checks those articles involving vocabulary from his or her hobbies, for example. In addition, articles written by male lexicographers are checked by female lexicographers and vice versa." (p.228.)

All in all, **Translation and Lexicography** is indeed a fine, readable collection of papers. It is of relevance to translators and lexicographers alike, even if one must agree with Christopher Marsh's comment (p. 229): "We've let the translators off the hook at this colloquium; only the lexicographers have been criticized."

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Réamhrá

Tá IRAAL ag leanúint ar aghaidh le foilsiú TEANGA 12 faoin leagan amach nua a socraíodh anuraidh. Gabhaimid ár mbuíochas le hInstitiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann as clóchur a dhéanamh ar ábhar na hirise ar inneal barrdheasc. Bunaíodh na hailt atá san eagrán seo ar chainteanna a tugadh ar Teanga agus Inscne ag seimineár ag deireadh 1991. Is beag nach sainuimhir intí féin an t-eagrán seo mar sin. Cuirtear TEANGA a fhoilsítear gach bliain, TEANGLITIR a fhoilsítear faoi dhó sa bhliain agus foilseacháin AILA ar fáil do bhaill IRAAL. Le tuilleadh eolais a fháil faoi bhallraíocht in IRAAL, scríobh chuig: An Rúnaí, IRAAL, f/ch ITÉ, 31 Plás Mhic Liam, Baile Átha Cliath 2.

An tEagarthóir,
Meán Fómhair, 1992.

Introduction

IRAAL continues to publish TEANGA 12 in the new format introduced last year. We would like to extend our thanks to Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann for providing us with desktop and typesetting facilities. The articles contained in this issue were delivered at a seminar on Language and Gender held at the end of 1991. This issue, therefore, is in many ways a specialised one.

Members of IRAAL automatically receive TEANGA published yearly, TEANGLITIR published twice a year and AILA publications. For information regarding membership contact: The Secretary, IRAAL, c/o ITÉ, 31 Fitwilliam Place, Dublin 2.

The Editor,
September 1992.

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Religiously Imitating his Every Gesture: Plath, Madonna, and the Language of Paternity

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Towards the end of her life, Sylvia Plath was writing regularly, dutifully, and optimistically to her mother. The picture she gives of her life circa 1961 is one of domestic joy, spiritual expansion, and above all order. She and Ted Hughes had just moved into their house in Devon, along with their daughter Frieda, and Plath was expecting their second son, Nick. In these accounts the sweet literary family group lives in harmony among itself and with the surrounding community. A balance is achieved between the differing gender roles demanded in the marriage and the continued pursuit by both Plath and Hughes of their writing careers:-

> Right after breakfast I go up to my study to work at the marvelous 6 foot natural wood table ... while Ted carpenters or gardens in the back with Frieda along. He gives her lunch and puts her to bed about noon and I come down and make our lunch and by the time I am through picking up the house and doing dishes, Frieda is up and out front with me, gardening, mending, or whatever, and Ted is in his study. Thus both of us get half a day out of doors and half a day writing (which is all either of us wants) and Frieda is out all the time .... [1]

In this account both Plath and Hughes parent and both write. But the imbalances of gender on which the maintenance of this balanced world depends remain intact. He gardens, she gardens, he carpenters, she does the dishes and tidies up the house. This lack of equivalence within what is represented as a charmed balance maintains a stability but does so at the potential cost of the very stability it is supposed to guarantee. In maintaining the balance, the gender difference on which it rests is under threat. Therefore, with a McCarthyite logic, the balance and harmony must be undermined. This tenuous domestic bliss, then, requires that a fine line be drawn between the imitation which threatens to dissolve gender difference and the separation which maintains it. Because recent accounts of gender have emphasised how imitation is at the centre of its production, that fine line between imitation and separaration is both crucial and illustrative. For if, as Judith Butler has claimed, gender is to a radical degree an imitative structure, that imitation can turn either way.[2] Channelled in sanctioned directions it produces the naturalised system of gender relations which narratives of domestic bliss such as Plath sent to her mother represent and perpetuate. When that imitation moves in non-legitimated directions the production of naturalised order through imitation becomes an opportunity for parody, subversion and, literally, travesty. In both instances the means through which the order potentially perpetuates itself is the means through which that order can be potentially undone.

The phrase which gives this discussion its title comes from a letter by Plath to her mother in which she discusses her daughter, Frieda. The image of Ted Hughes as gardener is maintained by Plath's account and nurtured by her observational role:

> I went out to see them in the garden this morning,
> and Ted was planting strawberries, and Frieda was
> following him with her little shovel, religiously
> imitating his every gesture ... [3]

The tenuous balance between imitation and differentiation is again in evidence and under threat here. For if the daughter's identity is partially constructed on the basis that she religiously imitates her father's every gesture that compromises, at least potentially, the process of gender division and differentiation which it is the family's role to reproduce. This tension between imitation and diferentiation in relation to paternity is present to an extreme degree in Plath's poem "Daddy", written on October 12, 1962 nearly a year after the letter just quoted, and published posthumously in Ariel (1965). It is also present in Madonna's 1989 song "Oh Father", and in much of her work. Before considering why Madonna and Plath should be looked at together in this way, I want to consider some of the problems attached to talking about differentiation and imitation as part of the production of gender.

In a lucid discussion of gender as a term in literary criticism Myra Jehlen places great emphasis on the status of gender as a product of culture as opposed to nature. She writes, for example, that "Implicating literature in the making of society has a reciprocal implication for literature. If gender is a matter of nurture and not nature, the character conventionally assigned men and women in novels reflects history and culture rather than nature, and novels, poems and plays are neither timeless nor transcendent."[4] The separation of nature and culture which Jehlen so necessarily and effectively makes is essential to an understanding of how gender works in literature and culture. Left there, however, it can run into two problems. Firstly, gender operates most visibly on the site where the separation between nature and culture is difficult to make, the human body, although it is evidently not confined thereto. Even if this is looked on as just a discursive effect, even if it is the discourse on the body and not the body itself that makes it the merely apparent origin of gender division, then that illusory point of origin needs to be taken on board. Secondly, the collective sigh of liberal relief which occurs when something is shown to be cultural as opposed to natural is equally problematic, even equally illusory. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has written on this in relation to homophobia:-

> I remember the buoyant enthusiasm with which feminist scholars used to greet the finding that one or another brutal form of oppression was not biological but "only" cultural! I have often wondered what the basis was for our optimism about the malleability of culture by any one group or program. At any rate, never so far as I know has there been a sufficiently powerful place from which to argue that such manipulations, however triumphal the ethical imperative behind them, were not a right that belonged to anyone who might have the power to perform them[5].

One of the values of Sedgwick's account, and one that is particularly pertinent here, is the extent to which she shows cultural forces to be of such an extent that they operate with effectively the same perceived inevitability as natural forces. This is not to say that Sedgwick condones the homophobia she analyses, rather it is to say that she forces her readers to accept the difference between analysis in the academy and succesful opposition in a real, institutional, and physical world. It has never seemed to me that power which is labelled "conservative" or "reactionary" is made any the less conservative or any the less powerful by having those labels pejoratively applied. Secondly, and this is important for any examination of Plath and Madonna, Sedgwick insists on the way in which inconsistency and contradiction, rather than devaluing the operation of power or weakening a process of victimisation furthers both processes through placing intolerable demands, demands whose intolerability resides precisely in their contradictory nature, on its objects or victims. While this discussion deals with gender as an effect of culture, it firstly takes on board how in this sphere culture's distance from nature is far from easily measured and how therefore the separation is always partially tenuous. It also does not assume that the exposition of a particular set of circumstances as "merely" cultural is an immediate green light for immediate change. This is firstly because such change is ethically problematic in terms of the precedents it sets and secondly because such exposition can have a variety of relationships with what is exposed, including that of collusion. There is - to take a crass example - often nothing more middle class than the criticism of the middle class, nothing that serves patriarchy or homophobia better than the plea of equality or the statement of tolerance. I proceed, therefore, along this route with some circumspection.

To return to Plath and Madonna, the question of why the two should be looked at together needs to be asked. Firstly, there is the status of both figures in popular and "high" culture. Although used of Plath in a collection of critical essays on her work, the phrase "a cult figure, a dramatic presence whose dramatic absence shrouds the woman and her work in conjecture's cloak of holes"could also be used of Madonna.[6] The absence in Plath's case is obviously caused by her suicide, in Madonna's through the profusion of personae both performative and "intimate" which she perpetuates. Related to the issues of personae and suicide another more imediate and disturbing connection between them is of course the figure of Marilyn Monroe who commited suicide the year before Plath and on whom Madonna, with much publicity, partially models herself. This connection is far from speculative, and if it strikes us as surprising in any way then that points to how effectively we have blinded ourselves and others to the historical continuum which exists between popular and high culture. Two years after Plath's death, Anne Sexton, a colleague of Plath's in many different ways, read avidly about Arthur Miller's then new play After the Fall, which, according to Diane Wood Middlebrook, drew one of its main characters from Marilyn Monroe. With both suicide and Monroe very much on her mind, Sexton wrote: "I have a big interest (don't know why) in kicking time in the face, shuffling it up like a pack of cards & reordering it to suit my style."[7] We will see later that this reshuffling of time is something which Plath works towards in the opening verses of "Daddy". There is more than ample evidence for expanding the dyadic relationship of Plath and Sexton as poets who existed in a relationship of inspiration and competition around the issue of suicide into a tryad with Monroe as a linking figure. In the dyad of Plath and Madonna which this paper constructs Monroe functions, I think, as a similar linking figure, although Madonna's insistence on the suppression of suicide is a differing, and optimistic, factor.

A second point of connection between Plath and Madonna is their highly charged and ambivalent relation to radical movements in sexual politics, in Plath's case her adoption by the feminist movement; and in Madonna's her ambivalent, albeit supportive, relationship to both the feminist and gay movements. In both instances Plath and Madonna are figures who provoke thorny questions of representation, political dissent, and most importantly and uncomfortably, implication in the oppressive structures which they seek to contest.

A third connection, more basic again, is that both figures provoke extreme reactions. In Madonna's case the controversy surrounding her videos "Like a Prayer" and "Justify my Love" and the equally vivid controversy surrounding her *Blond Ambition* shows testify amply to this. In Plath's case this effect has evidently been less global but in its way no less intense. Jacqueline Rose's recent book *The Haunting of Sylvia Plath* testifies to this intensity by documenting the destructive allure of the legal, editiorial, and critical controversies surrounding Plath's work, literary estate, and evaulations of her as daughter, wife, and mother.[8] The gendered instability, pertaining to imitation and differentiation which Madonna demonstrates and celebrates *in extremis* in the video for "Justify my Love" echoes the oscillation from dutiful daughter, accusing wife, haranguing child, victim and femme fatale, which one finds in Plath's work, particularly "Lady Lazarus". The difference between them is one of extremity and province. Whereas Plath's poetic work presupposes a stable heterosexuality and confines its adoption of gender roles to the feminine this process is taken into the field of varying sexualities and the masculine in Madonna's hands. The difference of degree does not, in my view, invalidate the analogy. I should emphasise that I am not taking Plath as a representative of high culture and Madonna as a representative of popular culture since both are aware of how different cultural levels feed into each other in such a way as to make any absolute distinction between high and popular culture open, at the very least, to considerable questioning. Neither am I insisting on a banal equivalence between them. No matter what analogies, however plausible, are made between Plath's poetic and Madonna's performative enteprises both are radically different in kind, and while this discussion shies away from evaluative comparison this does not mean that such comparison can not be made at all. In Madonna's case, this relationship to high culture has been described in eulogisitc terms by Camille Paglia in her discussion of the video for "Vogue":-

> Modelling her glowing, languorous postures on the great
> high-glamour photography of Hurrell, Madonna reprises
> the epiphanic iconography of our modern Age of Hollywood.
> Feminism is infested with white, middle-class, literary twits
> ignorant of art and smugly hostile to *fashion photography
> and advertisement which contain the whole history of art.*[9]

Paglia's glowing evaluation emphasies the intuitive grasp which both publicised and marginalised figures in western culture have of the continuum of insight which aspects of "high" and "popular" culture share and which institutionally sanctioned discussions of culture downplay or ignore. In a more specific instance, Plath's ambitions as a prose writer testify to how she desired recognition in the commerically and popularly sanctioned world of women's magazines. This is an aspect of her work which her publishers and her critics have downplayed immensely. I would refer the reader to the terminology of Ted Hughes's introduction to Johnny Panic and the Bible of Dreams where, for example, he comments on how Plath "tried her hand at stories for the more sentimental English women's magazines", Hughes's anachronism here insists on the inherent remove of Plath's work (and by extension his own) from the very world in which she sought success.[10] Again, some reference to Anne Sexton's career exposes the fictitious nature of the high/popular culture divide. Not only did Sexton perform with a rock band, Anne Sexton and Her Kind, at one stage of her career, but, no matter how anthologized or canonised Sexton now is, much of her work appeared in popular women's magazine, those repositories of fashion photography and advertisment on whose importance Paglia insists, such as *Cosmopolitan*, as well as *The New Yorker* and *Playboy*. Sexton's agent once had occasion to remind her how her work was loved, appropriately enough in a discussion of Madonna, by *Vogue*.[11] There are therefore, many good reasons for considering Plath and Madonna in relation to each other, their status as elusive and provocative icons in our culture, their fraught relationship to sexual politics and, something they share with Sexton, their imploding effect on the relationship between high and popular culture. And more basically we should bear in mind, as if we could ever forget, their intensely provocative effect on their audience and their critics. On a more immediate level both demonstrate potentially radical but ambivalent insight into the vortex of fantasy, role play, violence, and projection around which gender roles constitute themselves. When this potentially radical insight is turned to paternity, to the role-playings of fathers, the situation becomes even more aggravated. Why is this so?

Firstly, Plath's depiction of the father-daughter relationship sharply illustrates the dynamics of imitation and differentiation which nuclear family roles as she lived them out in the early sixties demanded. Secondly, there is the problem, a more linguistic one, of address. If, in Barbara Johnson's words, "lyric poetry...comes to look like the fantastically intricate history of endless elaborations and displacements of the single cry, ''Mama"!, what happens when lyric poetry, or something analogous to it, cries "Papa" or something analogous to it, "Daddy" or "Father" for example?[12] What happens when the demand inherent in that cry becomes one for forgiveness, as well as the daughter's demand of herself that she forgive combined with the contradictory appeal that the parent so addressed address the speaker in return and simultaneously die? These problems are among those which Plath's "Daddy" and Madonna's "Oh Father" raise. I now wish to approach them through looking at the language of paternity in both instances.

If we talk about the language of paternity in Plath and Madonna are we really being accurate? In one sense no, for the simple reason that while paternity can be described as ostensibly the major issue in both "Daddy" and "Oh Father" the language in both instances does not speak of paternity but to the figure in the paternal role. "Daddy" and "Oh Father" - most explicitly in the latter instance - use their different terms of address to the father vocatively in that they call on and partially animate their object of address. In one sense they employ the figure of apostrophe as defined by Barbara Johnson: "the direct address of an absent, dead, or inanimate being by a first person speaker..."[13] How does apostrophe function in "Daddy" and "Oh Father"?

Both the poem and the song lay great emphasis on adressing the father as "you". Yet before the speaker in either context can address the paternal figure a first "you" has to be found and dealt with. Thus Plath:-

> You do not do, you do not do
> Any more, black shoe
> In which I have lived like a foot
> For thirty years, poor and white,
> Barely daring to breathe or Achoo.
>
> Daddy, I have had to kill you.[14]

And Madonna:-

> It's funny that way, you can get used
> To the tears and the pain
> What a child will believe
> You never loved me.[15]

Before setting up an I-thou structure of address, therefore, both Plath and Madonna find it necessary to try out this address on something or someone else, the "black shoe" which functions as a metaphor for the speaker's state up to this point, for the limits of her emotional world, and -by extension- for the speaker herself. The unspecified "you" of the first line of "Oh Father" which is more inclusive of the Father addressed as well as the audience functions as an impersonal pronoun and -I would contend- in effect a first-person pronoun. There is a level on which Madonna's "you" is reminiscent of Edna O'Brien's use of the second person pronoun in an autobiographical context, her novel A Pagan Place which opens:-

> Manny Parker was a botanist, out in all weathers, lived with his sister that ran the sweetshop, they ate meat Fridays, they were Protestants. Your mother dealt there, found them honest.[16]

One could also think of the sentence near the opening of James Joyce's Portrait "When *you* wet the bed, first it is warm then it gets cold."[17]

What, more immediately, these preliminary objects of address both mean is that not only is the Father apostrophized in both the poem and the song but he is also a point of destination. The speakers in both instances have to go through other channels to get to him. Furthermore, the state whereby the Father can be apostrophized is presented in both contexts as something to be desired, to be worked towards, albeit reached with relative ease.

Once launched into the main body of their apostrophes the poem and the song start to work differently. That difference consists in Plath's consistent use of the word "Daddy" and Madonna's "Oh Father", which is equally consistent. In Madonna's case this consistency differs from another context where paternity is dealt with, "Papa Don't Preach", whose term of address is sometimes "Papa", sometimes "Daddy", and sometimes, echoing the last line of Plath's poem,"Daddy, daddy".

The word "Daddy" occurs seven times in Plath's poem. Firstly there is the title which merges the poem's topic and its object of address- the first of many more extreme mergings which are to come. Then there is the opening of Stanza 2, line 1, "Daddy, I have had to kill you", Stanza 11, l.1, "You stand at the blackboard, Daddy" Stanza 14, l.3. "So, daddy, I'm finally through", Stanza 15, l.5, "Daddy you can lie back now," and twice in Stanza 16, l.5. "Daddy, daddy, you bastard, I'm through."

What are we to make of these uses? Firstly, although the speaker is thirty years old, the terminology used is fixedly the diminutive form of childhood. This fixity has a jarring tonal impact. The term of address used for the father, linked already with a term of address which operates metaphorically for the speaker, operates in a context of tonal contradictions which lead the reader into an equally contradictory emotional vortex. The line, "Daddy, I have had to kill you", for example, is followed by "You died before I had time". A narrative contradiction echoes the tonal one and develops it tortuously, addressing as if alive the person just killed and then pointing out how the murderee was inconveniently dead before the necessary killing could take place. In this sense the speaker's (and the reader's) sense of temporal and linguistic stability is bayonetted by the simple childlike structure of address which should, one would intuitively expect, guarantee both forms of stability. It is this kind of contradiction which gives "Daddy" so much in common with Sexton's interest in reshuffling time. An important factor in this is the simple consistency with which it is used. In stanza 11, "You stand at the blackboard, daddy, in the picture I have of you.", there is a fixity and stability in the linguistic relation of address and the visual relation between viewer and model. This stability is undermined by the merging of "daddy's" identity with "The black man who/ Bit my pretty red heart in two", the last line of which begins the equation between the vampire, the father, and such is the mania to isolate Plath's work in the isolated context of a single life, hers,- her husband, Ted Hughes. We'll accept this marital interpretation for the time being and go on to the next instance, stanza 14, line 3 "So, daddy, I'm finally through." The phrase "I'm finally through" follows on from "do, I do", what we are for the time being taking to be the terms of the marriage contract. The step from the words of acceptance to those of rejection is a short one and in a nightmarish fashion the acceptance of the husband, the rejection of the father, the rejection of the husband and the attempt to kill and revive both through apostrophe all intertwine. In itself this maelstrom coincides with the speaker's arrival at an end point where "I'm through" can be read metaphorically in its colloquial sense of "I'm finished, defeated." By the last lines of stanza 14 "The black telephone's off at the root, the voices just can't worm through.", the speaker has undergone a process where, just as the act of aspostrophe could only be successfully carried out by the initial address of a substitute, voices which wish to address her now have to go through a process of substitution and filtering before she can be reached. She is, therefore, in the position formerly occupied by her "Daddy" at the start of the poem. This is not, however, a clear narrative shift since in the first place she is both the subject and the metaphorical object of address. The dynamics of imitation and the maintenance of gender difference, both of which operate with equal violence in the daughter-father relationship, are all too evident here.

The words "Daddy" and "through"also occur in the poem's final line "Daddy, daddy, you bastard, I'm through." This last line provokes a further distinction between the literal and the metaphoric-colloquial intepretations of the word "bastard" and "through". "I'm through", read literally, is a statement of triumph through rejection, the achievement of successful address. The problem is, though, that since this is the poem's last line we do not know to whom or what the speaker has got through other than the reader. When interpreted in a metaphoric-colloquial sense "I'm through" can be read as "I'm finished" or "defeated". It can also be read as pertaining to the end of the poem. In all these instances the clarity of distinctions between speaker, objects of address, and now reader is blurred so that any one of these continually implicates the other in a process of imitation and rejection.

Equally uncertain is the term "bastard". Read metaphorically this is a term of abuse, read literally in its anachronistic sense it compromises the father's authoritative relationship to the paternal line he has perpetuated and of which the speaker is the product. Jacqueline Rose's comment on this line is of interest here. She points out how "the final vengeance in itself turns on an identification - 'you bastard'- that is, 'you father without a father', 'you, whose father, like my own, is in the wrong place'[18] I would take this slightly further than Rose and claim that the object of address in "Daddy" becomes, like the "you" of the first line of Madonna's song, so unspecified as to include everything including the speaker herself., thereby making her the object of her own rage, her own "Daddy", existing in a restructured but nonetheless no-win relationship of imitation and rejection. What conclusions can we draw from all this?

These uses of the term "Daddy" are, to say the least, savagely ironic- the simple term designating a child's calling of its father becomes a means for unhinging that relationship and for simultaneously homogenising and putting into conflict four identities- the father, the husband, the speaker and, ultimately, the reader. By taking the language of paternity to its visible extremes the poem takes it close to the point of invalidating parody, thereby illustrating the imitative crux at at at the centre of the construction of gender in language. The balance between imitation and differentiation fails to occur because imitative processes are carried out to the extent not that they parody paternity but that they show paternity and its objects operating in a viciously interlocking dynamic close to parody, but without the consoling distance from the object which parody guarantees.

The difference between a poem like "Daddy" and a popular song like "Oh Father" is that "Daddy's" primary mode is the visual printed page, "Oh Father's" is the aural recorded performance and, of course, its visual presentation on video and in concert. Bearing this distinction in mind, I now want to look, with greater brevity, at Madonna's use of the term "Oh Father" in her song. Evoking the "boot in the face, the brute/Brute heart of a brute like you" of stanza 10 of Plath's "Daddy" the word "father" first occurs evidently in the title. For this more immediate and violent use in the song we have to wait until the third verse:-

> Seems like yesterday
> I lay down next to your boots and I prayed
> For your anger to end
> Oh Father I have sinned

Here the boot of familial violence, echoing the Nazi boot of Plath's poem, becomes the property not just of the speaker's father but -in an extension of the blurring of identities surrounding the terms "Oh Father" and "you" in the song- the Father figure and a Roman Catholic priest. The separation of identities on which the accusation of "You never loved me" depends becomes blurred here -the accuser begging the father's clemency in a childhood memory finds herself using the language of the guilty in the context of the Roman Catholic confession ceremony and internalising a different, unspecified counter-accusation "Oh Father I have sinned". Plath's amalgamation of Father, Nazi, husband, reader in a structure of murder and rejection is echoed here in an imitative amalgamation of Father, Priest, Listener. The third use of the phrase "Oh Father" occurs in the fifth verse:-

> Oh Father, if you never wanted to live that way
> If you never wanted to hurt me,
> Why am I running away

Here there is less blurring of identities. The repeated "ifs" maintain a questioning distance between the speaker and the object of address- they beg, indeed demand, an answer to a question, a question not about the father but about the speaker: "Why am I running away"? The song would then appear to move in a direction opposed to that of Plath's poem- maintaining the balance and the separation of "I-thou" speech. Here we come to a problem of the relationship between printed and aural performance. The verse as I have quoted it is taken from the lyric sheet of *Like a Prayer*. I have listened to this song dozens of times, however, and that cool, judging, consoling "if" is simply not there. As sung, therefore, the verse goes:-

> Oh Father, you never wanted to live that way
> You never wanted to hurt me
> Why am I running away

This is very different indeed from the verse as printed. In print the separation between speaker and object of address, judge and judged, is maintained. These separations parallel and maintain the factor of differentiation in the production of gender. As sung, the separation abandons judgement and places the Father and the speaker in a maelstrom of irrationality, contradiction, and particularly guilt, which is emphasised all the more through the religious connotations of the term Father. The move, therefore, goes from separation in a scenario of judgement to imitation in a religious, partially confessional, scenario. The tension between imitation and separation evident in the Plath letters about her daughter and "Daddy" is evident here where, in Madonna's song, she moves from apostrophising accusation to religiously imitating not the father's every gesture but, more disturbingly, the fundamental obscurity of his motivation.

There are two other points of analogy here. The metrical weight of the missing "ifs" in Madonna's recording of the song is taken by two very conspicuous breaths. The aural foregrounding of these breaths in the production makes the simple involuntary act of breathing an issue in the song's address to its father-figure. This operates similarly as an issue in Plath's poem where the speaker describes her life up to the point at which the poem begins as "Barely daring to breathe or Achoo". Occurring at the beginning of the poem, the problematisation of breath makes of the poem in one sense a breath of rage which goes on to confound that rage's structure of address. Secondly, the separation between written and aural performance exists also in relation to Plath's poem. In fact Plath's biographer Anne Stevenson documents three versions. Firstly, there is a version striking for "the pure fury in her articulation, the smoldering rage with which she is declaring herself free, both of her ghostly father and of husband."[19] Plath also read "Daddy" and "Lady Lazarus" aloud to Alvarez, having first decribed both poems as some light verse, light verse which, however, left him feeling as if he had undergone assault and battery.[20] When Plath was visited by her friend Clarissa Roche, she read "Daddy" aloud in, as Stevenson comments, "a mocking, comical voice that made both women fall about with laughter."[21] The vortex of roles and rage into which Plath's poem drags the reader continues in its aural performances- this time with the factor of humour- Plath's sardonic description of the poems as light verse to Alvarez, the hilarity of her reading of the poem to Clarissa Roche.

So far I have given no attention to the visual presentation of "Oh Father" either as part of Madonna's stage show or to the video which accompanied the songs release as a single in the US. One aspect of the concert presentation raises, however, an important issue. In the Blond Ambition shows "Oh Father" was performed by Madonna slumped over a prie-dieu in a set made up to look like a Roman Catholic church. Behind her stood one of her male dancers dressed like a priest with whom Madonna performed a ballet both imitative and erotic in the course of the song. What is important here is that Madonna was also dressed as a priest and, therefore, dressed as a man. It is not stretching a point to say that the song is performed in a form of drag.

Most basically, drag is a cultural phenomenon which highlights dramatically and comically the tension between imitation and differentiation in gender. Along with the elements of mass culture which Camille Paglia praises for their compressed cultural storage space and their insight into gendered behaviour, drag represents a stimulating problematic for feminism and for theories of gender which see its production as "merely" cultural. Here, for example, is Elaine Showalter reflecting (and reminiscing) on the subject:-

> It is true that, traditionally, drag has been the minstrel show of a virulent misogyny, a cruel travesty of the feminine. I found that being a woman spectator at drag shows, from the Black Cap in London to Provincetown, was sometimes a humiliating experience. But even drag can be reframed to speak for women in a ritual of inversion... [22]

Once the supposedly inherent misogyny of drag is overcome, in Showalter's view, it can have a potentially liberating effect on it audience. The (male) drag artist becomes, to use her phrase, "a shamanistic figure of release."[23] There are several problems with Showalter's comments on drag which I resist going into here, but its main formulations are such that they assume that drag is always a male prerogative and that the deconstructive impact of drag on feminine roles can not work the other way round. Although Showalter's account assumes that drag is exclusively a male activity (her account assumes that drag artists are always men) the last form of human activity it can be said to scrutinise is masculinity. What Madonna's performance of "Oh Father" reveals is in fact that the mechanics of drag can have an equally deconstructive aspect not just on masculine roles in themselves but on the feminine roles with which they interact and against which they must define themselves. Furthermore there is a disturbing homogeneity implicit in the "women" who Showalter envisages as the audience for this new form of drag with its mysogyny magically eliminated, as if that mysogyny (and that homogeneity) can be safely assumed in the first place. Taking up on the feminist critique of drag as misogynist Judith Butler goes a lot further than Showalter. In Butler's view the interiority and essences of masculinity and feminity are utterly, if powerfully, fictional. She writes:-

> ...acts, gestures, and desire produce the effect of an internal core or substance, but produce this on the surface of the body, through the play of signifying absences that suggest, but never reveal, the organizing principle of identity as a cause. ...That the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality.[24]

Whatever the resistance, be it scientifically or intuitively based, to Butler's statement it does place an emphasis on the crucial aspect of performance in the production of gender. For Butler the supposed misogyny of drag is not a hurdle to be overcome in the interests of creating a version congruent with a liberal agenda, but really a lateral issue given drag's emphasis on the vital aspect of performance in the construction of gender. She writes (again operating on the presupposition that drag always refers to a male artist's impersonation of behaviour assumed to be feminine):-

> As much as drag creates a unified picture of "woman" (what it critics often oppose) it also reveals the distinctness of those aspects of gendered experience which are falsely naturalized as a unity through the regulatory fiction of heterosexual coherence. *In imitating gender, drag implcitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself - as well as its contingency.*[25]

It is worth pointing out that Butler's argument hinges not on the idea that what is revealed through the expository parody of drag is a constructed original but that what drag in its common sense as well as in the context of a performance such as that of Madonna's "Oh Father" in the *Blond Ambition* show parodies, is the very idea of an original in the first place.

I mentioned earlier the mania to ascribe Plath's work to her life, a mania which was also evident in the reviews of Madonna's *Like a Prayer* on its release in 1989. In Plath's case, this serves many insidious functions, but the worst of them, in my view, is that it ultimately suggests that the crises and contradicitions which her work confronts are hers and hers alone. Like car accidents, such a biographically orientated approach suggests, the issues Plath forces her reader to confront are things which only happen to other people, never to the audience and, God forbid, the critic. Although such biographical connections can be forged, they have the twin defect of being misogynistically intrusive and also of deflecting our attention from the issues, in this case issues relating to paternity and gender, that a poem such as "Daddy" can raise.

A more intelligent response is that of Seamus Heaney to Plath's work where he emphasises the objective value of Plath's poetry, the status of her writing, particularly the poetry of *Ariel* as an event in itself rather than just a representation of events. He writes:-

> These poems are the vehicles of their own impulses, and it was entirely right that the title which gathered them together should not only recall Shakespeare's pure spirit but also the headlong gallop of a runaway horse. They are full of exhilaration in themselves, the exhilaration of a mind that creates in some sort of mocking spirit,

> outstripping the person who has suffered. They move without hesitiation and assume the right to be heard; they,the poems, are what we attend to, not the poet.[26]

I have so far stressed how "Daddy" should be read as a performance, an event that is both intensely interpersonal and intensely impersonal. On that level there is a congruity between my description and Heaney's evaluation. It is striking, though, that having emphasised the objective value of Plath's work, how that work is an event, the status of her poetry as object and performance, the one poem which Heaney singles out for exception is "Daddy". These are his reasons:-

> A poem like "Daddy", however brilliant a *tour de force* it can be acknowledged to be, and however its violence and vindictiveness can be understood or excused in light of the poet's parental and marital relations, remains, nevertheless, so entangled in biographical circumstances and rampages so permissively in the history of other people's sorrows that it simply overdraws its rights to our sympathy.[27]

It is interesting that the poem which Heaney singles out for exception is "Daddy" which has many aspects that invite reading it almost as a dramatic monologue and not as an autobiographical piece. "Medusa", a poem written about the same time, could also be condemned on similar grounds, but is simply not considered in Heaney's discussion. Is the objection to "Daddy" that it is too particular and too personal, or that it is too fantastic and too general, the argument used to condemn its use of holocaust imagery, or is it somewhere in between?[28] In any case, the strategy of confining it to the poet's life, which is something the poem does not necessarily, in my view, invite, serves the insidious purpose of preventing its readers from thinking about what the poem might suggest to them about their lives.

Again, in relation to Madonna, this bitter retreat into the assumption that her work has direct relevance to her life and therefore only obliquely to the lives of her audience and commentators is more than evident. Nowhere was this more cringe-makingly clear than in the response to "Like a Prayer", the album on which "Oh Father" appeared in 1989:-

> Gone is the boy toy image, the naivety of "Lucky Star" and the mere mischeviousness of True Blue. In fact, she's even given up being a Material girl (for Lent, at least). What we now have is a thirty-year old philosophical Madonna with a thoughtful album about the effects of Catholicism, marriage and her parents *on her life* but one that also incorporates all the humour, cheekiness, carnality, arrogance, profanity and devotion of her earlier work.[29]

In common with many critics, this commentator limits the implications of the lyrical content of "Like a Prayer" to Madonna's life not to the lives of her audiences, not certainly, despite the autobiographical anecdote with which this article is peppered, to his own. This is not a question of individual blame here firstly because this response is simply so common and secondly because such an autobiographical reading is far from uninvited. This does not, however, warrant the limitation of the implications of Plath's "Daddy" or Madonna's "Oh Father" to the lives of their producers. Whatever relevance they have to those lives, however directly that can be traced and assessed, this does not mean that this (auto) biographical aspect should be ghettoized through becoming the sole object of critical attention. In Plath's case, there is also no good reason to assume that the life to which her work has most relevance or the life without a thorough knowledge of which any understanding of that work is incomplete is her own. Given their performative aspects, their bridging of the opposition between the personal and impersonal, I now want to conclude by thinking about the gendered possibilities of "Daddy" and "Oh Father".

The poem and the song are both the utterance, I have emphasised, of a "speaker" and I have operated on the assumption that that speaker is a woman. Given the amenability of "Oh Father" to performance in drag, however, we can pose the question of that speaker's gender. What if the speaker in Madonna's case is, or can be read as, a man? What does this do to the gendered dynamics of assimilation, imitation, and rejection evident in the song. What again if this claim can be made for "Daddy"? What if the line "every woman adores a fascist" can be read as male utterance and fantasy, or a parody thereof. This might seem like stretching a point but is worth considering on many levels. Firstly, once we stop hugging the shore of biographical reference in relation to "Daddy" and read it as what it is at the most painfully obvious, a text in the world, there are several things about its gender identity that should be taken on board. Firstly, there is absolutely no internal textual evidence, up until stanza 14, and there are sixteen stanzas in this poem, that the speaker is -or may be- a woman. What, therefore, if the "I do, I do" of stanza 14 can be taken as referring not to a marriage but to obedience to a created male authority figure? What if the marital connotations of "I do, I do" are used, however unconsciously, in Plath's text to highlight the homoerotics of such a situation? There are some other points relating to this phrase. Why is "I do" repeated? The phrase of acceptance and consent in the marriage ceremony is not uttered once merely, thereby indicating the speaker's fulfilment of the feminine role in that ceremony, but twice. This could link it to "Daddy's" stylistic flirtations with nonsense verse, as in the lines "You Luftwaffe/your gobbledygoo". One could say that the line "I do, I do" reduces the words of the ceremony to vicious nonsense. That is one possiblility, and there is another. We have already seen that "Daddy" is a poem that Plath found amenable to different tones of voice, the violent readings on radio and to Alvarez, the comic reading to Clarissa Roche. What if there is a difference that parallels that between those readings, not a tonal difference

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between different readings but a tonal difference within one reading? What if there exists the possiblity that "I do, I do" can be read say first in the deep tones of received expectations of masculine utterance, and then in the higher pitched but equally received and constructed tones of traditional feminine utterance? This would give us three possibilities for "Daddy", the first being the long discussed feminine persona, the second being the masculine persona in which the marital vocabulary of stanza 14 would have a metaphorical function, and a third one which exists in a parodic space which simulatneously incorporates and rejects both identities and gives the reader the liberty to posit unspecified others. This is a claim that can be pursued more stringently than has been done here, but it is a claim congruent with the simultaneous amalgamation and unsettling of gendered identities through the language of paternity in both "Daddy" and "Oh Father". That they both facilitate the asking of these questions, thereby inching us into territory as familiar as it is strange, is evidence of their radicalism, the achievement of that radicalism through sensation, and above all their insistence on the kind of reponse and thought which moves us from away from thinking about paternity, gender, language,Sylvia Plath, and even Madonna in terms that are either simple or fatuous.

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Letters Home: Correspondence 1950-1963*, Selected and Edited with a Commentary by Aurelia Schober Plath (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), pp. 429-430.

[2] Butler makes this claim, which I discuss at greater length later on, in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1990), p.137.

[3] Letters Home, p. 432.

[4] ''Gender'' in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, edited by Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p.264.

[5] *Epistemology of the Closet* (London: Harvester, 1991), pp.41-42.

[6] This comment is made by Gary Lane in his introduction to *Sylvia Plath: New Views on the Poetry*, edited by Gary Lane (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), p. ix.

[7] Diane Wood Middlebrook, *Anne Sexton: A Biography* (London: Virago, 1991), p.215.

[8] *The Haunting of Sylvia Plath* (London:Virago, 1991).

[9] *The Independent on Sunday, 21 July 1991, 4.* My emphasis. I thank Ashley Gaskin for making this reference available.

[10] *Johnny Panic and the Bible of Dreams and Other Prose Writings,* with an introduction by Ted Hughes (London: Faber and Faber, 1979), p.12.

[11] Anne Sexton, p.337.

[12] *"Apostrophe, Animation, and Abortion"* in A World of Difference, (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p.199.

[13] *"Apostrophe, Animation, and Abortion"*, p.185.

[14] *Collected Poems* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981), p.222. All further references are to this edition.

[15] *Like a Prayer*, Sire Records 1989.

[16] *A Pagan Place* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1970), p. 11. My emphasis.

[17] *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (London: Grafton, 1977), p. 7. My emphasis.

[18] *The Haunting of Sylvia Plath*, p.234.

[19] *Bitter Fame: A Life of Sylvia Plath*, with additional material by Lucas Myers, Dido Merwin, and Richard Murphy (London: Viking, 1989), p. 265.

[20] *Bitter Fame*, p.270.

[21] *Bitter Fame*, p.277.

[22] *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the fin de siècle* (London: Bloomsbury, 1991), p. 166.

[23] *Sexual Anarchy* ,p. 167.

[24] *Gender Trouble*, p.136.

[25] *Gender Trouble*, p.137.

[26] "*The Indefatigable Hoof-taps:* Sylvia Plath" in *The Government of the Tongue: The 1986 T. S. Eliot Memorial Lectures and Other Critical Writings* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), p.151. I am grateful to Brian Cosgrove for directing me to this essay.

[27] *"The Indefatigable Hoof-taps"*, p.165.

[28] Rose discusses holocaust imagery in "Daddy" and critical reactions thereto in *The Haunting of Sylvia Plath*, pp. 205-207.

[29] Liam Fay, *"Hellfire and Brimstone"*, *Hot Press, Vol 13*, 6th April 1989, 22.

Gender and Language

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to propose the use of certain forms of language in teaching about gender issues. The views expressed have developed in the context of an EC-funded project (TENET) in which teachers and children considered gender stereotypes in class in primary schools with a view to promoting more flexible ideas about what it is appropriate for girls, boys, women and men to do and to be. The theoretical approach sought to be rigourously constructivist.

One element in this theory is a clear separation between the domain of experience and the domain of explanation (Maturana). The educational implications of this element invite close consideration of the interpersonal dynamics of classroom questioning strategies, their intentions, and their linguistic features. Forms of questioning known as distancing strategies (Sigel) are offered as a means of facilitating the move from experience to explanation, in a manner both appropriate to the facilitation of equality of girls and boys in schools and respectful of the children's identities and autonomy.

Another element in the constructivist theory is an emphasis on radical constructivism (Von Glasersfeld) which underlines the limits placed on the validity of any explanation of phenomena. This view led to a recommendation that teachers develop their awareness of and competence in the use of linguistic forms likely to facilitate reconsideration of gender stereotypes. These include circular questioning and parenthesising, techniques which originated in writings about constructivist theory and psychotherapy.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to propose the use of specific forms of language in teaching about gender issues and to raise awareness of fundamental epistemological considerations. The views expressed have developed in the framework of an EC-funded project (TENET Programme) in which teachers and children considered gender stereotypes with a view to facilitating the development of more flexible ideas about what it is appropriate for girls, boys, men and women to do and to be (Gash 1991). The theoretical approach taken sought to be rigourously constructivist.

The attempt to be consistently constructivist is difficult for there are well known experts in the field who write in a manner which, at least, does not make clear the rather unusual implications of the theory. Consider the following quote from *Gelman and Baillargeon (1983, p.216)*:

> In an assimilation, external elements are structured by, or adjusted to, the individual's schemes. In an accommodation by contrast the individual's schemes must adjust themselves to the demands of the environment.

In this quote there is nothing to suggest the peculiar status of the environment in a constructivist theory, nothing to warn the reader to be on the watch for a relationship between individual and environment which jars with one's sensibilities. Small wonder then that some writers like *Maturana (e.g., 1988)* resort to difficult forms of language. One aim of this present paper is to draw attention to what constitutes the educational environment of pupils in a constructivist theory.

There are three elements in a constructivist theory which I will try to explain here. First, there is the process of thinking; next, there is the separation of the domains of experience and of explanation; and third, there is the view of human cognition as a closed structure-determined system. Role-taking is involved in both the attribution and reconsideration of gender stereotypes. So it will be helpful to make some comments about gender stereotyping and about role-taking. Finally the educational implications of these considerations for teaching about gender issues will be outlined.

ELEMENTS IN A CONSTRUCTIVIST THEORY

Thinking in *Piaget's (1970)* theory is described as a process of maintaining an equilibrium via assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation is the inevitable filtering of experience imposed by existing structures; we can only understand events in terms of what we know. Accommodation is the change which takes place in structures when something new is noticed in experience. Readers who work in languages and language teaching will be familiar with the notions of assimilation and accommodation in areas such as error analysis and interference from one language to another. Assimilation is always an act of interpretation, and as such is motivated. It is this intentional nature of the learners' processes which gives most difficulty in teaching about issues which touch on values, for in these cases the nature of the learners' past experiences can determine whether the teacher's agenda is acceptable or unacceptable. Gender stereotypes are like this.

A more modern metaphor for describing process is that of the negative feedback device used in aircraft landing systems, or closer to home, in thermostats. In human terms this means that we behave to control our perceptions. So a question teachers need to ask regularly is "what is the learner controlling?" As *Glasser (1985)* put it; teachers have an almost impossible task when they face children who do not have "learning pictures in their heads". Learners need to feel that learning is of some value, otherwise they stop finding it valuable to spend time learning. An introductory detailed examination of this metaphor can be found in *Segal (1986)* and in *Powers (1975)* evocative title - *Behavior: The Control of Perception.*

A second key element in the constructivist theory is found in the juxtaposition of "the domain of experience" and "the domain of explanation", *Maturana (1988)*. The key idea which is being expressed here is that of *Korzybski (1941)*, "the map is not the territory" quoted earlier by *Bateson (1972 p. 180)*. Depending on the background and history of the observer various descriptions may arise which may be equally valid. For example, one is offered what seems to be a glass of wine. Depending on one's experience and history one may describe it as red, dry, full-bodied, low in volatile acidity, with agreeable levels of tannin mostly from the grape and not the oak, with hints of blackcurrants and raspberries, from the left but not the right bank of the Gironde, not a Margaux but possibly a St Julien, and relatively recent but not a great year, possibly 1987. How far one gets reliably with such a construction clearly depends on one's history. Further a constructivist theory acknowledges that an observer is not certain whether s/he is experiencing an illusion or not. The glass of wine which you have been bravely trying to identify using vision, smell, taste, and possibly hearing may, in fact, not be wine in a strict sense. It might just be the result of a judicious blend of fruit juices, grape juice concentrate, acids, tannin, and sugar, fermented at an appropriate temperature, racked, and matured lovingly in French oak in a tiny barrel in the attic.

The third and final issue which I want to introduce in this discussion about constructivist theories is the view of (human) cognition as a closed structure-determined system. This can be explained using *Maturana's (1988)* account of science and explanations.

An explanation is a reformulation of an experience which is accepted by a listener according to some criterion of acceptance. *Maturana (1988)* describes two sorts of explanations: one using "objectivity without parenthesis" and the other "objectivity in parenthesis". In the former, reality is the goal of cognition, and the process of cognition is taken for granted. As a result explanations claim privileged access to reality, and observers do not take responsibility for their negation of others in their arguments because they are blind to the limits of their cognitive processing. "You are wrong, I have evidence to the contrary!"

In the latter type of explanation, based on "objectivity in parenthesis", the activities of observers are recognized as being responsible for generating the "reality" which is being explained. So no claims can be made about a "reality" independent of what it is that the observer does. As observers we see another organism and its environment - we must not assume that the environment we see is the same as what the organism sees. "We have different explanations, do we have different realities or is there common ground?"

These considerations have explicit implications for the study of language in *Maturana's (e.g., 1988)* theory. One of the conditions necessary for a scientific explanation is that there be a mechanism which when it operates produces the phenomenon to be explained. It follows that science only deals with structure-determined systems which specify completely how they will act in a given situation and independently of the interactions they may undergo. In other words there cannot be a scientific explanation of language referring to a reality outside the organism.

A simpler discussion of this third feature of a constructivist theory is presented in *Von Glasersfeld (1987)*. His position is that it is in principle impossible to get outside of one's sense receptors. We have our sense impressions, we construct our experience as being outside of ourselves during the first year of life. In general, however, the position taken by post-Piagetian constructivists is that their epistemology is part of the current postmodernist and deconstructionist movement *(Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990)*.

Gender stereotypes and role-taking will be introduced as constructs before discussing the pedagogical implications of these aspects of constructivist theory.

STEREOTYPES AND ROLE-TAKING

The Piagetian account of process when applied to experience produces cognitive structures which develop and become more sophisticated with use. A familiar idea is the notion of conservation which is defined in terms of identity in spite of perceptual transformation; thus you conserve your identity even though you may change your appearance, and lemonade conserves its quantity even though it may be removed from a tall thin glass and put into a short fat one. The lemonade will no longer look the same but its quantity will remain constant. Gender stereotypes are like conservations which children use to understand regularities in their experience. At about the time three-year olds show that they understand gender (passing conservation of gender tasks) they begin to demonstrate that they are slotting men and women into stereotyped career roles. On the basis of the limited experience that they have at that age it is not surprising that their judgments about careers, interests, or personal-social characteristics for men and women are not very comprehensive.

The ideas which children have about gender stereotypes form part of the way the child expects to experience his or her world. Talking about what we expect is part of our social lives which aligns us with others who think in the same way. So our expectancies form part of the way others expect us to be. In this way our expectancies form part of our identity. Further, a boy who announces that it is women's work to cook and clean up for men is very likely to be reflecting attitudes which are held by someone or some group he knows. If he changes his mind on this issue he is likely to experience group pressure to conform. So there is a context, for him, in which it is appropriate to hold sexist attitudes.

To reconsider his attitude, in this example, this child will have to experience uncertainty about the view which works in the group. Such uncertainty may be experienced by imagining how others, like sisters or his mother feel about having him try to refuse to do any house work when they want him to do some. This will require some role-taking which can be defined in terms of the ability to coordinate two perspectives on an issue, one's own and another person's different perspective (e.g., *Flavell 1968, Gash 1982*). Children in the first years of primary school experience difficulty with role-taking. A general term for this difficulty in developmental psychology is egocentrism. This difficulty will place certain developmental and educational constraints on efforts to promote more mature thinking about gender stereotypes.

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Children, indeed people in general, will change their thinking when the experience they encounter is sufficiently discrepant with their previous thinking. This follows from the Piagetian account of the process of thinking. One assimilates in terms of one's previous expectations, with a desire to be able to anticipate accurately. One needs the right balance between one's expectancies and one's experience. A teacher, therefore, can wobble a child's expectancies by asking questions which get children to reconsider their ideas, or by arranging for counter- examples to be experienced by the children. Notice that in this description the model is of the child's cognition as a closed system: it is up to the children whether they change their thoughts. It is up to the teacher to try to present experiences which may conflict with the children's expectancies.

The task of asking questions which will provide conditions in which the children will be likely to reconsider their ideas has been studied extensively by Irving Sigel and his colleagues. Sigel was interested in the development of representational competence in disadvantaged black children. Out of this concern grew intervention programmes using what he called "distancing strategies". The history of the use of the phrase distancing strategies includes a shift in the language used to describe the process. *Sigel and Cocking (1977)*, for example, spoke about distancing as a class of behaviours which separate individuals from their experience of the environment. Two comments can be made about that formulation. First, it is not clear that anyone can be separated from their experience. We are inherently stuck in our experience. We can make light of it perhaps, we can view it more or less seriously, but we cannot separate ourselves from it. Second, note the phrasing Sigel and Cocking use when talking about the environment. One cannot talk about the environment in an unqualified way when one is dealing with closed systems, one must try to remember that we each have different experiences and so different environments. More recent formulations *(Sigel 1986)* are more precise in their use of language and avoid the pitfalls emphasised here.

Distancing is the process by which one moves from the domain of experience to the domain of explanation. In insisting on the separateness of these domains one is emphasising the possibility of different linguistic formulations of the experience. Consider the difficulty of accounting for one's feelings when a close friend dies. What do you say? Initially you may be unable to speak at all, or if you do your voice will reveal much emotion. With time you will find words and manners of expression which do justice to the way you feel and think about the person and their death. In a sense then, you have come to terms, or begun to come to terms with the event - you are thereby distanced from the immediacy of the experience. Less poignant, but no less complex processes are involved in giving an account of why you liked a theatrical performance or a film, or indeed any experience which hasn't been crystalized in language.

In earlier research Sigel had noticed that lower class black children were poor at various problems which required representation and also the parent-child interactions in their families which he observed seemed to present few opportunities for distancing. He hypothesized that such children would benefit from educational experiences which encouraged distancing. There are a number of reasons why his approach is valuable: the learner is the focus; there is an emphasis on the movement from the domain of experience to the domain of explanation; there are specific strategies which the teacher can use; and the emphasis is non-manipulative and developmental.

Examples of distancing strategies for teachers

Sigel has listed questions which are likely to promote distancing in learners in many publications including *(Sigel and Cocking 1977, Sigel 1986)*. One should emphasize that distancing might or might not result from any of Sigel's "distancing strategies" because any child might have a ready answer for a question which a teacher might ask. Distancing would only take place when a child was ready to reconsider an idea which s/he possessed, or extend an understanding as a result of one of the questions. **One of our aim's was to think about questions which would help children come to see stereotyping as a construction and to avoid seeing stereotypes as characteristics which are generally and normatively applicable. Another aim is to help children gain confidence in their own thinking in class.** In this the project had a common goal with the movement for philosophy for children *(Lipman et al)*.

A list of Sigel's distancing behaviours is as follows: observing, labelling, describing, interpreting, demonstrating, sequencing, reproducing, comparing, proposing alternatives, combining, evaluating, inferring, resolving conflict, generalizing, transforming, planning *(Sigel and Cocking 1977)*. Later these strategies have been grouped into low level distancing, medium level distancing, and high level distancing according to the type of rethinking being required of the child *(Sigel 1986)*. They are listed in Table 1.

Observing, describing and labelling might be quite similar requests from a teacher questioning about gender stereotyping. **Observing** (examining or asking the child to examine); what is this woman or man doing? Teachers might be encouraged to ask children to make records of women's roles on their television programmes, books, and comics. Initially all that was required was observation. While observing may not involve any uncertainty on the part of the child, careful probing on the part of the teacher or another child may considerably extend what is observed. For example, in looking at advertisements, questions can be asked about how an individual seems to be feeling, or to comment about the voices which are on the sound-track (e.g. females talking with male voices, as in the E.S.B. "Nightsaver" advertisement), or to see in how many advertisements men or women are doing the "sell". By such probing children can learn to notice some of the messages which had been hidden until they were observed. For another example observe the toy advertisements currently running on your TV channels. In particular, observe the ratio of boys' toys to girls' toys, and are there different musical forms as background for boys' toys and for girls' toys?

Labelling (what do you call what she is doing?) and **describing** (what is s/he doing? is a question for a description which might require a definition or an interpretation) would seem to play a very similar role to observing in the analysis of simple gender related situations.

The final example of low level distancing is **demonstrating.** Most simply asking a child to demonstrate a procedure requires that s/he understands it. This could be used in conjunction with role-taking. One telling example of role-taking which appeared on BBC television during the last year or so was a programme in which the teenage boys and girls in an English school were in class talking about how they each perceived each other's behaviour. The miming by the girls of the boys' behaviour on the bus to and from school was hilarious. It was an excellent demonstration of the way in which the girls perceived the boys. It is hard to believe that it did not give the boys some food for thought on their behaviour.

In the project described by *Gash (1991)* some teachers went out of their way to provide counter-examples to what the children expected in terms of jobs for men and women. In one class the teacher engaged her class of five-year-old boys in a discussion on soldiers. They were all convinced that soldiers were men. In fact the teacher had arranged for female army cadets to visit the class so they knocked on the door and talked with the class for some time. A variety of distancing strategies could be used in this context. Children could be asked to describe or infer similarities between the work of men and women soldiers, and to enquire whether there were any differences.

Situations in which men and women or boys and girls are in competition offer opportunities to engage the children in distancing strategies in the high level column. Imagine an analysis of the results of a survey which a class did on the content of television programmes. This analysis could be expected to find men and women in stereotyped roles; with the men in active, adventurous, exciting roles and the women in traditional, passive ones. Various evaluation questions could be asked: how do you think women feel about this/ what are the consequences of people thinking about this and being more aware of it? Could pressure be brought on the television company not to offer only passive models of women (plan)? What alternative plans could you think of to change the situation?

The purpose of distancing is to enable people to be more aware of their experiences. By carefully asking questions teachers can help their pupils to notice aspects of the experience which heretofore have remained hidden.

Parenthesising

An element mentioned earlier was that cognition be considered a closed system. While distancing was explicitly proposed to open up the social context within which teachers can facilitate the development of cognitive structures, the learner's cognitive systems remain "closed". To highlight this it is helpful to think of phrases which allow teachers to parenthesise statements which children make. Take provocative sexist remarks as an example. What advice can be given from this point of view? Parenthesising offers some solace here because to react as one might feel inclined, i.e. vigourously, is as likely to consolidate the child's view as it is to help the child reconsider. What parenthesising offers is the acceptance of the view of the child for what it is worth as an expression of a valid feeling, but denying the child the right to consider the view as having general validity.

"So that is what you think now, good, does anyone else have a different view?" Or, "That perspective is based on an idea which has certain implications. Alternatively one could describe the situation differently and this has other consequences.. Each position has its own validity and truth."

Such sentiments could be spelled out. Implicit in the idea of parenthesising is a recognition that there are assumptions on which statements are based which may be hidden and which if they were brought out would make seemingly implausible statements understandable from a different viewpoint.

This tactic will allow the child a place in the discussion but not allow the child the expert status which often is expected and demanded. In fact it is the expectation of explanations based on "objectivity without parenthesis" which demand expert status because they are only ready to think about one perspective.

Circular questioning

Circular questioning is used by constructivist therapists as a device for members of a group, such as a family, to come to appreciate the different perceptions of group members and their dynamic. While it has been defined as gossiping about group members in their presence *(Deissler, 1987)*, an example will perhaps make this clearer. How do a father and a mother perceive their daughter? At the next level, how does the father perceive the mother to perceive the daughter; and how does the mother perceive the father to perceive the daughter. At the next level, how does the mother perceive the father's perception of the mother's perception of the daughter. Before the reader becomes lost this recursive looping will end. Such examination of the different perceptions which people have and their influence on each other seems to be a powerful way in which to provide opportunities to individuals to reconsider their ways of seeing things.

Neutrality

Neutrality is a way of holding one's self in a special analytic position during therapy which is adopted by therapists so that they do not confirm or disconfirm positions taken up by individual group/family members at certain points during the process of therapy. It is cited in a number of different therapeutic approaches. Neutrality certainly is part of the context in which both circular questioning and parenthesising are offered as tools to therapists. As a technique it would also seem to be very useful in any effort to examine distancing, particularly if the distancing is to be that sort of experimental questioning which is genuinely interested in the kind of processing in which the learner is engaged and it is the experience of this processing which constitutes the learner's environment.

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Table 1.

Mental operational demands on the Child
through parent distancing strategies

High level distancing	Medium level	Low level
evaluate consequence	sequence	label
evaluate competence	reproduce	produce information
evaluate affect	describe similarities	describe, define
evaluate performance	describe differences	describe interpretation
evaluate necessary and or sufficient	infer similarities	demonstrate
infer cause-effect	infer differences	observe
infer affect	symmetrical classification	
infer effect	estimating	
generalize	asymmetrical classification	
transform	enumerating	
plan	synthesizing within classifying	
confirmation of plan		
conclude		
propose alternatives		
resolve conflict		

Diminutives and female language usage

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There is certainly no doubt about the fact that gender has an impact on language, or more precisely, on language use and usage[1], although it remains very often unclear in which way the language used by men and women differ because the evidence is sometimes rather anecdotal. Furthermore, much of feminist linguistics is more concerned with the way women are represented in a language than with clearly identifiable differences in language usage[2]. One of the features frequently associated with female language usage is the use of diminutives especially in those languages where synthetic diminutives exist and where diminuation by suffixation is a productive rule, i.e. for example in Spanish, Portuguese and German. I would like to show in this article that this association is to quite a large extent unjustified and due to some misconceptions with regard to the function of diminutive forms.

As the expression of affection is seen as the main function of diminutive forms[3], the conclusions which are drawn can be summarized as follows: the romance languages (Spanish and Portuguese in particular) have such an abundance of diminutive suffixes because they are used by peoples which are more affectionate (warmer, more friendly etc.) than others and hence need more ways of expressing their feelings. Diminutives occur more frequently in female language usage because latin women are even more affectionate and emotional than the latin men[4].

The same opinions are expressed for German[5], only that Germans are generally less emotional and consequently make much less use of their possibilities with regards to the diminutive.

It seems, however, that these observations are made regardless of the domain. This means that certain features, in this case diminuation, which are, in my opinion, basically, determined by domain, are listed as gender specific phenomena just because members of one sex find themselves, for socially determined reasons, more often in a specific type of situation than the members of the other. If we then say that feature x is typical for female language usage we neglect the fact that it is so only beause women are dealing with certain areas of everyday life more frequently than men. Or, the other way round: x is an overall feature of a certain domain and if men are in a given situation S_x which requires a register R_x of which x is a feature they employ x with the same frequency as women.

What I would like to show is that the analysis of the use of diminutive forms[6], and their association with "women talk"[7], probably suffers from the kind of misconception already mentioned above and also from a lack of proper distinction. The use of diminutives can, in my opinon, not be interpreted as a gender determined feature. It is largely a domain related phenomenon used by everybody, irrespective of gender, when the situational context requires it.

My argument is then: firstly that the function of the diminutives has traditionally been analized inadequatly, secondly that empirical evidence has not been interpreted properly.

The extended definition of the diminutive, which is based rather on function than on form, comprises not only the synthetically derived ones (e.g.*-inho* in Portuguese and *-chen* in German) but also analytic forms such as *little, petit, pequeno, klein + noun* and extended formulae such as English *tiny little* or *wee bit* . I wish to work with a narrower category here and I will limit my analysis to the synthectic forms, i. e. basically Portuguese *-inho* with some references to German *-chen*[8].

Certain areas of language - seemingly especially those, which express in some way or other the phatic[9] component of language - resist quite successfully any attempt at precise analysis. This was true until a couple of years ago for German modal particles[10] and is still true for the diminutive and augmentative forms of Portuguese and Spanish. One should not be deceived by the sheer quantity of literature on this topic, because most of it deals mainly with frequency counts, i.e. how many diminuntives occur in a given corpus, normally a set of literary texts, and leaves much to be desired in terms of functional analysis[11]. Indeed, the conclusion with regards to their function, which are normally drawn, are: diminutives express firstly smallness, secondly an emotive or phatic component, normally affection, sometimes contempt, depending on the context they occur in[12]. The question how one suffix can express such diverse and at times even contradictory facts and attitudes is rarely put and when it is asked the explanations usually refer to context, style or situtation as the responsible factors for the various effects it can have. Undoubtedly these factors play an important role, but on a different level. For instance, some words become almost always more affectionate when carrying the suffix, with others it takes a lot of imagination to contrive a situation where the affection becomes the dominating factor. I will come back to this later.

I would like to make a few remarks here with regard to the various functions of diminutives.

1. Smallness

It is true that diminutives are frequently used when the objects they are referring to are indeed small. But they do not necessarily have to be. It is perfectly possible to call an enormous building "casinha" (little house) or a Rolls Royce "carrozinho" (little car) or a fully grown and fierce Rottweiler "caozinho" (little dog). It is therefore slightly incorrect to say that diminutives *express* smallness.

2. *Affection*

In cases where size is not the motivation for using diminutive forms the affectionate component is taken to be the prevalent factor. That is someone who refers to his/her dog as *caozinho*, even when referring to the already mentioned fully grown fierce Rottweiler, he/she expresses his/her affection for the beast.

3. *Contempt*

The element of contempt, which can be expressed by using a diminutive is grossly neglected in the relevant literature, even though this facet occurs quite often in spoken and written Portuguese. For instance if someone bought an assumedly fierce guard-dog which turns out to be a friendly coward might use the same word as in the example given above i.e. *caozinho* to express his/her dissatisfaction or contempt. And if someone refers to their superior as "chefezinho" in most cases it does not mean that the person in question is physically undersized or that the speaker is particularly fond of him/her. It is one of these cases where it is difficult to construct a context which would match with affection, for normally one would take the word to be meant pejoratively. The conclusions so far are that diminutives can refer to small objects but they do not necessarily have to, but that in all cases they express emotions and these range from affection to contempt.

To state that an element expresses emotions does not get us any further in the analysis. The more interesting question is, how it is done. This consequently leads to a second question: how can we measure the emotional charge of a given element, a word in this case, with the diminutive suffix and without it, as it would certainly be highly desirable to find one explanation which caters for all diminutive functions.

A quite powerful instrument to measure the emotional charge of words is the semantic differential developed by OSGOOD and his school[13]. The semantic differential works basically with bipolar scales from +3 to -3 where both extremes are marked by antonyms. The semantic space covered by the semantic differential is three dimensional and defined by the axes *evalutation*, *potency* and *activity*. Evaluation is basically determined by a *good/bad* dichotomy, potency by *strong/weak* and activity by *active/passive*. The classic example to illustrate this is the evaluation of the concept *father*.

The interpretation then is, that *father* has a tendency towards *good* on the evaluation scale, towards *strong* on the potency scale and towards *active* on the activity scale. The concept *father* thus has an overall positive semantic profile, or, in other words, the concept has a positive emotional charge[14].

Father

	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	
good	_	_	X	_	_	_	_	bad
strong	_	X	_	_	_	_	_	weak
active	_	_	X	_	_	_	_	passive

For my analysis of diminuntive forms I chose the following items: Portuguese: *chefe, casa, mulher, gato (boss, house, woman, cat)* and their respective diminutives, i. e. *chefezinho, càsinha, mulherzinha, gatinho*.
The ratings were as follows:

	EVALUATION	POTENCY	ACTIVITY
chefe	1	2	2
chefezinho	-1	-2	-1
mulher	3	1	2
mulherzinha	2	-1	1
casa	3	1	0
casinha	2	1	0
gato	-1	1	2
gatinho	2	-2	2

These results need some kind of interpretation, but it would certainly be too much of a digression if I tried to give a detailed analysis here. I will limit myself to the following observations. The concept of *chefezinho* gets much lower ratings than the *chefe*. The *chefezinho* is seen as quite bad, far less powerful and quite passive. This could mean that he lacks, in the speakers opinion, everything that is normally attributed to someone in a superior position. Hence, there is no reason for respect. The element of contempt could then be localized in the fact that the *chefezinho* does not live up to the expections but is nevertheless in a formally superior position.

We find the same tendency in *mulherzinha*, but not as strong. Similarly one could say that the ratings show that a lack of certain qualities subjectively felt. In this case the diminutive is usually used to express affection, but it is not necessarily the case. *Casinha* remains remarkably unaffected. This suggests that in this case the diminuation does not change the emotional charge very much. Or, in other words, the normal and the diminutive form can be used indiscriminately without giving any indication about the speakers attitude.

Gatinho shows a positve tendency on the evaluation scale and a markedly negative one on the potency scale. Interestingly enough *gatinho* is almost exclusively used to express affection, i.e., the lack of potency, unlike in *chefezinho* is probably not seen as negative.

Even though the sample is far too small to draw far reaching conclusions it certainly indicates, that the diminutive forms as such do express some kind of subjective attitude or even judgement. The question still is, how can one element express an attitude which is very often quite positive, in some cases more or less neutral and in some cases markedly negative?

The tentative explanations I would like to suggest refer firstly to the level of pragmatics and secondly to the level of word semantics.

The diminutive suffix as such is neutral as far as any contents or meaning is concerned. Its main pragmatic function is to signal that the speaker minimizes the distance between him/her and the object or person in question. That is, the speaker indicates that his/her relationship with the object or person is an intimate one. Getting verbally closer to an object or person means, however, that whatever it is the speaker is verbally approaching, does not pose any threat or danger. That is, by using the diminutive the speaker signals: Everything under control[15].

Minimizing for instance the distance verbally between the speaker and the boss, which is objectively determined by a hierachical relationship means that the speaker, for some reason or other does not feel this distance any more, i.e. the actual boss who is characterized as *chefezinho* lacks certain features which would justify the distance. To call a fierce dog a *caozinho* expresses the same lack of distance. The one who does so, feels that the dog and the boss are manageable, that he/she has no reason to be afraid or even cautious[16].

The suggested diminutive function of minimizing distances would also account for the fact that certain lexemes hardly ever take the suffix, lexemes which denote repulsive[17] objects, animals or persons like *cobra* (*snake*), *barata* (*cockroach*) etc. It would also explain that diminutive forms are used frequently for objects which are small in size, as it is quite evident that it is much easier to minimize the distance to something that is controllable just because it is small.

On the level of word semantics one could imagine that it works like an operator which combines with certain semantic features[18] of the lexeme it is attached to, i.e., it has the power to convert features with positive (in the mathematical sense) features into negative ones, as for instance in the case of *chefezinho*. This does not mean that the conversion is necessarily seen as negative with regard to the speaker's appreciation or even affection. Much to the contrary: such a conversion could be the prerequisite for appreciation or affection. It is exactly the subjectively felt lack of fierceness or potency (in the OSGOOD terminology) in a dog that causes me to call it *caozinho*. The two levels, word semantics and pragmatics, interact in such a way, that the semantic level offers possibilities of converting features which facilitate a verbal approximation. But only the pragmatic level shows if this approximation is based on a lack of respect or on genuine affection or just on the fact that the object in question is for some reason or other deemed as controllable.

This, admittedly very tentative explanation, however, would certainly not explain the alleged higher frequency of diminutive forms in female language usage, because one would assume that in our present western societies men still would have more need for expressing that they are in control, that they have no respect, than women, i.e. that one would expect a higher frequency of diminutive forms in male language usage.

And indeed in an analysis[19] of four novels by JORGE AMADO, probably the most popular present day Brazilian novelist, I found, that of the 1234 diminutive forms 719 were use by male characters and 515 by female character. Far from supporting my hypothesis, i.e. that diminutives are not gender related, these figures indicate at least a tendency which does not contradict my assumption.

The fact that in all the major contributions the opposite is still maintained is perhaps due to the fact that many authors confuse the domain and the truly gender determined usage.

As women are still more engaged in child rearing than men, a domain where diminutive forms occur more frequently than elsewhere, the absolute frequency of diminutive forms might in some cases even be higher in their usage, but only because the situational context. For various reasons, small things invite the use of the diminutive. Secondly, parents, often have the task of demonstrating to their children that a given object, animal or person is not dangerous, i. e., manageable even for them. A mother thus would probably say "Sieh mal, ist das nicht ein liebes Pferdchen" in an attempt to convince her child, that there is no reason to be afraid of the horse.

We could thus conclude that diminutive forms cannot be classified as markers of female language usage on the basis that women are more affectionate than men. And there is certainly not enough evidence to classify them as markers of male language usage as a means to express a male attitude of demonstrating control. The impression that women use these forms more often than men is determined socially rather than linguistically.

Footnotes

1. COATES (1986:160) states "...that in our society and others like it, there are clear male/female differences in language. In a society where sex/gender is a highly signigicant category, it is not surprising that language reflects and reinforces such a category."

2. Cf. for example the works of MILLER/SWIFT (1979) and PUSCH (1984).

3. Cf. ALONSO (1951: 24ff), GOOCH (1967:3ff), POTTIER (1953 237f), RUDOLPH (1990 253ff).

4. Cf. VAZQUES CUESTA/MENDES DA LUZ (1971:141): "El papel de los sufijos diminutivos ... es muy importante en una lengua como la portuguesa en la que el sentimiento predomina sobre las puras concepciones intelectuales. ... en los sufijos se concentra todo el apasionamento meridional e iberico del portugues."

5. See TRÖMEL-PLÖTZ (1982:45f).

6. See ETTINGER'S critical survey. (ETTINGER 1974).

7. cf. TRÖMEL-PLÖTZ (1982:45f).

8. Some authors maintain that the synthetic diminutive where it competes with analytic diminutives has the function of expressing smallness whereas the analytic forms have an emotive function. (cf.CUNHA 1983:140f and HENTSCHEL/WEYDT 1990:173f).

9. The term "phatic" will be used throughout the article in the sense in which it has been used by MALINOWSKY (1972), i.e. to refer to any information that is not strictly propositional.

10. For more details cf. WEYDT (1969), HARDEN(1983)

11. Cf. SKORGE (1956).

12. See HILLIS/FORD/COUTINHO (1944:229ff), HUNDERTMARKS-SANTOS-MARTINS (1982:57ff), DE MELLO/NEVES/HENRIQUES (1985:151ff), VAZQUEZ CUESTA/MENDES DA LUZ (1971:140ff).

13. For further reference see OSGOOD/SUCCI/TANNENBAUM (1957) and for a critical evaluation WEINREICH (1958) and BROWN (1958).

14. This seems to be the case for the majority of language communities as was shown by a number of cross-cultural studies. Cf. KUMATA/SCHRAMM (1956), YASUMASA/TADASU/OSGOOD (1963), OSGOOD (1964).

15. GARCIA LORCA (1957:3) observed with regard to the function of diminutives: "No queremos que el mundo sea tan grande ni el mar tan hondo. Hay necesidad de limitar, de domesticar los términos inmensos."

16. Cf. ENGEL (1988:516f).

17. Cf. HENTSCHEL/WEYDT (1990:174).

18. For a very comprehensive overview of Structural Semantic Theory see COSERUI/GECKELER (1981).

19. The results presented here are only a very superficial account of more detailed but still unpublished research findings. The novels analized were: *Os capitaes da areia*, *Gabriela, Cravo e canela*, *Tieta do Agreste* and *Tocaia Grande*.

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Gender Differences in Language Use: Linguistics and Folklinguistics

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INTRODUCTION

Studies of the relationship between language and gender have become more frequent in the last fifteen years. Gender is now recognized as a significant variable in the fields of dialectology, sociolinguistics, second language learning and child development, for example. However, there is generally a time lag between the establishment of research findings among the academic community and their acceptance among the general population. For this reason, it is valuable periodically to examine the prevailing folklinguistic beliefs concerning language and gender in the light of research findings on this subject.

Research does not occur in a vacuum, but in a political and social context; the assumptions of a society tend to be built into research. For example, the nineteenth century French scientist Paul Broca, working on the prevailing assumption that women were less intelligent than men, found that his data on craniometry supported this belief. However, he also assumed that French men were not less intelligent than German men, which caused him to re-examine his craniometric data and make allowances for age and body size (ignored in his male/female comparisons) which produced a result accceptable to his system of beliefs.

Research on women's language use has also reflected prevailing attitudes, and this in many ways accounts for its conflicting results. *Coates (1986)* attributed this to the "Androcentric Rule":

> Men will be seen to behave linguistically in a way that fits the writer's view of what is desirable or admirable; women on the other hand will be blamed for any linguistic state or development which is regarded by the writer as reprehensible.
>
> *Coates (1986:15)*

Thus, when lexical innovation was frowned on in the eighteenth century, women were judged to be the main offenders, whereas when lexical change was accepted as inevitable in a living language in the early twentieth century, the noted linguist *Otto Jespersen (1922)* attributed "the renovation" of language to men.

Coates's Adrocentric Rule could, of course, be applied to a whole range of other disadvantaged groups, such as ethnic minorities or those of lower socio-economic status, in that the language use of the more powerful group is regularly seen as the desirable standard. There are in fact many similarities between the negative attitudes to women's language and to the language of oppressed minorities[1]. An openness to these similarities will ultimately benefit the study of language and gender.

There is also a danger in focussing too exclusively on gender as the determining factor in differential language use since this obscures the similarities across sex which are determined by other factors. Women exist as a group which is distinct from men in many experiences, but other factors also define us: for example, our race, social class and education, and research on language and gender must not lose sight of these other factors.

Change in the social and political situation of women has been profound and continuous in this century and this has contributed to intergenerational differences in women's language. When *Robin Lakoff* described women's language in 1975, many of today's researchers were children or teenagers, and the society in which they live is significantly different from that of Lakoff's generation. About the time of Lakoff's seminal study, there was a significant widening of the choices available to women in Ireland: 1973 saw the removal of the "marriage bar", by which women working in the public service were prohibited from continuing in their posts after marriage. There have been other fundamental changes in legislation regarding equality in the last twenty years in this country. The study of language and gender must continually take stock in order to keep up with the pace of these social changes and their possible effects on language use.

Such an attempt to take stock also highlights the stereotypes which still operate, though they may no longer be appropriate for today's reality. Despite the changes in equality legislation and the widening of choices available to women in the last twenty years, many of the attitudes to women, including those concerning their use of language, reflect the assumptions of earlier times. What *Coates (1986)* describes as "folklinguistic beliefs" are still common, based on stereotypes or on out-dated or flawed research. This paper will examine briefly some of these folklinguistic beliefs regarding women's language, and contrast them with research findings on these topics. Finally, some of the differences which *have* been established between the use of language by women and men will be briefly discussed.

LINGUISTICS AND FOLKLINGUISTICS

Linguistics has a history of assuming that men's language is the norm, and that women's language deviates from that norm in various ways. Linguists' generalizations concerning women's language have historically tended to focus on its negative characteristics. For example, *Otto Jespersen* in the 1920s concluded that women speak more softly than men, use diminutives like "teeny-weeny", construct their sentences loosely, leave them unfinished more often, and jump from topic to topic. When Jespersen found that some women read faster than "highly distinguished men", he claimed that a fast reading rate was the consequence of a vacant mind which admitted the text to short-term memory without inspection. Because it was assumed that women were less intelligent than men, they were judged to have smaller vocabularies. Men's language, it was argued, was more analytical and used more abstract constructions, whereas women's language was simple-minded and emotional. Such negative characteristics of women's language tended to be attributed to biology rather than to socialization. While such assumptions about women's language are no longer held by linguists, they frequently form the basis of the folklinguistic beliefs of our culture. One of the most frequently encountered folklinguistic beliefs is outlined below:

GENDER AND TALKATIVENESS

> **Folklinguistic Belief 1:**
> Women are more talkative than men.

A glance through a dictionary of quotations reveals that many notable quotations on the subject of women refer to their garrulousness. For example, one of Beaumont and Fletcher's (early 17th century) characters says:

> As men do walk a mile, women should talk an hour after supper: "'tis their exercise".

Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1856) has her heroine Aurora Lee say:

> A woman's function plainly is - to talk.

A more recent example of this attitude is found in the Andy Capp joke:

> When two wives get together, who has the last word?

The assumption that women are more talkative than men led to the idea that women cannot keep a secret, but blurt everything out. In Old Irish this was expressed as follows:

> Ná tabhair do rún do mhná.
> Rún mná ní maith a cheiltear[1]
> "Do not reveal your secret to women
> A woman's secret is ill-concealed"

Later still Shakespeare's Julius Caesar said:

> How hard it is for women to keep counsel!

A modern version of this attitude is encapsulated in:

> Telegram, Telephone, Tell-a-woman.

Children may be exposed to this stereotype early. For example, Coates (1986) reports that children in Bristol and Birkenhead were taught a version of a children's song that goes:

> All the daddies on the bus go read read read.
> All the mammies on the bus go chatter chatter chatter...

Dale Spender (1980) argues that women's talkativeness is not measured against men's, but against the idealization that the feminine woman is *silent*.

> When silence is the desired state for women...then any talk in which woman engages can be too much.
>
> *Spender 1980:42*

Spender claims that because of this association between an ideal of femininity and silence or quietness, then *any* amount of talk from women is considered to be *too much*. *Cutler and Scott (1990:295)* note that because women speakers' contributions to conversation are undervalued, they are often considered to have "gone on too long relative to what female speakers are held to deserve", thus bolstering the impression of garrulity.

Recent research has attempted to determine whether the standards used in judging the relative talkativenss of women and men are, in fact, different. *Cutler and Scott* (1990) tested 55 subjects (25 males, 30 females) on a number of identical two-party conversations in which the speaker sex was systematically varied. Listeners were asked to judge the relative proportional contribution of each speaker. Their results showed that the contribution of female speakers was invariably judged as greater than that of male speakers, despite the fact that their contributions were identical. *Sadker and Sadker (1985)* found that teachers asked to judge the talkativeness of boys and girls on a videotape of a class usually identified the girls as being more talkative, when in fact the boys were talking significantly more.

Swacker (1975) compared the volubility of women and men when asked to describe a set of pictures. She found that the men in this study took on average 13 minutes per picture compared with only 3.17 minutes for women. *Swacker (1976, cited by Tannen, 1991)* studied the question-and-answer sessions at academic conferences. Her results showed that even though women made up about 42% of the audience and contributed 40% of the papers, they volunteered only 27% of the questions in open discussion. Their questions were also significantly shorter (more than 50%) than the men's, because the women tended to ask questions directly, without the prefacing statements frequently used by the men. At IRAAL's 'Language and Gender' conference in 1991, it was noticeable that while the majority of the audience were women (over 70%), most of those asking questions were men.

Spender (1980) observed spontaneous group discussions, and also noted that men contributed a greater proportion of the discussion even when in the minority. A number of other studies (for example, *Eakins and Eakins, 1978; Kramarae, 1981*) found that it was men who talked most in a whole range of settings, including laboratory situations, staff meetings and television panel discussions. *Cutler and Scott (1990)* conclude from their study that:

> On balance....there is actually better evidence for men speaking more than women than vice versa. There is certainly no evidence to support the widespread folk belief than women are overwhelmingly the more garrulous sex.

Tannen (1991) points out that the conflict between the research showing that men speak more and the folklinguistic belief that it is women who are more talkative is explained by the different behaviour of the sexes regarding "public" and "private" speaking. She observes that more men engage in public speaking or "report-talk" because they use language to negotiate inter-group status whereas more women engage in conversation or "rapport-talk" because they use language to establish connections and negotiate relationships. The folklinguistic belief regarding women's garrulity therefore reflects the observation that women engage in more 'private' talk than men. Men's greater talkativeness in public situations is viewed positively, while women's greater talkativeness in more private conversational settings is viewed negatively. It is not talkativeness *per se* which is criticized, but the use to which women's talk is put, the subjects discussed. Thus, beliefs regarding women's talkativeness are bound up with assumptions regarding the triviality of the topics women discuss and the purpose to which women put language. This brings us to a related folklinguistic belief:

Folklinguistic Belief 2:
Women talk about trivial subjects more often than men.

A song heard recently on a folkmusic programme on RTÉ Radio 1 contained the following verse:

> Put four old women around four cups of tea
> They'll talk of more gossip than ever could be.
> Put four old men round a barrel of beer
> They'll talk of more work than they'd do in a year.

This reflects the view that women "gossip" while men are more likely to talk about serious subjects such as work. There is long-standing evidence that women and men tend to discuss different topics *(e.g. Landis 1927)*. In a more recent study, *Aries (1976)* found that a group of men meeting regularly talked about

> competition and teasing, sports, and general activities;

while the women in the study talked to each other about:

> themselves, their relationships, home and family.

The problem with such research is that the topic of conversation is significantly influenced by such factors as the level of acquaintance between the interlocutors, the setting, their shared information, their social class and educational standard, their work experience and age. Women who work together are more likely to discuss their work than women with dissimilar occupations, or women who work in the home. Men are more likely to discuss more personal topics within longstanding friendships than in looser groups. Thus we need to be cautious in deriving generalizations about these differences.

Nevertheless, there is evidence that women and men talk about different subjects in part because they assign different functions to talk. *Tannen (1991)* argues that because women are more likely to use language to connect rather than simply to convey information, they talk in situations when men are relatively silent, such as in social situations with acquaintances or strangers, or at home with their partners and families. Women's talk is frequently described pejoratively as "gossip" whereas men are generally not deemed to gossip, even when talking about non-serious subjects. Women counter the stereotype regarding their garrulity in the private sphere by arguing that is not they who are too talkative, but men who are too silent. The comedienne Roseanne Barr in a recent "Roseanne" episode has a character say to another woman:

> Tell us what's wrong: after all, if we can't talk to each other, we might as well be men.

Thus, the folklinguistic belief regarding women's talkativeness on so-called "trivial" topics is a criticism of women, but studies such as *Maltz and Borker's (1982)* point to women's disappointment with men's relative silence on personal topics. The denigration of "women's talk" and women's dissatisfaction with men's silence in the private sphere must be viewed in light of the different perceptions regarding the purpose of talking which appear to be broadly linked with gender. Understanding differences represents progress from the stage of general criticism contained in the persistence of folklinguistic beliefs. Tannen notes:

> Such impasses will perhaps never be settled to the complete satisfaction of both parties, but understanding the differing views can help detoxify the situation, and both can make adjustments.
>
> *Tannen 1991:85*

MORE RECENT (LINGUISTIC) MYTHS: LAKOFF

Robin Lakoff's (1975) book "Language and Woman's Place" was considered by many to mark the beginning of twentieth-century interest in gender differences in language. However, after the initial burst of enthusiasm, it was criticized for its lack of rigour and its overreliance on anecdotes which bolstered old myths and produced new ones. Nevertheless, as Janet Holmes points out:

> Though Robin Lakoff's (1975) claims about the linguistic forms she considered characteristic of women's language have been attacked, misrepresented, qualified, refuted and constantly criticized over the last 15 years, no one can say they have been uninfluential.
>
> *Holmes, 1990:185*

Lakoff's conclusions were widely accepted, and are still frequently cited. However, more recent research has questioned the validity of some of her claims, though these findings are not yet as widely known. For example, *Lakoff (1975)* claimed that features such as hesitations, rising intonation, tag questions, hedges such as "I think" and "you know" and intensifiers such as "so" are characteristic of women's speech. *Holmes (1990)* examined the use of some of these features with the following results:

TAGS

Holmes found that the frequency of tag questions varies in both sexes according to the context and dialect, but that overall:

> Men use tags more often than women do to express uncertainty and ask for confirmation, while women use them

> more often than men in their facilitative positive politeness function.
>
> *Holmes 1990:197.*

Thus, when taking account of the different functions of tag questions for men and women, Holmes found significant differences in their usage. While men's tags conformed to the stereotype of expressing uncertainty, women's tags were found more often to be attempts to involve the listener and facilitate the beginning of the next turn. Thus, simple quantificational analysis of the use of a feature by men and women can overlook a qualitative difference.

"YOU KNOW"

Contrary to Lakoff's assertion, the incidence of "you know" was higher in the male subjects' speech than in the female subjects in Holmes's study, and again there were differences in its function in the two sexes. The men used "you know" significantly more often to express uncertainty than confidence, whereas the women used it about equally often with each function.

"I THINK"

Holmes found that her female and male subjects used "I think" with about equal frequency, but with different functions. The women used "I think" to indicate deliberation more often than uncertainty, whereas the men used it to indicate tentativeness more often than deliberation.

Overall, Holmes's results do not support Lakoff's claim that women use these features significantly more often than men. Nor do they support her assumption that their function is to mark uncertainty only. Instead, analysis of women's discourse found that they may be used as positive politeness devices or to express solidarity, confidence or deliberation. Lakoff assumed that women used them to express uncertainty, as men do, and her conclusions have been widely accepted as showing that women's language contains more markers of uncertainty and tentativeness. Analysis of their functions however, undermines what has, in fact, become a recent folklinguistic belief.

Another challenge to Lakoff's analysis came from *O'Barr & Atkins (1980)*. They re-examined Lakoff's claims with data from male and female witnesses in court, arguing that the features identified by Lakoff as characteristic of "women's language" correlated not with sex, but with the speaker's social status and experience in court. They identified this speech style as "powerless" and argued that women's language has been confused with powerless language because of women's generally less powerful position in society. This represents a valuable broadening of the focus from exclusively gender-linked differences to the inclusion of other variables and emphasizes the fact that male/female differences in language style may point to socialized rather than inherent differences.

Reviewing Lakoff's claims as contributing further to some of the inaccurate folklinguistic beliefs concerning female and male speech is a salutary reminder for modern studies that mythology is easily created, but destroyed only with difficulty. The range of factors which underlie gender differences in language use must be examined and findings must also be reviewed in the light of inter-generational change. *Lakoff (1980)* has pointed to such change in the language of male and female academics in the U.S.:

> "the distinction between men's and women's language seem to be blurred..." The traits I listed as characteristic of women's speech are frequent in academic men's speech, and academic women's speech tends at the same time to use these devices less that does the speech of traditional women.
>
> *Lakoff 1980:84*

Lakoff attributes this blurring of distinctions to the fact that male and female professionals in academia have a common perception of their role and the contexts in which they work. Such developments may indicate the neutralization of some features in some domains, and point again to the contribution of factors other than gender in male/female differences in language use. Research on language use must become more sensitive to such changes and examine them in their wider contexts.

SOME ESTABLISHED DIFFERENCES IN WOMEN'S AND MEN'S USE OF LANGUAGE

INTERRUPTIONS

Despite these indications of shifts towards some neutralization in particular groups, there is also evidence regarding current male/female differences in conversational style. For example, the pattern of interruptions found in mixed-sex dyads has been found to differ from that of single-sex dyads. West and *Zimmerman (1983, 1985)* and *Zimmerman and West (1975)* showed that, in mixed-sex conversations men interrupt women far more frequently than women interrupt men. 96% of interruptions in woman-man dyads in their study were instances of the man interrupting the woman. In same-sex conversations, women interrupted women about as often as men interrupted men.

In place of interruptions, women are found to use more "minimal responses" while listening (such as "yeah", "mmh", "you're right" and nods) which overlap with, but do not interrupt the speaker's turn. These responses support the speaker and present the image of an "active listener" which is often judged to be missing in male listeners.

USE OF QUESTIONS

Fishman (1983) carried out a study of the conversations of a number of married couples. She found that women asked 71% of questions in these conversations. Questions elicit a response and thus help to keep the conversation going. *Tannen (1991)* argues that men are more inhibited about asking questions, since this places them in the role of the less powerful interactor, and because the requesting of information involves a greater loss of face for men than women.

LISTENING VERSUS NOT SPEAKING

Several studies (e.g. *Tannen, 1991, Jones, 1980, Aries 1976*) indicate that men and women tend to conduct conversations on somewhat different principles. As already discussed, Tannen claims that more women use talk to establish rapport, while more men use it to convey information and establish status. Men's conversation indicates that they are more likely to think of silence during a conversation as "not speaking" while women tend more to see it as "active listening". Observations of male group conversations show more competition for turns, and a more hierarchical division among speakers emerges as a results. Conversations among women's groups show more encouragement of all speakers and less competition.

CONCLUSION

This paper has re-examined some of the folklinguistic beliefs concerning women's speech and contrasted them with research findings. Some of the strongest stereotypes concerning women's language use are shown to be inaccurate or simple value judgements. Such negative stereotypes are not exclusive to women, but have been applied to many marginalised groups in our society. Talkativeness has been attributed, for example, to the Celt also. Thus the stereotypes regarding women's language must be linked with the stereotypes applied to other disempowered groups, since such an analysis points not to inherent differences due to sex, but to conditioned ones due to a less powerful position in society.

Nevertheless, some differences in the way women and men currently conduct conversations and use language in Western society have been substantiated. The task of future research on language and gender will be to describe these differences, but also to remain open to change influenced by other factors such as increasing flexibility in sex roles and decreasing marginalisation. We must guard against the research findings of today becoming the inappropriate folklinguistic beliefs of the next century.

1. This extract is from a Modern Irish version of the Old Irish tale **Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó,** edited by Rudolf Thurneysen and published by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies in 1935. The Modern Irish translation is by Liam Mac Mathúna and appeared in FEASTA, April 1972. The original tale belongs to the 9th century.

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The teaching of translation : exploring gender differences

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THE STATUS OF TRANSLATION STUDIES

It is appropriate to begin the present study with a few remarks on what has become known as " translation studies". By this we understand teaching students to translate in a third-level context. It is only fair to add that this particular discipline has suffered from a bad press historically. Two reasons come to mind as the most likely explanations for this state of affairs. One writer has summed up succinctly the way in which translation was usually viewed:

> avant même de pratiquer la traduction, on préjuge sa possibilité,
> en tranchant par la négative... (*Ladmiral: 1979,46*).

Before the task was even undertaken, it was discredited in advance. At best the outcome of the translation process was often viewed as an inferior version of the original; at worst as a form of betrayal. This position, though extreme, has a certain justification in practice, since most commentators would agree that the translation process usually involves some meaning loss.

The second reason has something to do with the way translation was often used in the teaching of modern languages, especially in the now discredited "grammar-translation method". Students were required to perform endless translation tasks at levels way beyond their competence with disappointing results. Yet a host of recent developments in the field of business, economics as well as in social and cultural life, taking place against a background of rapidly altering political horizons in Europe and the world have served to highlight the importance of translation and interpreting. Some recent estimates of the growth in demand for advanced language skills in the Belgian context are reckoned as being in the region of 25% per annum. It has been stated that: "translators at the EEC get through one million pages of work a year and more than a thousand people at the Commission have the task of making sure that readable final drafts are produced" (*Verset,1991*). Of course, every now and again the old argument surfaces to the effect that it would be cheaper and easier if we all used one or maybe two languages. This line of reasoning loses sight of two important facts. 1) Very few second language learners attain true native-like mastery in all the registers and areas of specialisation in a foreign language 2) The relative costs of translating , say, an international contract worth millions of ECUs, will just represent a drop in the ocean compared to the profits that ensue. To conclude this section it seems obvious that for some time into the future the increasing demand for advanced language skills will continue to increase.

TRANSLATION PEDAGOGY

The lack of serious interest in translation studies already mentioned has meant that very little research has been done in the field of translation pedagogy. To quote Dodds, who has had the remarkable distinction, while studying in France and the U.K., of having had both Georges Mounin and Peter Newmark as teachers: "the training of the translation teacher is very little talked about and yet is of fundamental importance to the passing down of experience from generation to generation" (*Dodds 1991, 579*). Although a considerable literature exists on the theoretical aspects of the translation process, little research has been done on the way budding translators acquire their skills. There is little in the way of an "applied linguistics" of translation. This is not to say that there are not a good many course books available usually of a contrastive nature which aim to instruct the student regarding the difficulties of rendering the Source language meassage in the Target Language. However, little research of a truly psycholinguistic nature has been done on how this learning process takes place. In his 1991 book, Newmark attests that there is hardly any literature on the subject.

Indeed, I would not question the fact that a good deal of excellent teaching is done in the various university departments where courses of this sort are given throughout Europe. Yet the feeling remains that the organization of this instruction is carried out in a rather piecemeal affair for the reasons alluded to above. It is difficult not to agree with the view that: "...teachers still tend to rely on intuition and practice as the only way to train translators." (*Baker, 1990:167*).

To round off this section I would suggest that there are three myths which have dogged the field in question for a number of years. These are:

1. *The translator only works into his mother tongue.*
2. *He/She always works alone.*
3. *There is only one right translation.*

However the experience of the real world shows that translators are frequently called upon to work into languages which are not their own but which they are supposed to have mastered; assignments are increasingly a team effort especially where specialized or technical work is concerned; and most controversially, perhaps, that a given stretch of the *source language* can be rendered in a number of ways in the *target language*.

APPROACHES TO TRANSLATION

Most commentators agree that there are a number of strategic approaches which can be adopted when carrying out a given assignment. Few would contest Newmark's well-known principle that the end product should produce an "equivalent effect" on its readers as the original text had on its readership. It is this very requirement which makes translation a difficult and frustrating business. We are not merely required to understand the source text with all the subleties and cultural overtones which it may contain but we have to transform this into the most appropriate form of the target language. It is common to place translation types under a number of headings which for the sake of brevity I will reduce to four:

1. *Communicative translation.*
   -message alone is transmitted.

2. *Faithful/Semantic translation.*
   -attempts to reproduce all effects of original.

3. *Literal translation.*
   -translation starts on unit-by-unit basis. Result may then be polished.

4. *Adaptations of/or restricted version of original in target language.*
   -no attempt to render source-text as a whole.

In the present discussion, I will not be too concerned with the last mentioned since many theorists would hold that it does not constitute true translation at all. However, I will be concerned with 3. since despite what is often propounded on the subject there are occasions where a high degree of convergence between source and target texts is both desirable and practicable. Here, I have in mind : legal and administrative papers, descriptive and instructive documents and diplomatic agreements. One only has to recall the well-known incident during the negociations at the end of the Korean war where the failure to translate the key phrase: "despite our many outstanding differences" in a speech by Chou-en-lai, caused the Belgians make a positive overture to what they thought to be a peace proposal, only to precipitate a row with other Western delegates who thought they had gone over to the "other side". The overall impression is that impression if the translator had produced a less polished but more literal version the misunderstanding could have been avoided.

It can of course be argued that where general texts are concerned - neither very specialized or very literary in nature there is a sort of optimal approach situated somewhere between 2. and 3. The translator attempts to reamian faithful to the feeling of the original without losing sight of those details conveying crucial information. In this context I find the concept of "engaged text" advanced by A. C. Cruse (1992) very useful. The job of the translator is to locate that part of the source text to which the author commits himself totally. To use extreme examples, in a stock market report the engaged text might be restricted to the data presented, while in a poem it might constitute virtually everything.

It is an important principle since it opens up the the possibility of different strategic approaches being relevant and valid depending on the kind of source text involved. Clearly, where general texts are concerned we are faced with contexts where sometimes one sometimes the other, sometimes a variety of approaches could be justified. Broadly speaking however,it seems to me that these can be divided into those which are convergent - which tend to mirror the patterns of the source text and those which are divergent - exhibiting the opposite tendency.

In the case of French and English, the two languages under discussion an example of this can easily be provided. Let us examine the following sentence found midways in a text on the need to improve language skills:

...le monde commerant n'était pas le dernier à l'avoir compris...

At least three translations can be anticipated.

a) *The business world was not the last to understand this.*

b) *This fact did not escape the business world.*

c) *The business world grasped this fact right from the start.*

I would tend to reject (*a*) as sounding unidiomatic in English. The second sentence retains a negative construction in the communication of positive information and is still close in spirit to the original. (*c*) diverges in structure and style from the original while expressing the same message with greater vividness.

LOOKING FOR VARIABLES

One of the surprises that I had when beginning to teach translation French/English at the Ecole d'Interprtes Internationaux was the variety of solutions provided for a given translation problem. Put very bluntly: when a given stretch of language of a certain level of sophistication is presented to twenty students it is likely to produce anything up to twenty differing answers. Some will attempt reproduce the outline of sentence in the source text, others will work uniquely of on the basic message while others may concentrate on adapting their output to the overall text.

The question inevitably arises: why do students respond differently? A number of factors come to mind as responsible for different types of response. The extent of their experience in using the Target Language. Yet since all of our students have at least six years' experience with English and some seem to pursue a convergent strategy even in their final year, the value of this variable seems questionable to say the least. Another variable which might arguably affect performance is that of language combination. The student group with which we are concerned can be divided roughly into those studying Germanic language combinations and those having Romance languages in addition to English. The final variable and the one which forms the main focus of the present study is that of the gender differences. Put bluntly: do males and females tend to translate differently?

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE PERFORMANCE

The starting point here must be : on the basis of linguistic studies, what differences are to be expected ? Wide-ranging reviews such as those of Trudgill (1974) suggest strongly that differences in the way men and women use linguistic codes are to be observed regardless of the language involved. Of course as Regan & Hickey point out in the present volume, the evidence for many of these alleged differences is somewhat tenuous in places and often fails to stand up to sustained empirical investigation. Nonetheless, given the widespread nature of the phenomenon the feeling persists that there are some gender-linked differences. The next question concerns what psychologists have to say on the subject. In her 1972 book Corinne Hutt concluded that "boys tend to be more object-oriented", while girls are "more person-oriented". In creativity scores boys scored much higher than girls. The conclusion was that boys showed "a more divergent style" where objects - concrete things were concerned (Hutt, 1972:104). She quoted some other studies which purported to indicate that "while men are found to be autonomous and independent women are more conforming and persuasible" (op. cit: 123). On this basis, one would expect females to be cling more closely to the form of the original text and for males to diverge from it.

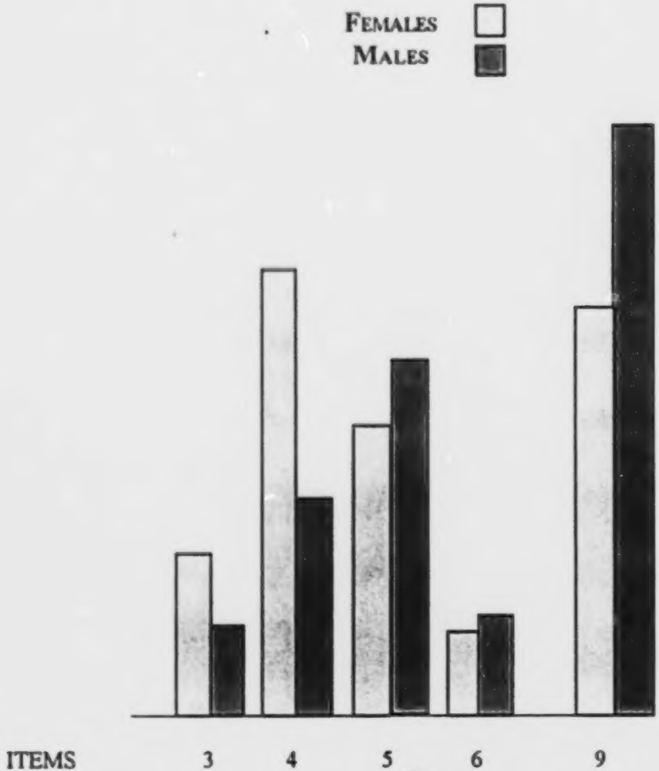
THE TEST

Some prior examination of term papers where students are required to translate two pieces of work - a poem and a film review - did not prove very useful as a means of comparing male/female performance. The reason for this is that the texts were freely chosen and we were not comparing like with like. The next attempt at comparison involved comparing translations of the same French text into English done by six boys and six girls. Again the outcome was less than conclusive. Though females seemed marginally more concerned with accuracy and in fact made fewer mistakes in the strict pedagogical sense of the word than boys, it seemed that both groups exhibited convergent and divergent strategies at different places in the sense I have outlined above. In short it was difficult to draw any conclusion from the data as a whole.

Another approach which came to mind, was that of requiring a class to fill in a questionnaire composed of ten questions concerning the method employed when doing translations. These ranged from (1) very literal - concerned more with source text to (10) very creative - concerned more with final outcome. The rationale behind this test is that it was easy to administer to one hundred students, easy to assess and would allow the testees to evaluate their own strategic approach to the subject.

In the table inserted below (the bars of the histogram represent proportions not numbers) it can be observed that attitudes exhibited by boys and girls did differ considerably. The most popular response among the females was by far number 4. while the most favoured response for the boys was 9.

TABLE I



4. I read whole or part of text, try to understand meaning, analyse each item which I then translate into target language.

9. I read and understand the original text, communicate ideas as best I can in target language. I make sure that the final product reads nicely.

Regardless of how the data are viewed a clear difference in approach between males and females emerges. Where girls are concerned, for example, items 1. to 5. account for twice the amount of responses as in the case of (6) to (10). In the case of boys there are slightly more responses to be found in the second half of the questionaire. The results would seem to indicate that girls in general approach the source text with rather more respect for its content and a greater concern for the individual items of which it is composed, while males on the other hand are more conerned with the communication of the message and the form of the final product.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the present paper, I have been able to do no more than touch upon a tiny part of what is a very large and to date rather unexplored area, namely, the acquisition of translation skills. There seems to be little doubt that translators differ in the way they approach their assignments. One of the variables may be that of gender. However, before strong claims are advanced a good deal more research will be required. It would be interesting to know, for example, if detailed exhaustive examination of translation work by large groups of students would support these findings. Other variables would also have to be taken into account. It would also be necessary to carry out longitudinal studies in order to see if the trend is a permanent phenomenon or a temporary trend stemming from lack of experience in doing translations on the part of the testees. Finally, we would need to extend our research to experienced professionals.

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TRANSLATION QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME LANG. COMB. NO. YEARS ENG. SEX M/F

When faced with a translation assignment how do you proceed? Imagine that the text in question is general (neither specialised or literary) and that there are no major lexical problems. Study each of the following approaches and tick one and only one.

1. I study each word individually, analyse it and search for the equivalent in the target language, then translate.

2. I analyse each word or group of words, look for equivalents in target language then I translate separately.

3. I read whole or large parts of text, then re-read carefully analysing individual words and phrases before translating.

4. I read whole or part of text, try to understand meaning, analyse each item which I then translate into target language.

5. I try to understand context then I attempt to translate meaning into target language. I then work on details.

6. I try to understand context then I attempt ot translate meaning into target language. I try to produce a polished result.

7. I understand context, uncover essential message which I communicate into target language.

8. I understand context, uncover essential message which I communicate into target language. If a few minor details get lost that's alright.

9. I read and understand original text, communicate ideas as best I can in target language. I make sure that the final product reads nicely.

10. I read text and then using a bit of imagination work into the target langauge. It's important to produce a nice final version even if it's a bit different from original.

"Resisting and Surviving America" The Use of Languages as Gendered Subversion in the Work of American Jewish Poet Irena Klepfisz.

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The main questions for Irena Klepfisz, questions she poses both in her poetry and in her essays, are what it means to grow up as a Jew in the United States after the Holocaust; and what it means to grow into a Jewish woman, single, childless, a lesbian, an artist, in a community of survivors who see their great hope for meaning in a new generation of Jewish children.

Irena Klepfisz, born in 1941 in Warsaw, emigrated to the United States when she was eight. She teaches English, creative writing, Women's Studies and Yiddish and is an activist in the lesbian/feminist magazine Conditions. In 1986 she co-edited *The Tribe of Dina: A Jewish Woman's Anthology*[1] and in 1989 *A Jewish Woman's Call for Peace: A Handbook for Jewish Women on the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict*. In 1990 she published a book of essays *Dreams of an Insomniac: Jewish Feminist Essays, Speeches and Diatribes*[2] and a collection of poetry, titled, significantly, *A Few Words in the Mother Tongue*[3], at which she experiments with language and where she includes several bi-lingual poems written in English and Yiddish.

Klepfisz's life has been shaped by being a child Holocaust survivor. In her 1982 essay *"Resisting and Surviving America"*, she says: "As a child, I was old with terror and the brutality, the haphazardness of survival" (Dreams, 61).

As a child survivor she had to grapple with a dead, heroic father, whose absence becomes enormous presence. Killed in action during the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, Michal Klepfisz, Jew, engineer, socialist, underground soldier, haunts his poet-daughter so much that she feared at various stages of her writing life that her Holocaust poetry dwarfed anything else she had written.

In the poem *"Searching for My Father's Body"* (A Few Words, 29), Klepfisz describes what happened to her father's grave when she went back to Warsaw in 1983. In it she interweaves documentary extracts depicting her father's heroic death with lines mourning

> *that his body was not discovered*
> *and remains buried in an unmarked grave.*

In an essay, which has a Yiddish title *OyfKeyver Oves, 1983* (meaning on ancestors' graves), she completes the picture: "When the ghetto was totally destroyed my father's grave became part of the rubble. We have photographs taken right after the war of Marek placing flowers on the debris where he had buried my father ... In 1966 my mother had a symbolic gravestone erected for my father in the Jewish cemetery in Warsaw" (Dreams, 87).

This search for her father's grave is a central linguistic device, charting displacement and exile and the interweaving of documentary extracts with poetry lines is deliberate to make a clear link between past and present.

But while doing so, Klepfisz, who is trying to make a tangible connection to her past, is aware that symbols, even words, are not enough: "I am sick to death of symbols." she writes, "Rocks may have their own lives. Jews certainly have theirs. To substitute one for the other ... is wrong and a real evasion of history" (Dreams, 104).

As a Jew she knows: "the major Jewish activity in Warsaw occurs in the Jewish cemetery and consists of the unchecked sinking of gravestones into the ground. Deeper and deeper. It is clear that at this rate, there will be no trace left in 20 years and all evidence of Jewish life in Poland will be completely obliterated" (Dreams, 94).

She has a need to use very direct terms when she articulates the emptiness in the face of the uncertainty of not having a grave, not having a father:

> *I want more details*
> *to fill my emptiness*
> *I do not want this death*
> *Instead I leap towards life*
> *When my father*
> *slept* (A Few Words, 32-3)

Having been deserted by her heroic father has shaped all of Klepfisz life and poetry. She begins the poem "*The Widow and Daughter*" (A Few Words, 35), again, inspired by a document, and extract from the history book *Generations of Bundists:* "The widow Rose and small daughter Irena survived and now reside in New York", with:

> *The widow*
> *a shadow of the wife Rose ...*
> *at one time expected*
> *to live*
> *not survive.*

The poem ends by charting her complex emotions aroused by having been deserted by her heroic father, who, by his death, condemned her to mere survival:

And when the two crowded
into the kitchen at night
he would press himself between them
pushing, thrusting, forcing them to remember,
even though he had made his decision,
had chosen his own way
rather than listening to the pleas of her silences ...
he would press himself between them -
hero and betrayer
legend and deserter -
so when they sat down to eat
they could taste his ashes.

Mary Dearborn in her study of gender and ethnicity in American culture[4], says that just as understanding ethnicity permits readings of American culture in new ways because "the immigrants were American history", so a study of ethnic women writers in America can reveal the female version of the American "national character". Generational conflict, Dearborn says, is considered the most striking feature of ethnic American identity. While Jewish immigrant writers, such as Anzia Yezierska, struggle against a rigorous, orthodox Old World Father, eventually replacing him with America' "Founding Fathers", Irena Klepfisz, apart from negotiating a place for herself within her new country and its linguistics, also struggles to negotiate her place as daughter, this time of a dead Jewish hero. It is indeed impossible to say which is harder to negotiate - a strictly orthodox Old World father whose rebellious daughter must reinvent her own New World if she is to survive in America, or a dead hero, whose daughter has to face his loss every moment of her American exile.

Irena Klepfisz's exile is linguistically a very real one. By the time she was eight she had lived in three countries and spoke four languages. Hidden by Polish peasants with her blue-eyed Jewish mother, who was able to 'pass' as gentile, Polish became her first language. After the war mother and daughter emigrated to Sweden, where Klepfisz learned Swedish. The next stop was the United States, where she learned English at school while living in a world of spoken Yiddish.

Exile is ever-present in Klepfisz's consciousness. She knows that as a Jew she has no other option but otherness. In *A Few Words* she quotes a poem by her colleague Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz:

1258

i can't go back
where i came from
burned off the map

i'm a jew
anywhere is someone else's land.

Instead of bemoaning her fate, Klepfisz uses it in her work. Poet Adrienne Rich, who knows all about self-creation, says in her introduction to Klepfisz's collected poems: "The relationship to more than one culture, nonassimilating in spirit and therefore living amid contradictions, is a constant act of self-creation" (A Few Words, 13).

In her essays Klepfisz repeatedly expresses her awareness of the contradictions from which she has to create a self. She speaks alternatively as a Jewish child growing up in America, as a Jewish lesbian in misogynist American society, as a Jew among American lesbians and feminists and as an outcast lesbian feminist amongst mainstream American Jews.

Thematically, outsiderness figures prominently in all her work. The essay *"Women without Children/Women without Families/Women alone"* opens with striking images of a baglady: "her face looks blank, her skin grey" (Dreams, 3).

The baglady is the ultimate outsider, "a species apart", but Klepfisz senses "my connection to her" and is "afraid I too will end up alone". For Klepfisz the baglady is the embodiment of the Jew, the lesbian, the survivor, who, though feared and rejected is nonetheless human: "she came from the same world as I did, underwent the same life process: she was born, grew up, lives."

Klepfisz comes back to similar bruised images as that of the baglady in *"The Monkey House"* poems, which she describes as "the voices of female monkeys born and raised in a zoo". The caged monkeys, besides being the ultimate in female isolation and humiliation, are, according to Klepfisz, "very Jewish - a direct outgrowth of my Holocaust poetry - but now the primary focus was women" (Dreams, 169).

Caged monkeys could indeed be Auschwitz inmates:

when they first come
they screech with wildness
flinging themselves against the wall
and then against the bars.

some sit and cry for days
some never recover and
die. (A Few Words, 1922)

In the "*Monkey House*" sequence there is an overriding image of separateness, of exile, of having no choice. And of being, like the baglady, "a species apart" as females given to male exploitation ("he penetrated withdrew / over and over / till i was dry / and hard" - A Few Words, 116); and as creatures apart given to the whims of society (the use of the pronoun "they" to denote society's control recurs: "they took her away / and when she came back / she did not look at me" - 124).

Klepfisz the Jew, Klepfisz the woman, Klepfisz the orphan-daughter is clearly in exile. But it is Klepfisz the writer who found the process of self creation in her new language was the most difficult. "For years", she says in the 1986 essay "Secular Yiddish Identity: Yiddishkayt in America", "I suffered over my inability to use English effectively ... until the age of sixteen or seventeen, I really had no language in which I was completely rooted" (Dreams, 148).

Like many other immigrant women writers, Klepfisz tried at first to adopt America's Founding Fathers by writing poems in "the voices of old men" (Dreams, 167). In her 1988 essay "Forging a woman's link in *di goldene keyt*': Some possibilities for Jewish American poetry", she tells about opting to major in English in college against school counsellors' advice and about going on to graduate school and ultimately receiving her MA and PhD.

At the same period, Elza a close friend, another child survivor, committed suicide. "I abandoned the old men's voice and instead frequently wrote in Elza's voice - the dead poet, the child survivor, the woman incapable of being rescued ... it just poured out - one depressing poem after another, one atrocity after another, death always the central motif. I suspect that it was solid therapy, that it saved me" (Dreams, 168). Her early Holocaust poems, according to Adrienne Rich, "floodlight the neglected dimension of the genocide: the survival strategies, the visceral responses, of women ... (the poem) 'death camp' exploded by the change of tone, the relief of the open vowels in the last four lines, can never be complete" (19).

Not quite sure how or why this changed, Klepfisz began to develop a recognisable voice. It was a struggle and she wrote in "*Forging a Woman's link in di goldene keyt*" that her poems "were as much about speaking as about silence ... silence had become and remains a central theme in my writing" (168) - perhaps silence is the only way to deal with Holocaust materials?

It was feminism, however, what she calls in Yiddish *di bevagung*, "the movement", which, she says in her introduction to her collected essays: "had pushed, encouraged, and given me space ... above all ... challenged me to present publicly what I discuss privately, to raise issues that I care about and that are central to my experience as a feminist and lesbian, as a Jew sorting out my identity and my relationship to Jewish history" (Dreams xi-xii).

Other influences in this change were the office work she was forced to do and through which she shared 'ordinary' female experiences (and which she describes in her essay *''The Distances between Us: Feminism, Consciousness and the Girls in the Office''* and in the long poems *''Contexts''* and *''Work Sonnets with Notes and a Monologue'');* her Jewish socialist background; and the writings of feminists like Tillie Olsen and lesbian poets like Judy Graham.

Here is where gendered subversion comes into Irena Klepfisz's language and contents. Always refusing to conform and write linear, patriarchal prose and poetry, Klepfisz traces her difficulty to ''create anything coherent out of the tangled emotions and ideas that rushed through me when I thought about a topic'' to her early schooling, when, as exile-child, she found herself ''continually failing English'' (Dreams, x). But she turns this disadvantage to advantage and as a result, in her prose essays she tries to capture the zigzag nature of conversations, free association, and fragmentation, finding herself ''returning to the fragmented and nonlinear approach'' again and again. The form of her essays is dictated by circumstances and limited writing time: she writes short journal entries, statements and memories and strings them together.

For example: because her essay *''Oyf Keyver Oves''*, which charts her 1983 journey to Poland, is written in this fragmented, journal-entries form, she manages to include in it some powerful set pieces like the one describing a meeting with Marysia, a Catholic who sheltered Jews during the war. Though Catholic, Marysia wants now to be buried beside Irena's aunt, Gina, her friend of forty years ago. Her request is moving as it is trapping, as Klepfisz cannot ask aloud: ''Will Marysia want a cross on the grave?'' Evelyn Torton Beck asks in her introduction to Klepfisz's collected essays: ''We are left to ponder the complex feelings aroused by this unexpected turn of events. Will this symbolic gesture of love and good will on the part of a Christian finally obliterate the Jew altogether, even in death?'' (Dreams, xxii).

In her poetry too Klepfisz began to experiment. In her *''Monkey House''* sequence, she pares down her language as much as possible. In *''Work Sonnets''*, inspired by her belief that feminism much touch the lives of ordinary women, she does the opposite, alternating between prose poems and lyrics. ''These experiments,'' she writes, ''taught me that the new content frequently demands new genres, definitions and boundaries'' (Dreams, 170).

For a while she abandoned Jewish subjects, but the 1982 publication of *Nice Jewish Girls: a Lesbian Anthology*[6] in the same year when Israel invaded Lebanon and the growing anti-semitism emerging inside and outside the women's movement - all contributed to her turning again directly to Jewish themes and to the Holocaust. She articulates the multi-layered contradictions, some of which I can attest to as well, as an Israeli-born Jewish woman living and working in Ireland, in *"Resisting and Surviving America"*: "This is the confusion. Being Jewish. Being a lesbian. Being an American. It all converges. It is like feelings about one's parents. Love and embarrasment. The painful realization that they are not perfect" (Dreams, 67).

She confronts the issues of her multiple exile on what she calls America's "Inhospitable soil" head on. "This time the approach was not exclusively private or experimental. Now I tried to untangle both past and present issues as faced by a contemporary Jew in America. In addition, the Jewish content was informed by my feminism" (Dreams, 170).

As she begins to allow feminism to inform her writing, thus carving a place for herself in a section of American society, the focus moves from dead father to loved, needed mother. Although "the missing one / was surely / the most / important / link" (as she writes in *"The Widow and Daughter"* A Few Words, 37), her most powerful poems, the last section of *Keeper of Accounts*, focus on women in her family. They apply what she has learnt in the feminist movement to the Jewish experience - gender and enthnicity inform language. All the figures in this section, she writes, "are women who struggled to survive in Europe, women who struggle to survive here" (Dreams, 170).

In *Bashert* (meaning in Yiddish inevitable, predestined), Klepfisz relates her mother's early Polish experiences to her own present American experiences. Alienation remains the key theme.

> *I am walking home alone at midnight. The university seems an island underground. Most of its surrounding streets have been emptied. On some, all evidence of previous life removed except occasional fringes of rubble that reveal vague outlines that hint at things that were.*
>
> (A Few Words, 190).

The landscape might suggest a blasted Jewish ghetto in an eastern European city but is a black ghetto surrounding an elite American university.

> *I wonder. It is inevitable? Everything that happened to us afterwards, to all of us, does none of it matter? ... And that which should have happened in 1944 in Poland and didn't, must it happen now? In 1964? In Chicago? Or can history be tricked and cheated?*

> *I see the rubble of this unbombed landscape, see that the city,*
> *like the rest of this alien country, is not simply a geographic place,*
> *but a time zone, an era in which I, by my very presence in it, am*
> *rooted (192).*

Bashert, according to Adrienne Rich, is a ''poem unlike any other I can think of in American, including Jewish-American poetry, in its delineation not only of survivor experience (in the skin of the mother 'passing' as gentile with her infant daughter) but of what happens after survival: the life that seems to go on, but cannot preserve; that life that does go on, struggling with a vast alienation, in a state of 'equidistance from two continents', trying to fathom her place as a Jew in the larger American gentile world'' (A Few Words, 19).

> *These words are dedicated to those who died*
> *because they had no love and felt alone in the world*
> *because they were afraid to be alone and tried to stick it out*
> *because they could not ask*
> *because they were shunned*
>
> *because they were sick and their bodies could not resist the disease*
> *because they played it safe*
> *because they had no connections*
> *because they had no faith*
> *because they felt they did not belong and wanted to die ...*
>
> *These words are dedicated to those who survived*
> *because their second grade teacher gave them books*
> *because they did not draw attention to themselves and got lost*
> *in the shuffle*
> *because they knew someone who knew someone else who could*
> *help them and bumped into them on a corner on Thursday*
> *because they played it safe*
> *because they were lucky ...*

There are no happy endings here. Klepfisz does not share the immigrant daughters' American dream that if you are hard-working, virtuous, motivated and tenacious, you can have freedom, security and happiness. In the rhythmic, relentless, circular dedication, *Bashert* mourns dead father and survivor daughter alike, denying such ideas as the survival of the fittest and that the victims choose their destiny. Adrienne Rich again: ''Klepfisz has written one of the great 'borderland' poems - poems which emerge from the consciousness of being of no one geography, time zone or culture ... a consciousness which cannot be, and refuses to be assimilated'' (A Few Words, 21).

After experimenting with poetic and prose forms, moving to write bilingual poetry was the natural next stage in securing a place for herself between isolation and celebration of individualism.. Klepfisz quotes Yiddish poet Kadia Molodowsky[7], who, in the first poem of her ''*Women Poems*'' series, says ''her life as a woman was a torn page from a sacred book and the page's first line was illegible''. But she, Klepfisz, realizes that for her - as a Jew and as a Jewish woman - ''the sacred and secular books were lost altogether'' (Dreams, 171).

Influences by Chicana poet Gloria Anzaldua, who mixes Spanish and English in her writing, Klepfisz's latest sequel, *A Few Words in the Mother Tongue 1983-1990,* includes several bilingual poems, not surprisingly, on the theme of being a Jewish woman. Yiddish, the mother tongue, has been fondly ascribed by generations of Jews to mothers and motherhood, as opposed to Hebrew, the patriarchal holy language of the bible, allowed by orthodox Jews only for prayer. Interestingly, married women did not have to pray three times a day like the men and to make it easier for them, since their household duties were crucial in order to perpetuate the Jewish family and therefore the Jewish nation, they had their own prayer book, in the more colloquial, and feminine, Yiddish.

Although there is a revival of Yiddish both in the United States and even, surprisingly, in Israel, where the more robust, male Hebrew took over in an attempt to eradicate the concept of exile from the lives of Jews, Klepfisz is one of very few contemporary poets who write bilingual poetry.

However, according to Hana Wirth Nesher, classic American Jewish ''writers like Henry Roth, Abraham Cahan, Saul Bellow and Delmore Schwartz, composing in the English language, often draw on quotations from Jewish sources, interspersing Yiddish words, and turn their characters into types within two cultural frames of reference''[8].

Klepfisz's bilingual poetry belongs to a multicultural literature of discontinuity, migration and difference, which invents its poetics out of a mixture of traditions and styles, out of the struggle to name what has been unnameable in the dominant European tradition. Her bilingual poems don't make it easier for the reader, Jew or non-Jew. She does not drop cosy, familiar Yiddish phrases, as a kind of a Jewish seasoning but rather bilingualism here is created by the experience of being immigrant, displaced, exiled. These bilingual poems explore the world of a woman located not only between the Polish and Chicago landscapes, but also in the twilight zone between languages, without pretence that the language she chose to graduate and write poetry in is the language of choice. Because in Irena Klepfisz's life and poetry even simple choices, after the Holocaust - when the choice who to take on a journey, who to leave behind, to set out early or late, was a nightmare - remain difficult and fraught with tensions.

Her bilingual poetry starts by simply repeating the English line with a Yiddish line like in *Kashes*/Questions.

In velkhn yor?
in what year?
Nit venem?
with whom?
Di sibes?
the causes?
Der rezultat?
the outcome?
di geshikhte
the history
fun der milkhome
of the war
fun der sholem
of the peace
fun di lebn geblibene
of the survivors
tvishn fremde
among strangers
oyf der zayt
on this side
tvishn meysim
among ghosts
oyf der zayt
on this side.

Later it becomes more complex, making less allowances for the reader, like in the poem *Etlekhe verter oyf mame-loshn*/A few words in the mother tongue, where she does not juxtapose Yiddish and English and where, later in the poem, she presumes upon the reader's memory.

Immigrant Jewish writers like Anzia Yezierska learnt the language to become American and only later learnt to identify their "'true' father and were able to participate in the 'ritual of errand' by which Americans seek to fulfill the mission of those fathers". Irena Klepfisz, on the other hand, having made the difficult, if necessary, decision, to write in her adopted tongue, seemed to have learnt the language, to quote Mary Dearborn, in order to "reinvigorate American language to include women and outsiders" (Dearborn, 1986: 89, 91).

Adrienne Rich, daughter of an assimilated Jewish father who denied his daughter her Judaism, chose to declare her Judaism, particularly after she came out as a lesbian.

For Klepfisz, the question of coming out as a Jew was never an issue: she had always been 'out'. Rich, for whom "blood" is the "all powerful, awful theme"[9], saw herself as "savagely fathered and unmothered" because, I believe, she was denied her Judaism and therefore carried her youthful rebellion against her father into adult radical activism. Klepfisz's life and poetry is shaped first and foremost by being a child, a girl Holocaust survivor, a fact she expresses succintly in the first poem in the sequence *"Periods of Stress"*

during the war
germans were known
to pick up infants
by their feet
swing them through the air
and smash their heads
against plaster walls
somehow
i managed
to escape that fate (A Few Words, 43).

I would like to end with one of Klepfisz's most powerful Holocaust poems, *"death camp"*, in which the experiences of two women, the narrator and the rebitsin, the rabbi's wife, inside the gas chambers, are retold. In contrast to Paul Celan's celebrated *"Death Fugue"*[10], one of the most poignant Holocaust poems, where he compares the German Margarete's golden hair with the Jewish Shulamit's ashen hair and where, despite the horror, there is much frozen, opaque lyricism, Klepfisz's language is stark. She has gone through her multiple exiles, she has confronted being a woman in a patriarchal society and a Jew in an antisemitic one, to emerge able to use language at its most direct, most subversively simple.

death camp

when they took us   to the shower   i saw
the rebitsin   her sagging breasts   sparse
pubic hairs   i knew   and remembered
the old rebe   and turned   my eyes away
i could still hear   her advice   a woman
with a husband   a scholar

when they turned   on the gas   i smelled
it first   coming at me   pressed myself
hard to the wall   crying   rebitsin   rebitsin
i am here with you   and the advice you gave me

i screamed   into the wall   as the blood burst from
my lungs   cracking   her nails in women's flesh   i watched
her capsize   beneath me   my blood in her mouth   i screamed

when they dragged my body   into the oven   i burned
slowly at first   i could smell my own flesh   and could
hear   them grunt   with the weight of the rebitsin
and they flung   her on top   of me   and i could smell
her hair burning   against my stomach

when i pressed through   the chimney
it was sunny   and clear   my smoke
was distinct   i rose quiet   left her
beneath   (A Few Words, 47).

NOTES

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1. Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz, Irena Klepfisz (eds), *The Tribe of Dina: A Jewish Women's Anthology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986)

2. Irena Klepfisz, *Dreams of an Insomniac: Jewish Feminist Essays, Speeches and Diatribes,* (Portland Oregon: The Eight Mountain Press, 1990). Hereafter cited as *Dreams* and included in the text.

3. Irena Klepfisz, *A Few Words in the Mother Tongue: Poems Collected and New 1971-1990,* (Portland Oregon: The Eight Mountain Press, 1990). Hereafter cited as *A Few Words* and included in the text.

4. Mary Dearborn, *Pocahontas's Daughters: Gender and Ethnicity in American Culture,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

5. *di goldene kayt* - Yiddish for "golden chain". In another essay, *"The Lamp: a Parable about Art and Class and the function of Kishinev in the Jewish imagination"*, Klepfisz reworks a short story by the great Yiddish writer I.L. Peretz and calls to preserve the old lamp of poverty to prevent assimilation. In her essay she attempts to forge the women's link to Peretz's "golden chain".

6. Evelyn Torton Beck (ed), *Nice Jewish Girls: A Lesbian Anthology,* (Trumansburg, NY: The Crossing Press, 1982).

7. Kadia Molodowsky, 1894-1975, settled in the United States in 1935 and is the best known of all Yiddish women writers. She wrote poetry, fiction and plays.

8. Wirth-Nesher Hana, *"Between Mother Tongue and Native Language: Multilingualism in* Henry Roth's *Call it Sleep", Prooftexts,* Vol 10, May 1990, pp 297-312.

9. Adrienne Rich, "Grandmothers", from *A Wild Patience Has Taken This Far (1981),* in *The Fact of a Doorframe: Poems Selected and New 1950-1984,* (New York: W W Norton, 1984).

10. Paul Celan, *"Death Fugue"*, in Paul Celan: *Selected Poems Translated by Michael Hamburger,* (London: Penguin, 1990).

Grammatical Gender and Language Usage: Is it possible to make language gender-neutral?

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Is it possible to make language gender neutral? This paper attempts to show how nouns of occupation (*Berufsbenennung*) and nouns naming people (*Personennennung*) can be considered as sexist.

This category of words will be examined from a grammatical point of view, that is from their actual grammatical gender. It will also examine how grammatical gender is asssigned to such words to make them semantically acceptable when applied to the female of the human species. The actual usage will also be examined and finally the paper will make some suggestions as to whether these words should be retained at all in the language due to the connotations attached to them.

Trying to cope with sexism in language is of course nothing new in this day and age. The movement to rid language of sexist vocabulary went hand in hand with the feminist movement. One of the many aims of the feminist movement was (and still is) to rid society of barriers, which prevented women having equal rights and equal access to work in society. Legislation was introduced in the USA and in Europe to allow women access to the labour force, particularly to professions hitherto denied to them. The EC was instrumental in legislating in this area of equal opportunity for women. When Ireland joined the EC it was compelled by the European Courts to introduce this equality legislation. This brought with it the recognition of women's place in society and with this went the attempt to rid language of what was widely accepted to be sexist language.

Language is one of the central features of social behaviour. "Language is at once the expression of culture and a part of it", as Calvert Watkins puts it. Language can be used to control and dominate groups, be they the black communities in the USA, the "Gastarbeiter" in Germany, the underprivileged or women. Sexism in language can be loosely defined as a phenomenon which offends women by using language which debases them, devalues their position in society and depicts them in a negative light. The main goal of feminist linguists was firstly to identify such sexist language, then to suggest possible reforms for alternate language usage, which would not discriminate against women.

Language can also be termed sexist when it describes women and their activities or occupations in terms of men, as being dependant on men. Pejorative language is often used to describe women, using words or phrases which can be applied to women only, and which would never be applied to men. What constitutes negative or devaluing vocabulary is itself open to discussion. The changes over the past twenty years, which have altered the lives of many women have been achieved after long and hard battles. These changes inevitably bring in their wake linguistic changes.

It is important to try to situate the main schools of feminist linguistics. Some researchers concern themselves with the philosophy of language, the acquisition of language by women,and whether this differs from the acquisition of language by men or not. The French Feminist school (led by Kristeva and Irigaray) concerns itself with the question of how women enter into the symbolic order. The Anglo-American-Australian school, that is those writing in English primarily about English in its various forms, has concerned itself mainly with language *per se*, not so much with how women acquire language but how language is used by women. *Cheris Kramer, Barrie Thorne* and *Nancy Henley (1978)* sum up the main pre-occupations of the so-called Anglo-American-Australian school as follows:

(1) *Sex differences and similarities in language use, in speech and non-verbal communication*
(2) *sexism in language, with emphasis on language structure and content*
(3) *relations between language structure and language use (two topics treated separately)*
(4) *efforts and prospects for change.*

The German school of Feminists, led by *Pusch, Trömmel Plötz* and *Guentherodt* more or less follows the Anglo-American school, whereas the French school is more interested in the philosophy of language. To date the Anglo-American school would appear to have failed to have debated the question of what language might mean and the School has firmly adopted a structuralist and determinist approach. Kristeva's semiotics do not concern themselves with this view of language: she has never published any comments on this kind of linguistics. She did however give a talk, as yet unpublished, on "Sex differences in language" to the Oxford Women's Studies Committee lecture series on *Women and Language* in 1983.

These comments are simply intended to help to situate this article in the debate, and which ideally would like to tackle both questions: what is the meaning of language and what are the obvious sexisms in language in both English and German?

Before one can start a discussion about non-sexist language, a few points have to be made about language in general. Without giving a synopsis of linguistic thought from

Saussure to the present, certain premises about language will be discussed, which are relevant to this paper. Language is a major component in any culture as it encodes the culture's values and ideas and passes these on to following generations. Therefore it is of importance to feminists to examine how issues of gender are represented in language as these linguistic representations highlight the position of women in the culture. It is worth examining in some detail one very small area to see how women are spoken about in German. Feminist critique of language (in particular the Anglo-American and German schools) concerns itself with representation or naming in language; languages have been shown to be sexist by the naming of the world from a male point of view and also more interestingly from a male-dominated or a male-centered society. The stereotypical view of women in society is reflected in the use of language and the words used to describe women. Mary Daly has pointed out in her book *Beyond God the Father* that it is Adam ,the man, who gives names to God's creation: so it began and so it continues.

How names are given in language has been the source of lengthy arguments. Some feminists claim that the names given are not arbitrary labels, but rather culture's way of determining reality. Western discourse on language has been preoccupied for a long time with the question of whether linguistic categories define or reflect one's perception of the world. Sapir and Whorf held the determinant position. One knows that different cultures and speech communities have different notions of such apparent human fundamentals as the concept of time, or space or the make-up of the colour spectrum to name but a few examples. Although the determinist approach of Sapir and Whorf has been challenged by most present day linguists, certain Whorfian views adapt themselves to the feminist critique of language. Language has certain underlying grammatical and semantic categories which are needed to organise our experience.

Although it is not strictly germane to the main thrust of this article, the author feels that because language is sexist, (and this is exemplified by the act of *naming* which has been carried out by men), there is not only a bias in language but the male tends also to be seen as positive and the female as negative. There is also the problem of the lack or absence of terms/words for certain feelings or experiences relating to women's perception of the world. Women have been excluded from the naming and definition process, thus language rules have been "man-made". Since these feelings or ideas do not fit into the official male view of the world, they are omitted - or perhaps the male language makers have decided not to name them.

Therefore it is accepted that language has an underlying grammatical and semantic rule which posits that the male is positive and the female negative. Feminist critique of language does not necessarily state that language creates reality which is simply one view of the Whorfian theory; this is readily applicable to feminism and feminist theories of language. It is not, however, within the scope of this article to deal with the various theories of linguistics from Saussure, Jakobson, Lévi- Strauss to Lacan, for whom the universal character of "langue" seems to be inevitable. Lacan, using Saussurian insights in his interpretation of Freudian theory, deals with how children take their place in and enter the symbolic order and claims that male and female children enter it differently: similarly, their relationships to language differ. That the unconscious is structured like a language is one of his frequent claims; however, many feminists disagree with him, for if language is unique and always the same for men and women he is only bringing [illegible] a very traditional position regarding the feminine. Again, to take another perhaps far-fetched example, psychoanalysis maintains there is no feminine libido. This should be re-phrased to state that there is no language to describe or express or represent the desires women have. This theme frequently occurs in literature by women on women. Women writers both in fiction and poetry have discussed this point over and over again. One does not have to be determinist in the Whorfian sense to see that language can be understood as a reflection of a sexist culture: sexism is not merely reflected in, but reinforced by language.

For example it is clear to all that one of the most common instances of sexism in English is the way that *man*, pronominalised as *he*, has been used as synonymous with humanity. Thus in English it has been accepted that there is a rule which states that all generic or indefinite (this point is important for German later) referents are of masculine gender; for example, the generic person in all text books is masculine: the conventional male.

Men in language are seen as active, women as passive. One needs only to look at certain verbs or nouns used to describe males exclusively : penetration / enclosure. Women get laid. Men don't.

Women also were tradionally seen as property. The law relating to women as chattels has been changed. In the traditional naming conventions women were seen as the property of men. Today there is an interesting reaction to this, whereby women no longer adopt the husband's name automatically and are often, if they have already taken it, reverting to "new" names, using another female name as their surname, (often not their maiden name, which in turn came from another male, their father). Linguistic habits often reflect ideas about things which no longer exist in law, but which continue to be significant however covert in our culture. One cannot legislate for attitudes, and this is why feminists have paid detailed attention to language and discourse: certain ways of talking about things reveal attitudes which feminists wish to disown; sexism is very deeprooted and such language is very androcentric.

Dale Spender's book (1980), Man Made Language, tries to detach language from its cultural and social roots; on the other hand, it can be argued that this cannot be done.

Sexism in language is due to social and historical conventions. If one acknowledges that conventions of naming or representation have been historically constructed, it is evident that they can be de- and reconstructed. And current feminist critique has made a certain amount of progress with this de- and reconstruction.

Let us take as an example the use of the pronoun he and man in English. Apparently the use of the generic masculine was only fully established as a norm of correctness fairly late in the history of English and this by a group of prescriptive grammarians. How long this will remain will be due to the success of the feminists, who are battling for the right to use *she* or *they.* Miller and Swift have interesting remarks to make on this point. What feminists have done is to highlight the fact that language is not non-neutral. Notions of masculine, feminine and neutral conventions in speech are being challenged. Debate is going on in the discourse of the law, religion and science as well as the literary domain. The changes called for cannot be passed over in silence.

Now what should one aim at? A sex-neutral discourse, which refers equally to men and women? Or do we make men gendered, i.e. speak of them as male only while women represent both sexes? The relationship between rules of grammar which have become part of the system as used by linguists and the conventionalised rules of language are complicated.

The de- and reconstruction of sexism in one area of grammar, upon which this paper wishes to concentrate, will be shown with examples from the German language. German has three grammatical genders. However, rather like English, the masculine form of nouns (particularly in nouns of occupation) is the generic masculine form.

In German it is possible to specify gender as follows:

1. *Words which in themselves are gendered such as der Vater, der Bruder as opposed to die Mutter, die Schwester.*

2 *The use of suffixes such as '-in' to denote feminine gender der Lehrer/ die Lehrerin*

3 *Words derived from adjectives and participles die Abgeordnete/ der Abgeordnete*

One thesis in the discussion about generic forms is that words such as *der Lehrer* or *der Wissenschaftler* includes women : they are considered to be neutral and refer to both men and women.In German there are very few words which can be considered as neutral or *geschlechtsneutral* :

das Mädchen, das Kind; der Junge, der Bruder; die Geschwister, die Schwester.

In other instances the neutral form is also the masculine form (linguistically marked), which therefore cannot strictly be called neutral.

der Lehrer	*die Lehrerin*
der Wissenschaftler	*die Wissenschaftlerin*

As in other languages, such as French if one had twenty female teachers and one male teacher, in German the word *Lehrer* would be used. One female teacher and twenty males would still be addressed by the word *Lehrer*.

German deals with gender specification in three ways:

1. Lexicon: using the adjectives (more corectly the German term is *'Attribut'*) *'weiblich'/'männlich'* or lexically determined gender differences in words such as *'der Bruder'/'die Schwester'* pairs.

2. Grammatical genders: masculine and feminine

3. Derivations using suffixes to show the feminine gender such as the classical **-in**. This is called *'Movierung'* in German or modification. Other suffixes are *'- euse'*, *'-ine'* and *'-ice'* which are no longer in common use and also the more recent *'frau'*, which is being used more and more frequently.

In English gender specification is mostly lexical, whereas in German it is mostly grammatical (use of genders and suffixes.) The solution in English is to use, for example, the phrases "the doctor...she", "the laywer...she" which works for English, but not for languages with grammatical gender such as German.

There are a few words in German which refer to both sexes or which could be called gender neutral such as those mentioned before: *das Kind, der Mensch, die Person*, as well as compound words ending in "- kraft", such as in *Lehrkraft Hilfskraft, Fachkraft*. They are gender neutral, because they neither belong to the gender specific lexemes, nor to the class of nouns referring to people with different gender possibilities such as *der Abgeordnete /die Abgeordenete*, nor to the class of gender suffixes: *'-in'*, *'-frau'*.

Here are some examples:

'Kind/Mensch' are either gender abstract or are without gender.

Otherwise if gender has to be specified, then such examples as *weibliches Kind* or *männliches Kind* or *männlicher Mensch* could be possible (but would never be used). Therefore sentences such as:

Das weibliche Kind verabschiedete sich von dem männlichen Kind

would be considered very odd, although grammatically correct. But one would say: *Das Mädchen verabschiedete sich von dem Jungen.*

Redundant features would be the addition of adjectives such as *männlicher* Vater, where grammatical and semantic gender is used to express the gender differences as in *der Bruder, or die Schwester.* In other words such as *der/die Abgeordnete* this feature distinguishes German and Romance languages from English.

In German the nouns derived from adjectives and participles behave differently: gender is specified here by using grammatical gender markers *die/der* and the gender is not inherent in the lexeme : *der Jugendliche or die Jugendliche* depends on the gender of the person whereas with the words such as *der* **Mensch** or *die* **Person** one does not have a choice.One must choose either *der Mensch or die Person.* Interestingly enough this is one word English-learners of German cannot cope with: they find it difficult to imagine that *Person* in German is feminine, where feminine gender stands for the generic.

Another lexeme must be chosen to replace *"der Mensch" : "die Frau"/"der Mann"* or a gender specific adjective must be chosen such as *"die weibliche Person" / "die männliche Person".*

The masculine form is the generic one, which in turn demands masculine pronouns; in German these are *er, sein, ihn, ihn, der,den and dem.* What happens however in the case of *der Ingenieur* referring to a woman? Does one say *der Ingenieur und ihr Mann or sein Mann*? Only *der Ingenieur und sein Mann* is grammatically possible. Neither does it seem feasible to insist that the adjective *"männlich"* is used to ensure that one is referring to the masculine as in *"der männliche Student"*, because it is taken to be masculine in the first place.

So it seems that one is left with the suffix **-in**. Some examples will show how this can in fact define, on the one hand, the feminine gender, but cause all sorts of other problems on the other hand. The other feminine suffixes in German are *-ess Stewardess, - issin: Abtissin*; *- euse: Masseuse* and the more recent *-frau.*

The German Feminist movement went for what they called **Das Splitting**, that is for every masculine form of a word denoting occupation (used in the broadest sense) to insist on a feminine form using the suffix '-in'. The use of this suffix has been incorporated into certain employment legislation, as in the following extract from equality legislation referring to the advertisement of positions in Germany.

> Der Arbeitgeber soll einen Arbeitsplatz weder öffentlich noch innerhalb eines Betriebes nur für Männer oder nur für Frauen ausschreiben.[1]

Nowadays one uses the term *die splittenden Ausschreibungen* versus the *nichtsplittenden Ausschreibungen*, which means using both male and female versions of a noun denoting occupation. One will now get *ein/e Professor/in zwei Dozent(inn)en Erzieher/in* but interestingly enough one will also see *leitender Arzt* as if there could be no female equivalent.

One other attempt to rid German of the masculine generic was to use a neuter case. This happened in fact and in some official papers it is found. The University of Konstanz, (undoubtedly due to the influence of Pusch) used the neuter form in official documents in the Faculty of Arts, when referring to staff members.

The following is an extract from matriculation regulations of the University of Konstanz:

> Dem Zulassungsausschuß gehören an:
> 1. *das* Rektor als Vorsitzend*es* oder *das* Prorektor für die Lehre als dessen Stellvertreter......
> 3. Ein Angehörig*es* des wissenschaftlichen Dienstes......
> 5. *das* Leiter der studentischen Abteilung.

What is prescribed in German? The Duden bible of German language prescription is revealing. The 1966 edition of the Duden Grammar has the following paragraph:

> Bei Berufsbezeichnungen und Titeln dringt die weibliche Form sehr schwach durch: Frau Schulze ist Schlösser. Fräulein Schmidt ist Doktor der Philosophie. Nur einige sind bisher üblich geworden. Sie ist eine tüchtige Lehrerin, Ärztin.

However, in the most recent '84 edition, the following may be found:

> Besonders bei Berufsbezeichnungen und Substantiven, die den Träger eines Geschehens bezeichnen, verwendet man die maskuline Form vielfach auch dann, wenn das natürliche Geschlecht

> unwichtig ist oder männliche und weibliche Personen gleichermaßen gemeint sind. Man empfindet hier das Maskulinum als neutralisierend.
>
> Das Institut hat 270 Mitarbeiter (= männliche und weibliche).
>
> *Bundestagprasident* Frau N.N. Maria will Autoschlosser werden.

The other way of dealing with a feminine form of the masculine word in German is to use the suffix - *frau.* One has always used - *Hausfrau, Putzfrau, Klofrau and Gemüsefrau.* Now the suffix - *frau* has become extremely common and has been used by the feminists since the 70s. Women talk to each other, about each other and about other women, and they therefore need their own language. Since the beginning of the women's movement it has been common to have several institutions and groups, which include women only. Therefore as a result of this, new vocabulary had to be formed to describe this situation.e.g. *Frauenzeitung, Frauenhaus*, not to mention *Filmfrau* and *Gewerkschaftsfrauen* which now exist in everday speech. *Mitglieder* becomes *Mitgliederfrau*, which is preferable to *Mitgliederin*. The word *Medienfrau* has its neologism *Medienmann*. There is also the tendency in Modern German to use the suffix *-kraft*, as in *Kassenkraft* which replaces *Kassierer* and *Kassererin* .

One will also find the word *Gymnasium* and the *Mädchen= gymnasium* side by side, not however a *Jungengymnasium*.

It is obvious that to cater for the unusual, the new or for that which does not fit into the norm a linguistically marked form is used to denote the feminine form. It is interesting to note that the suffix - *herr/herrn* occurs to include men in vocabulary which up to the present has been recognised as referring exclusively to matters feminine e.g *Parfum : Herrnparfum.*

Men are now employed in what were considered solely female occupations,this has not led to marking the feminine word with masculine gender. *Krankenschwester* does not become *Krankenbruder* or even *männliche Krankenschwestern* but *Krankenpfleger*. Linguists always stress that the male form of an occupation is the unmarked form and are supposedly gender neutral, but in fact this point is debatable. What is happening is far more sinister: one only has to look at the guidelines laid down by the German Ministry of Labour regarding feminine forms of nouns of occupations to see what is actually going on.

It is clear that women were excluded from certain professions: the more prestigious ones. They were always in jobs which involved caring/cleaning and *Erzieherin/ Lehrerin* fits into this category. These jobs were seen as having lower prestige, and, as one knows only too well, were the lower paid jobs. They were also often women - only jobs. Even with the advent of equal pay, those women in lower paid jobs are still being discrimiated against financially, as they could not demand a decent wage, because men did not work in such jobs.

Once men entered women's professions, two things happened: firstly a name had to be found to describe the work done: this usually involved what is linguistically known as *Aufwertung* or amelioration, but when women entered a field which was considered a man's field, the new term coined was seen as *Abwertung*, in other words devaluing the work.

It is clear that the modification of German words using the suffix "-in" causes the same linguistic change in the root word as the diminutive endings, such as *- lein,- li or- elo*, that is, vowel mutation or the umlaut. These words are seen as ***women words***, not *serious words*, which are confined to the realm of the house/children/women's language. Certainly the feminine forms as in the famous text book example of *der **Amtsmann***, feminine ***die Amtsmânnin*** cannot be taken seriously or perhaps was never meant to be taken seriously.

Therefore this underlines the fact that the modification suffix *- in* carries all the same connotations as the diminutive suffixes and thus, as already pointed out, cannot be treated and will not be treated as an equal to the equivalent masculine term. However, this insistence on a distinct feminine form has raised public consciousness. It is no longer acceptable to include all females under the same heading as all males and whatever the outcome may be at a future stage in language, at least there has been a considerable conscious-raising exercise among the public at large. It is no longer acceptable to ignore the presence of women in what were heretofore solely male domains.

[1] Extract from German Equality Employment Legislation BGB, paragraph 611b.

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A Few Observations On Planning and Gender

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Esperanto-Asocio de Irlando

Estimataj - I commence with this useful plural gender-free adjective. It permits the speaker or writer of Esperanto to dodge such openings as Dear Sir /Ms, or Lord Mayor, reverend fathers, reverend sisters, ladies and gentlemen...

My case is that a language planned to avoid as many difficulties as the planner has become aware of, or at least as many as he can think of a way to circumvent, has an inherent interest for linguists. The planner of Esperanto was aware of the complications of gender in language and endeavoured to reduce them.

Ludovik Lazarus Zamenhof was born in Russia or Lithuania or Poland in 1859. (His native town, Byalostok, had even been Prussian for ten years at the turn of the century) By the time he was sixteen he had sketched the first version of his soultion to the problems of misunderstanding that seethed around him. He was fimililar with a number of languages spoken in the region, including Yiddish, and learnt Greek and Latin at school. He says, "The German and French languages I learnt in childhood when it was impossible to make comparisons or arrive at conclusions." Most to these languages are fairly heavily burdened with gender variations, but some escape one hazard, some another. Some have options not found in others. Young Zamenhof tried to select out the ones that looked most useful. He wrote, "When in the fifth class of the Academy I began the study of English the simplicity of the English grammar was striking, especially with the sudden change from the Greek and Latin grammars".

It is certainly more simple; English adjectives and articles do not have to agree with the gender of the noun, but it is well known that English-speaking churches are having difficulties with "sexist" language. In my parish church one of the priests has alerted his colleagues to the way in which the standard text of the Mass in English may be seen to ignore the existence of women. He says "brothers and sisters" instead of "brothers", "humankind" instead of "mankind". Where the Creed as printed says "for us men and for our salvation" I have noticed that one celebrant says "for us people" while another simply says "us" but both must end with "was made man".

I can remember when the text said, "qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem, descendit de caelo et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine, et homo factus est". So, when I attend Mass said, or sung, in Esperanto I feel comfortable with: Kiu por ni homoj kaj por nia savo descendis de la ĉieloj kaj per la Sankta Spirito Li enkarniĝis el Maria, la virgulino, kaj fariĝis homo.

Zamenhof, then, elected to make use of the Latin distinction between "vir" and "homo". It is interesting to see how Chinese esperanto speakers have adapted the former. We have cocks and hens. Spain has gallos and gallinas, Esperanto originally had *koko* for cock, *kokino* hen and *kokido*, chicken, *in* being the feminine suffix, as in *virgulino* above, and *id* indicating offspring.

However in Chinese books we find *virkoko* and *kokino*; cock and hen; *virbovo* is bull, *bovino*, cow.

> "So, what does *'bovo'* mean?" an Irish student asked recently.
> "The singular of cattle", was the illuminating reply.

As you see, a feminine termination is inescepably there. An intelligent young woman, who intended to learn the langauge, revolted when she found on the first page of "Teach Yourself".

Patro = father
Patrino = mother

Frato = brother
Fratino = sister

I wonder is it only English speakers who are conscious of the menace of patriarchy? I have tried to discourage colleagues from Belgium and the Netherlands from using *Patro, Patrino* as an example when explaining the elements of Esperanto but they do not seem to recognise that there might be anything displeasing about the notion of mothers as a subset of fathers, which is how it strikes me. True, the colleagues in question are both men. On the other hand, they do address me as *Kara kolego*, not *Kolegino*.

Young Zamenhof himself discovered with great satisfaction how he could abbreviate his dictionary by making the fullest possible use of the potential of suffixes - "*kiu en lingvoj naturaj efikis nur parte, blinde, neregule kaj ne plene*" - this potential which in natural languages is exploited only in part, blindly, irregularly, and not in depth. He was able every day to throw out of his dictionary whole series of words, finding that he could replace them by combinations of roots and and suffixes. And what is the very first word he gives as an example? Why, *Patrino*. This, though his mother had sympathized with his sense of mission and his father opposed him.

The solution found by Claude Piron in his book *La Bona Lingvo* gives me much satisfaction. His books sell better than those of any other writer in Esperanto, this one especially well. He points to *patrino* as an example of how fundamental in the language is the principle of affixation - *la principo kunglui erojn por vortformi* - but takes up another important principle, number fifteen in the Rules, that so-called foreign words, that is, words which in the greater number of languages have derived from the same source, undergo no change in the international language, beyond conforming to its orthography.

Piron points out that many people who in Zamenhof's time did not take part in international life are now actively engaged, so that the concept of "foreign word" must be modified accordingly.

Since the root *mama* is found in Chinese, Bengali, Hausa, Swahili etc. as well as in Indo-European languages, it seems that this is a root to which the definition of 'international' is peculiarly applicable.

I must add that Piron is a psychologist. He goes on to say that though *mamao* has never been used until now it certainly belongs to the language, by right of that fifteenth rule, and that the fact that such a fundamentally proper word - *fundamente gusta* - has not been in use may have deep psychological roots, well worth exploring. And I diffidently hope that I may have prompted him to take this question up. During the Esperanto congress in Beijing I was startled to hear a child behind me calling *Mama*, sounding exactly like one of my own. I had the good fortune to spend one morning *kvarope* in a group of four, Claude and Mme. Piron and an Italian priest when we were invited to Mass by a Chinese parish priest. (Astonishing; a Requiem Mass sung completely in Latin). I am fairly sure I mentioned my preference for *mama* to *patrino*, or rather, my outrage at *patrino*. That was in 1986; the book was published in 1989.

I have referred to *in* and *id* as suffixes, but in fact Piron's term *ero* which here corresponds to morpheme, is more appropriate. Research has shown that Zamenhof understood that each affix could stand alone, and intended that they should, but he thought it practical to conform to more familiar terms when teaching. *Ero* itself is introduced in current textbooks as a suffix, with the example *fajro*, "fire", *fajrero*, "spark". However *ido* is commonly used for offspring, and it seems that in recent years it is becoming more and more usual to use *ino* and the adjective *ina* instead of *virino*, the word which translates "woman" in any dictionary.

Strangely, when investigating sexual discrimination in his doctoral theses, *Liberte ou Authorite dans l'evolution de l'esperanto, (1981)* Francois lo Jacomo deprecates the use of *vira* and *ina* to indicate the sex of persons filling in application forms for lodging at congresses, etc. He says that the feminine of *viro* is *virino*, "*ino*, femelle, ayant un sens legrment pejoratif".

Lo Jacomo disapproves also of using *vir* to signify sex but not humanity, as in *virbovo*, "taureau", in opposition to *bovo*, "boeuf" and *bovino*, "vache". How, he asks, would one translate "minotaur?" By *bovoviro*?

Leaving aside the question whether the French are so fortunate as to have a singular for cattle (is *boeuf* like fowl or sheep?) I note that lo Jacomo published in 1981 and points to *virbovo* as a novelty. I also think he is mistaken; one might as well think of translating Pasiphaë as of translating Minotaur.

But he is also helpful, making available evidence of Zamenhof's concern. In 1893 Zamenhof stated that in English and Esperanto words take their natural gender, so that when speaking of children, animals or objects, of which one does not know the natural sex, willy nilly, without wishing to offend whatsoever/whomsoever, one uses the pronoun median between *li* and *ŝi*: the pronoun *ĝi*: (the pronoun between he and she: it)

French-speaking lo Jacomo is not happy about using *ĝi* for children. He wonders whether *infano* had for Zamenhof exactly the same meaning as *enfant* in his (French) idiolect. "Mais ce qui est certain, c'est que le pronom *ĝi* n'a pas exactment la même signification pour moi que pour Zamenhof."

One realises that French has not got a distinct 'it' but one still finds this difficulty with *ĝi* somewhat puzzling.

However, Zamenhof had not solved everything. In 1907, in response to a question, he said that if we speak of *homo* which, like *infano* does not indicate either sex, it would be grammatically correct to use the pronoun *ĝi*, but since there is something slightly disagreeable, even pejorative, about this, he would advise the questioner to follow the custom of other languages and use *li* - the masculine pronoun, since we have tacitly agreed that when we are not speaking specifically about the feminine sex we may use the masculine form to refer to both. Zamenhof even produces the unacceptable form *homino* while explaining that *riĉulo*, "a rich person", can refer to man or woman, *riĉulo* or *riĉulino*.

By 1979 when the Universala Esperanto Asocio was revising its statutes, this problem was still alive. The very first matter considered was whether to change "*li*" throughout to *li/ŝi*, (that is, to change he to her/she) or to change to *ĝi* which the authoritiative dictionary defines as pronoun of the third person singular, when it is not necessary to indicate the sex. (I now refrain from translating *ĝi* as "it", since this definition shows that *ĝi* can have a wider significance.)

Francois lo Jacomo reports that on this occasion he suggested that *zi*, the pronoun proposed by Jonathan Pool might be taken on board. This was not accepted, but in the following year, 1980, the theme of the annual congress was "Discrimination", and it was pointed out that in that context it simply wouldn't do to use masculine pronouns for a person whose sex is not known. The solution then was to use the indefinite correlative, *tiu*, which can be both "who" and "which", modifying sentences to make this fit.

Pool, then a lecturer in political science in New York University had used *zi* in 1977, in a lecture on equal rights in communication. He is interested in sociolinguistics and linguistic politics and has made various proposals for what one might call gender balance.

The one that could be most easily adopted is a masculine suffix, *-iĉ* to balance *-in*. There would be no objection to saying *stiristiĉo, stiristino* to differentiate between male and female drivers. In practice, one simply says *stiristo*, while the feminine ending is more and more often dropped from words like *kuracistino, sekretariino, prezidantino, aktorino*, "doctor, secretary, president ... actress".

Pool has another suggestion: his research has shown that *li* is used more often to indicate an individual of unspecified sex than to indicate a male; he proposes in the latter case a new pronoun *hi*. It's true that most other suitable letters are already in use, (except R, which would not suit Japanese samideanoj) but I do not see much chance of this one catching on. To add is acceptable, but radical change in Zamenhof's fundamental rules is not. These include the pronouns *mi, vi, li, ŝi, ni, ili,* and *ĝi*.

I focused on this discussion because it is interesting to observe ongoing change. Even as I write I realise that I can take part in it by making use of the *-iĉ* suffix. But before I conclude I must introduce another indication of Zamenhof's concern. He took the prefix *ge-*, as in *geschwester* and extended it widely to any collection of persons of both sexes: *gepatroj*, "parents", *gekuzoj*, "cousins", *gepolicistoj*, (police) *geĵuĝistoj*, while *geedziĝi* means to get married. Probably the most frequent use in *gesinjoroj*, which would have been as normal an opening to this paper as *estimataj*. So would *Estimataj gekolegoj*. *Sinjoro* of course is *sinjoro*, feminine *sinjorino*, but it may be worth mentioning that unmarried persons may be addressed as *fraŭlino* and *fraŭlo*, the male form being derived from the female, and making available the useful *gefraŭloj*.

And I have saved up for the end what now seems to me to have been Zamenhof's most challenging choice. We perhaps need to realise how novel it is for speakers of some other languages to have a joint-gender term - for a Spaniard, *miaj gefiloj* instead of *mis hijos, la gepatroj* instead of *los padres*. No novelty for people who are used to talking about parents and children.

But consider the article. Zamenhof wondered seriously whether to have such a thing. A dream decided the matter. Now, I spoke Spanish sufficiently early in life to have perhaps internalized some of the feelings of a native speaker. I remember being startled by *la arbo* instead of the natural *el arbol*. I got over it, have no hesitation about *la libro* or *la ĝardeno* and when I take account of the fact that the Taoiseach is *la ĉefministro*, the T.Ds *la parlamentanoj*, the bishop *la episkopo* and the father himself, *la patro* I feel perhaps the balance has been redressed on the side of *la patrino*.

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Variation and Gender

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Research done on women's language, no matter which perspective is chosen (sociological, anthropological or linguistic), seems to conclude that the language used by women is conservative. Women use prestige forms more than men, and women pass on the more so-called correct speech forms to their children.

Within linguistics, the variationist model has been among the more successful in providing empirical data on the question of women's language. Variationist studies confirm the view that women's speech is conservative, but, as is the case with any generalization, the reality is somewhat more complex. Variationist work looks at sex differences in language variation and asks why they occur. Traditionally, variationist studies have focused on phonological variables which are sociolinguistically sensitive (that is, sounds which differ according to sociological factors). Over the last thirty years or so, it has produced much data and fine-grained analysis in the course of wide-ranging studies of different linguistic communities. These studies provided facts against which general mythologies and folk beliefs could be checked and measured. In variation studies, correlations are sought between linguistic variables and social variables, such as social class, sex or age.

However, where social class, for instance, has been studied in great detail by sociologists, and linguists have had the benefit of such finesse, sex, or for that matter, age, has not had the advantage of the same close scrutiny. As Eckert (1989) points out, while there are objectivised indices used to measure social class (such as education, occupation and so on), there has been much less attention focused on gender. Sex is a biological category; gender, on the other hand is a social category. Sex, like age, is a universal basis for distinctive social roles. This is what constitutes gender, the social construction of sex. This is not a new idea for sociologists but has not been adequately considered by linguists. What has been happening in variationist studies (and probably in sociolinguistics studies in general) is that "differences in patterns of variation between men and women have been studied as though they are a function of sex, whereas in fact they are a function of gender, and only indirectly a function of sex" *(Eckhart 1989)*. It is much easier to use the biological criterion of sex, which is an easily observable binary variable, than to try to begin to analyse the many factors which go into the construction of gender. It is much easier to proceed on the basis that sex roughly corresponds to gender and so to use the biological category. In addition, the information regarding the speaker's sex is available, so there is no need to inquire about the construction of gender in that particular speech community. The result is that there has been a blurring in the interpretation of data where unanalysed notions about gender are used to interpret whatever sex correlations emerge. It is often the case, in fact, that gender variation occurs within the same sex group as well as across sex groups. It must be said that in many variationist studies, much general and intuitive knowledge was brought to bear on the data and in these cases, the analyses were correspondingly fine-grained and sensitive. It seems, however, that it would be desirable to make explicit the problematic nature of the relationship betwen sex and gender rather than relying on the knowledge of the individual researcher.

There are numerous variationist studies which have produced interesting data on sex differences in language, and a number of these will be reviewed in the following paragraphs. In one of the earliest studies, *Fisher, in 1958*, examined the use of *(-ing)*, a much studied phonological variable. This is an on-going stable sound change, and there seems to be no change in progress. Even age, which usually helps in testing for change in progress, suggests nothing in the line of change. Fisher studied the use of *(-ing)* in children in a New England town, and found a stylistic effect. School-related verbs took the velar *(-ing)* but verbs like playin' took the apical. In relation to sex, Fisher found that girls used more *(-ing)* than *(-in')* and concludes that girls had more careful linguistic behaviour.

From John L. Fischer's study of *(-ing)* in a New England town (1958):

	more *-ing* than *-in'*	more *-in'* than *-ing*	
boys	5	7	
girls	10	2	$p<.05$

In 1966 Labov studied several variables in the speech of New York City. In relation to the voiced /d/ for the interdental fricative in "these", " then", "those", he found that women used the form which is given prestige by the global community.

From W. Labov's study of the social stratification of English in New York City (1966)

Index of Pronunciation of [d] in *these*, *them*, *those*

	All classes	All classes except upper middle
Men	54	68
Women	31	34

In 1972, Trudgill studied *(-ing)* in British English in Norwich, and found that the use of *(-in')* is very high in working-class speech, which even retains it in careful speech, where it is only slightly lower than in casual speech. The middle class use little *(-in')* in all styles. In general women use less *(-in')* than men. Sex differences hold in every cell except the underlined ones.

From Peter Trudgill's study of the social differentiation of English in Norwich (1972)

Percent *-in'* Used by Men and Women By Style and Class

Class		Word lists	Reading style	Careful Speech	Casual Speech
Middle Middle					
	Men	00	00	04	31
	Women	00	00	00	00
Lower Middle					
	Men	00	20	27	77
	Women	00	00	03	67
Upper Working					
	Men	00	18	81	95
	Women	11	13	68	77
Middle Working					
	Men	24	43	91	97
	Women	20	46	81	88
Lower Working					
	Men	66	100	100	100
	Women	17	54	97	100

In 1966 and 1969, Shuy and Wolfram studied multiple negation in Detroit. In every case women again use the more prestigious form.

From Roger Shuy and Walt Wolfram's studies of the social stratification of English in Detroit (1966, 1969).

Per cent Multiple Negation in Detroit for Men and Women

	Class			
	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working	Lower Working
White				
Men	06	32	40	90
Women	00	01	36	55
Black				
Men	10	27	68	81
Women	06	02	41	74

In 1973, Macaulay studied the use of glottal stop for */t/* in Glasgow, and found once again that males used more non-prestige glottal stops than women. In 1981, Eisikovits did a study of inner Sydney English, and found that in responses to adult speech, girls shift towards the standard in Australia, but boys shift in the opposite direction. In a variationist study of *(-ing)* in first language acquisition, Roberts[1] found that three year old female children already used more *(-ing)* than males. In relation to the behaviour of men and women in the acquisition of a second language, *Adamson and Regan (1991)*, found that non-native males use *(-in')* more frequently than females, especially in monitored speech (perhaps reflecting their desire to accomodate to a male speaker norm rather than an overall native speaker norm).So it does seem that in this selection of studies on usage by males and females, women use the forms which are perceived as prestigious by society in general. Men, on the other hand, use those forms which are often seen as having a kind of covert prestige (as Trudgill terms it) and which confer a macho tough image.

However, as we intimated earlier, the reality is more complex than this. From 1899 to 1904, Gauchat studied the French of French speaking Switzerland in Charmey. He found that in various on-going sound changes there women, in fact, were leading and they tended to forget the old sound more quickly than men. A second study of the same community in 1929 (thirty years later) found that women were still leading in on-going changes but that the figures were similiar for the older change. In 1975-77, Lenning studied vowel shifts in Parisian French, and found that men were remaining stable with respect to these changes and the new changes were being carried by women. In a recent study of a large corpus of spoken French from the area of Tours in 1976, *Ashby (1991)* finds that women again are ahead in what he considers the on-going sound change of *"ne"* deletion in French negative constructions, and *"l"* effacement in clitic pronouns of the third person. Females dropped *"ne"* more frequently than males.

These studies suggest that women may lead in sound change from below, which is relatively new sound change. This is sound change that is not consciously recognised and is not stigmatised. When new, it has no social evaluation. However, after a while, many sound changes from below are subject to correction from above. In this case, the new variant has acquired some degree of social value, and identifies the speaker as an innovator. According to Trudgill, new forms emerging from below are stigmatized and women are more conservative than men because they are more insecure socially. Therefore they oppose the spread of socially significant forms emerging from below.

Thus, the generalization that women are more conservative is not totally accurate. In some respects, women are more innovative in their linguistic usage, in addition to being more conservative in other respects. Even the view that women are more likely to use prestige forms must be questioned. In natural science research, or in literary analysis, the data being analysed does not change as a result of being observed. However, in studies of naturalistic speech, the speech data is affected by the presence of the researcher. The data on women's use of prestige forms comes from sociolinguistic studies carried out, in the case of Labov and Trudgill, for instance, by upper middle class male academics. These, by their sex and occupation, as well as in their capacity as interviewers, were in a dominant position vis-à-vis their female subjects. A point that is made cogently by *Wolfson (1989)* is that Labov, in his study of adolescent males in Harlem, was careful to use black interviewers for fear of a serious research bias. The same research bias must certainly have been a danger in the studies where males were interviewing female speakers.

One of the more interesting studies of variation in relation to gender is *Eckert's 1989* study of adolescents in Detroit. Eckert studied the behaviour of these speakers in relation to the vowel shift known as the Northern Cities Chain shift *(Labov, Yaeger, and Steiner 1972)*. There are both older changes and newer ones involved here. The older ones are the fronting of (ae) and (a) and the lowering and fronting of (oh). The newer ones are the backing of (e) and (uh). One interesting question which this study raises, even if it does not solve, is the question of gender in its totality, as opposed to the simple binary variable "sex". The work is based on participant observation over two years in a linguistic community, during which an attempt was made to explore what constituted gender in this particular adolescent community through the use of social network analysis. There are two perceptibly different social categories in the culture of American public high schools. Briefly, one of these is linked with middle class culture, and one with working class culture. The first category has school as the focus of social activities, the other attaches itself to the neighbourhood community and tends to rebel against school. In Detroit, members of the first category are called Jocks and the second, Burnouts. Within each category, males and females have very different ways of achieving power and status. In general boys do "real" things that show specific skill and talents, other than purely social ones. Often this takes the form of physical autonomy. Eckert gives the example of the freedom Burnout boys have to go to Detroit alone, where girls need the protection of boys to do this. The result of this is that females, deprived of real means of marking their solidarity and belonging to the group, must find other ways of doing it. So girls made great efforts to maintain symbolic differences at all levels - clothing and jewelry, behaviour, sexual activity. The question was: do females use language also to underline these symbolic differences?

The results are complex and can be found in Eckert, 1989. However the main lines can be summarized briefly. In only three of the five sound changes was there a direct correlation with gender, though gender did play a role in four out of the five, in relation to group membership. So there seems to be no simple relation between sex and any sound change.

In both sorts of changes, girls are using variation more than boys. In the newer changes, girls' patterns of variation show a greater difference between Jocks and Burnouts than the boys'.

TABLE 1. *Percentage of advanced tokens of the five vowels for each combination of social category and sex (numbers of tokens in parentheses).*

	Boys		Girls	
	Jocks	Burnouts	Jocks	Burnouts
(ae)	39.7	35.3	62.2	62
(a)	21.4	22	33.8	38.2
(oh)	7.4	10.2	29.8	38.7
(e)	26.2	33.2	23.8	30.9
(uh)	24.6	35.3	25.8	43

(From Eckert 1989)

Eckert's results seem to question the assertion that women lead in sound change. In both old and new sound changes, girls used variation more than boys. In the newer changes, the girls' patterns of variation show a greater difference between Jocks and Burnouts than the boys. In the older changes, all the girls use variables not associated with social category. The newer changes, according to Eckert, which are more advanced closer to the city, are "ripe for association with counteradult norms". The older changes have a more generalised function associated with expressiveness and general membership. In both cases, females showed greater differentiation of the new changes, and their greater use of older ones are seen by Eckert as being yet one more means of symbolic self presentation.

Neither sex nor social category is in themselves sufficient to explain the sound changes, but both together tell us something. It is not true to say that for (oh) and (uh) for instance, there are large sex differences in one category and not in the other. In other words, sex is rarely more salient in one category than the other. There are greater category differences in one sex group than the other. Category membership is more salient to members of one sex group than the other.

These results relating to adolescent linguistic behaviour, for Eckert, would seem to confirm the view that women (having little access to real power) claim power by the use of symbols of membership of certain social groups.

Eckert's study seems to point to the fact that often when we talk about male and female as independent variables, we may in fact be talking about something which is not just "female" but powerlessness, or economic deprivation and so on. If Eckert had analysed her data simply in terms of sex, or simply in terms of group membership, it might not have told very much, but where sex is taken in conjunction with group membership, the results are different and potentially more interesting. So there may be features which characterise women's speech, not only in opposition to male speech, but which may involve others things like group membership.

So it seems as if we must question over-simplistic blanket statements that women are conservative in their use of language. There can be no assumption of direct correlations between sex and linguistic behaviour. In addition, it would seem as if "sex" as a variable is too narrow to permit any conclusions as to the relationship between gender and language.

It is not necessarily true to say, simply that women are more conservative in their use of language, but that they may be particularly aware of the symbolic power of language, especially because real power is frequently denied to them.

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Review of **Paul Farrell, Vocabulary in ESP. A Lexical Analysis of the English of Electronics and a Study of Semi-Technical Vocabulary.** CLCS Occasional Paper No. 25. Centre for Language and Communication Studies, Trinity College Dublin, Dublin, Autumn 1990. Pp. 83. ISSN 0332-3889.
Susan Abbey, A Case for On-Going Evaluation in English Language Teaching Projects. CLCS Occasional Paper No. 29. Centre for Language and Communication Studies, Trinity College Dublin, Dublin, Spring 1991. Pp. 43. ISSN 0332-3889.

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These are two scaled-down M.Phil. theses in the familiar format of CLCS Occasional Papers. They remind me a little of the Condensed Books of the Readers' Digest. I found the papers interesting and easy to read. We should be grateful to CLCS for making it so easy for us to keep up with the things that students of Applied Linguistics are doing these days.

The first is based on a word-count on twenty corpora of 2,000 words or so of scientific English relating to electronics. But it is a good deal more than that, because the introductory chapters raise a whole lot of interesting issues about the so-called lexical approach to language learning (take care of the words and the text will take care of itself), the claims of language teaching for specific purposes (LSP) to be considered a unique discipline of Applied Linguistics, and the usefulness of word frequency counts as an approach to syllabus design in ESP.

The appeal of word-frequency lists is enduring, and is related to the seductive idea of a "core" or a "working" vocabulary. I once bought a book that claimed to contain the "working vocabulary of Homer" in a few pages. Using a cutoff of 200 occurrences or more (in the Iliad and Odyssey) it contained a mere 34 verbs, 30 nouns, and 79 other parts of speech (pronouns, particles, adjectives, conjunctives, and so on). The learner is tempted to think that these words, once learned, would be like stepping stones scattered around the text. But while the frequency of these words, relative to others, is strikingly high, their absolute frequency, corresponding to the probability that the next word will be one of them, is still pitifully low. You would want very long legs indeed to step from one of them to the next in a typical page of Homer. So you lower the threshold to, say, all words with 100 occurrences or more. But the number of words that you now have to learn shoots up, doubles in fact, and the stepping stones only move a fraction of an inch closer to each other. This is obviously a losing battle, so you just get a dictionary and take the text as it comes, which is a more civilised way to treat it in any case.

As a front-line reading aid, word-frequency counts have little use. At best they give you lists of words that will cause you constant trouble if you are not comfortable with them. On those grounds they can, of course, be extremely useful to teachers and course designers, or even to students who want to plan some revision. Farrell notes that the word "since" occurs (22 times) in the corpus only in the sense of "because". The fact that the other "since" dominates typical FL courses is evidently related to its usefulness in casual conversation with strangers. This is one of the many arguments used by Farrell to back up the case for the autonomy of ESP as a discipline. The fact that a nice set of basic scientific "notions" can be listed is another one that he uses. He also makes a strong argument for the existence of semi-technical English, the kind of English that is found in technical writing over a variety of different specialist areas, including, for example, terms such as "figure", "show", "produced", "change", "measure", etc. This is perhaps the strongest argument of all for the autonomy of ESP.

The case for teaching language students more about words, in glorious isolation from each other and from communicative intentions of all kinds, is also made, and some interesting procedures for building and classifying words are presented. One of Farrell's sources is surely exaggerating a little in claiming that vocabulary is taught nowadays in communicative courses "merely as a means of exemplifying other features of the language" (p.19). But we know what he is getting at.

Finally Farrell presents the frequency study, prefaced by a thoughtful discussion of all the problems with counts of this kind, and followed by the word-lists themseves and associated statistics. It would be a most uncurious teacher or student of scientific English who would not want to go through the lists very carefully.

The second paper takes us into the area of educational evaluation, specifically, programme evaluation for TEFL/TESOL projects. The author, Susan Abbey, rejects narrow interpretations of evaluation, external evaluation, for example, or summative evaluation through student assessment. She broadens the concept of evaluation until it means nothing less than intelligent reflection on all aspects of the programme, by all the parties involved, with a view to managing the programme to their mutual advantage. This is now a well-established point of view, particularly in the evaluation of broad-aim projects that have objectives that are difficult to define and which require a good deal of improvisation and personal involvement on the part of the participants.

The strength of the position is the huge scope it gives to evaluation: nothing is excluded. Its weakness is that it sometimes makes evaluation too flabby a concept to sustain any meaningful debate. We are all in favour of critical reflection and rational planning, of course, so we can hardly disagree with the opinion that all projects would be evaluated, that evaluation should be on-going, that all the participants should be involved, that all aspects of the project should be covered, and so on. On a narrower view of evaluation we might well disagree, and the narrow interpretation could be the more appropriate one in a given situation.

The paper starts by looking at reports of eight ELT (English Language Teaching) projects, in which English is in effect either a second or a foreign language. The reports date from 1977 (1), 1980 (2), and 1983 (5) and come from various countries, the UK, Tanzania, Sierra Leone, Saudi Arabia, Cameroon, Somalia, Egypt, and Kenya. In the course of her commentary on the eight studies the author's criteria for good evaluation gradually emerge. They are presented more formally in the second part of the paper, which raises all the most general questions that can be asked about evaluation: why it should be done at all, who should do it, in what form, when from whom, and so on. The section ends with the author's list of eight requirements for good evaluation, which are along the lines we would expect, given the identification of evaluation with good management. Evaluation must cover everything, process as well as product, all the participants must be involved, all the circumstances of the project need to be taken into account, etc.

The third section of the paper introduces the idea of innovation. It might have been treated as just one feature of educational projects that needs to be monitored like any other, but the author makes "innovation" more or less synonymous with "project", which in turn makes "evaluation" the same thing as "management of innovation". In this section, therefore, she recasts what she has said in the previous two sections in terms of innovation management.

In Section 4 the author looks back at a TEFL project in which she was involved in Malaysia. She assesses its approach to evaluation against the eight criteria proposed in Section 2. In Section 5 she proposes eight guidelines, which in some cases are sets of guidelines, for those who wish to draw up a programme of evaluation of a TEFL project. These could be extremely useful to project planners and designers. In line with the author's theoretical position on the open-endedness of language projects, the list of guidelines is also a trouble-shooter's list to some extent, thus giving the evaluative scheme the capacity to "bend with the wind" according as the project encounters the unexpected.

Two features of the paper attracted my attention, principally on the grounds that I did not become aware of them until I was well into the study. The first is the paper's concern with prescriptive documents, "design doucuments" in particular, which set out the objectives and methods of projects. In fact the paper is frequently talking about prescriptive models of project evaluation as much as actual projects, and the transition between the two is not always flagged. In the commentary on eight reports, the author sometimes quotes a design document with approval, even though we don't know whether it was implemented to any degree. At other times she wonders what actually happened in practice, regardless of edifying statements in the design document. This tension between description and prescription occurs continually. Section 4 is not really a critique of the Malaysian Study Skills Project but only of its "design document'' and there is a suggestion (p. 38) that the document in question may not have played much of a role in the project in practice. Similarly, I thought the concluding section, perhaps in an attempt to finish on a practical note, did an injustice to the paper as a whole by making such a strong plea for a large design document, ''a larger document than is usually the case'', which should ideally become the constant ''course companion'' of all the project's participants in all phases of their work, ''planning, management, implementation and evaluation''.

This is a very extreme expression of the ''evaluation-driven'' approach to educational management, and the faith it pins on prescription contrasts strikingly with the sceptical and eclectic attitudes expressed earlier in regard to educational methods and techniques of all kinds, let alone lowly realia such as docments listing desiderata for evaluation. In the spirit of Sections 2 and 3, which I found excellent, one would surely have felt that the ''design document'' would be treated as just another fallible piece of project equipment, perceived and misperceived by the participants in different ways, acted on or ignored as the circumstances dictate. I was surprised to see how much was expected of it in the closing section. The ''case for on-going evaluation'' in the paper's title now becomes the case for evaluation-driven project management and detailed design documents.

The second feature of the paper that attracted my attention was its abstractness. What it says on evaluation would apply to almost any educational project. Indeed references to language learning practically dry up in the closing section of the paper. There is nothing wrong with abstraction. We are always entitled to take an aerial view of things. I am a little uneasy about it in this instance, nonetheless, because it suggests that the actual learning and teaching of languages are private matters between the teachers and the students, and need not be discussed in any detail as long as the management ensures, firstly, that teachers are clear on the course objectives, and secondly, that sufficient data are gathered to keep tabs on the outcomes. This is the old black box model of evaluation that was rejected out of hand in the early sections of the paper. In the later sections I sometimes had the impression that it was still lurking in the aisles.

I mention these two points not because they lessen the value of the paper in any way but only because they cause me, given my view of things, to file it away under slightly different headings than those suggested initially by its title. But the fact remains that we do need prescriptive models of evaluation in any event, and broad specifications of project implementation. The present paper provides them for us. With a narrower perspective on evaluation, one focussed more on the students, one might wish to say that the author's concluding ''guidelines'' deal not so much with programme evaluation as they do with programme implementation and management. But the important thing is that they are comprehensive and well thought out, however one chooses to label them. Apart from anything else they constitute a ready-made agenda for a project management meeting. They are also a good checklist of organisational bottlenecks that any programme disigner or director should look out for. And if it is true that they apply to other things besides ELT, so much the better.

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Review of Margaret M. Leahy (ed.) Journal of Clinical Speech and Language Studies, Volume 1, Number 1 (1991). Pp. 147 ISSN 0791-5985.

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The first edition of the Journal of Clinical Speech and Language Studies represents an exciting step forward for practising clinicians in Ireland and provides a welcome forum to report and discuss research and other clinical issues in speech and language therapy.

The journal is a result of a co-operative effort between the School of Clinical Speech and Language Studies, Trinity College, and the Irish Association of Speech and Language Therapists. Described as a "practitioner based research journal with emphasis on clinical issues", it is predicted that future editions will also provide scope for the discussion of other related philosophical, theoretical and practical matters.

Contributions to this journal are invited from practising clinicians on all types of communication impairments and therapy. In this edition there are seven papers in all, covering a wide range of topics representing the diverse interests embodied in the area of speech and language therapy. Also included are reviews of recent publications of related interest, coupled with some useful reports on evaluations of new equipment currently available to the speech and language therapist.

The first paper entitled *"Practitioners as Researchers"* (Roy McConkey), not only serves as a fitting introduction to the collection of papers presented, but also as an appropriate starting point as the first edition of this journal is launched.

McConkey begins by stating that "the gulf between practice and research is apparently unbridgeable" as far as health and social services are concerned. He questions if such a gap stems from "an image rather than a reality problem", and thus sets about dispelling the myth of research as something only "experimenters" can do.

He believes that "skilled practitioners" are ready-made "effective researchers" and, once enabled to do so, can reframe much of their work, thus allowing it to qualify as research.

In presenting a model to aid in the planning of research, McConkey remains ever-conscious of matching methods to available resources. His discussion of research procedures fall under the following heading: What needs researching? (Client Characteristics, Effecting Change, Service Effectiveness) Finding answers (Measures, Designs, Samples)/Obtaining assistance with research. All these topics are clearly and succinctly dealt with, rendering them easily understood as McConkey refrains from using research jargon which is often confusing and off-putting.

McConkey's optimistic and encouraging paper concludes with the hope of a ''New Image'' for researchers and in the expansion of what her terms ''reactitioner-researchers''

''Setting up a Client Database'' (Mary Rafferty) continues the theme of practitioner-based research. This paper describes the stages involved in establishing a client database for a large service catering for a mentally handicapped population. The need to set up such a database arose from the requirement to have information about clients readily available and easily accessible when needed. Such information, Rafferty suggests, is not only needed by funding authorities, but also is essential if the therapist is to plan for the future provision of services and to promote the optimum use of existing resources as the number and type of clients increase.

The author goes on to outline in detail how such a database was set up, and emphasizes the need to plan carefully what information is relevant to the service's needs, whilst avoiding the inclusion of superfluous information and falling prey to the ''you never know when it will come in handy'' attitude. Ongoing consultation with staff, colleagues and other similar agencies is seen as an essential part of the setting-up process and indeed Rafferty believes that the ultimate success fo the database depends on the careful, strict, planning of the design - ''Investing in these aspects of the system during the set up period is as important as any aspect of hardware or software'' (p. 26). The use of such computerised databases once set up, present, according to the author: ''the possibility of efficiency of some aspects of our own record keeping with that of collecting data for research and sharing information with our colleagues'' (p.26). Rafferty thus confirms McConkey's description of a database as being ''an invaluable tool'' - a tool that would prove particularly useful, if not necessary, for the busy practitioner and would-be researcher.

In *''The Relationship between Interpersonal Auditory Discrimination and Phonological Disability''*, Dr de Montfort outlines a study where the discrimination errors of a group of subjects with phonological disability are compared to the errors of matched subjects with normal articulation. Whilst presenting her study, Dr de Montfort warns of the habit-based therapeutic interventions which may prove unsuitable in the light of her own findings.

Auditory discrimination activities have in the past, featured prominently in the therapeutic regimen for phonological difficulties. This study was undertaken ''to justify the continued inclusion or exclusion'' of such activities in therapy, (i.e. where open/interpersonal discrimination techniques are concerned).

The study's findings "clearly demonstrate the lack of any relationship between phonological disability and open auditory discrimination" (p. 37).

The implication is, therefore, that work on auditory discrimination is not altogether useful or relevant when working with children with phonological disabilities, aside from serving to focus the child's attention on target phonemes. It is this reviewer's opinion that open auditory discrimination techniques, though not, as proven in de Montfort's study, directly relevant, help the child with a phonological disability to discriminate errors in his/her own speech, so functioning as a facilitatory device.

The study's conclusions therefore should encourage therapists (who have not done so already) to review their therapeutic techniques and to consider and apply such research findings to practice, instead of taking the safe option and "keep doing what's always been done" (McConkey in same volume).

Focusing on adult communication disorders Margaret McQuillan's paper takes a look at how adults with autism differ from adults with mental handicap (a) in the way they view themselves and (b) in their construing of other people in their social world. The study, entitled *"The Construing of Self and Others of Adults with Autism"* successfully implements techniques derived from Kelly's (1965) Personal Construct Theory. Findings suggest that adults with autism do indeed view themselves differently, i.e. in a restricted manner, whilst also viewing others in a limited way, rendering social interaction problematic. Such findings have useful implications for therapeutic practices - the author suggests that by "focusing on developing the adult's ability to construe self and others in order to facilitate the formulation of predictions in social contexts, may increase self-esteem and result in more socially appropriate behaviour". (p. 43).

Despite some limitations of the study which are acknowledged by the author (e.g. failing to include subjects with neither autism nor mental handicap for comparison), and a printer's error in omitting Appendix II (referred to in the text and outlining interpretations of "particular remarks made by the subjects with autism"), this study makes for thought-provoking reading, being well supported by a discussion of theories on autism in the introductory paragraphs.

For the remainder of the papers, the focus shifts back to discussing children with communication problems. *"The Language and Auditory Perceptual Skills of Febrile Convulsion Children"* is the topic under discussion in Libby Kinneen's study. In this study she looks at the development of Speech and Language skills in children who have had a history of febrile convulsions (f.c.) and such development in a group of matched controls. Though, as reported in the literature, f.c. children are more likely to develop speech and language difficulties, on investigation the author discovered that it was only in certain areas of language development (i.e. phonology and auditory memory) that this was so. Previous studies had apparently failed to specify the types of speech/language disorders occurring in these children.

In conclusion, the author suggests that f.c. children should be considered an "at-risk" group for the development of speech/language difficulties. Regular screening may thus be necessary as, although such children may "recover" from an early speech and language delay, they may present at a later stage with subtle language difficulties which only become apparent as the linguistic demands upon them become greater.

The final two papers are case studies, the first of which demonstrates the problems encountered in the *"Assessment of Interaction Patterns and AAC use"* (AAC - augmentative and alternative communication). The author, Martine Smith, presents an in-depth case report of a female non-speaking subject, who relied on AAC use for communication purposes.

The case study examines the communicative interaction patterns and considers some of the assessment issues involved in such a situation. Emphasis on the multi-modal nature of the communication process focuses attention on the sender, the receiver, the medium and the context of the communication process focuses attention on the sender, the receiver, the medium and the context of the communication. The author highlights the role of the "important listener" in maintaining the "communication equilibrium" - aspects we take so much for granted in conversations among speakers.

The second case study, and indeed the final paper in this collection, is an account of the complex speech and language difficulties associated with a rare condition, termed "Moebius Syndrome". In *"Moebius Syndrome - A Case Study"*, the authors Caitriona Heslin and Rene Lyons emphasise the importance of the speech and language therapists' contribution at the diagnostic, assessment and treatment stages of the syndrome; being an integral member of a multi- disciplinary team and the implications thereof are also discussed.

In summary, therefore, this first edition of the *Journal of Clinical Speech and Language Studies* presents a fine, readable collection of papers, all of a very high standard. The research presented and the proposals for practical applications challenge the speech and language therapist to constantly evaluate his/her therapeutic regimen, as new and ever-changing attitudes, beliefs and treatment approaches appear.

The hope which McConkey expressed in the opening paper, i.e. that clinicians may become practitioner researchers is almost certainly borne out when one reviews the seven papers that go to make up this volume. This journal and its future editions will make essential reading, not only for speech and language therapists, but for anyone interested in language and the intricacies of linguistic functioning.

Review of **David Little, Learner Autonomy. 1: Definitions, Issues and Problems.** Authentik Language Learning Resources Ltd, Trinity College Dublin, Dublin, 1991. Pp. vi + 62. ISBN 1-871730-02-3.
David Singleton, The TCD Modern Languages Research Project. Objectives, Instruments and Preliminary Results. CLCS Occasional Paper No. 26. Centre for Language and Communication Studies, Trinity College Dublin, Dublin, Autumn 1990. Pp. 19. ISSN 0332-3889.

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The world of language learning can sometimes resemble the historian Norman Cohn's vision of the Middle Ages, a territory periodically swept by the mystical crusades of millenarian movements. Linguistic salvation is variously promised by unquestioning faith in the "communicative method" or "authentic materials" or "CALL". David Little in addressing the subject of learner autonomy is acutely sensitive to the tyranny of fashion and the manner in which a core concept such as "autonomy" can fast become a mindless mantra, emptied of its content by a plethora of misconceptions.

Little explodes the more common myths surrounding the notion of learner autonomy. Autonomy does not mean self-instruction, teachers will not be made redundant, autonomy is not a new results in the achievement of a steady state. He defines autonomy in the following terms, "autonomy is a capacity - for detachment, critical reflection, decision-making and independent action" (p. 14). Autonomy is predicted on interdependence as total detachment implies the terminal solitude of autism. Hence, there will always be a role for the teacher to assist the development of autonomy but more in the guise of a counsellor and manager of resources than as a purveyor of information.

Ivan Illich is an important influence on Little's thinking in the former's advocacy of the dismantling of the barriers between living and learning. Indeed, drawing on the work of Barnes and Rogers and the developmental psychology of Piaget and Bruner, the author of **Learner Autonomy** wonders whether any learning is possible in the absence of autonomy. If learning implies the ability to integrate new information into the sum of experiences already acquired by the learner, it follows that each learner is unique. The psychology of personal constructs developed by the American psychologist and psychotherapist George Kelly is used by Little to address and deal with the question of learner specificity. The autonomous language classroom realises the importance of personal beliefs, prejudices and experiences ('constructs') in learning and is less about showing and telling and more about negotiation, problem-solving and interaction. The change to an autonomous mode of learning can be as traumatic for the teacher as for the learner. Teachers used to the expository mode (the vast majority) can feel that when they stop talking, they are no longer working. Not only learners, but teachers also, must identify their own set of constructs.

Learner Autonomy, while concerned with the theoretical implications of the notion of autonomy, is preeminently practical. Little anticipates the complaints of hard-pressed language teachers who feel themselves hostages to syllabi, examinations and the need to cover a certain 'grammatical' ground. While understanding the problems and pressures, he nonetheless points out that within these constraints a lot can be done. Learners must at all times be given as many opportunities as possible to interact with and through the language and be invited to adopt a wide variety of discourse roles. In this way, they will acquire a level of self-reflexivity in the learning process and the capacity to solve problems in the context of social interaction which is fundamental to the acquisition of a language.

The Authentik team are to be complimented on the idea of producing accessible, informed books on key topics for language teachers. Class preparation and a high number of contact hours often make it difficult for teachers to set aside time for consulting the extensive material that now exists in the area of language acquisition. In this respect, David little's authoritative, clearly-written discussion of learner autonomy is an excellent start to the new series.

David Singleton's Occasional Paper offers an account of the early stages of the TCD Modern Languages Research Project and discusses some preliminary findings. On the question of the use of C-tests to elicit the state of learners' L2 competence, Singleton argues interestingly that most subjects' responses were obviously semantico-pragmatically motivated. This contradicts claims by other researchers that C-tests fail to take account of the sematico-pragmatic aspects of words. The paper presents a number of preliminary findings on the basis of relatively small sets of pilot data that have been manually processed. Language learners who are in contact with the L2 outside the classroom perform better than those who lack this contact (this does not just mean meeting native speakers, it can involve private reading of foreign-language material). There would appear to be a strong case for the interconnection of L1 and L2 lexical processing contrary to the assertions of certain psycholinguists. A number of suggestions are made for improving the C-test procedure and the linguistic performance of bilinguals is briefly discussed along with the contrastive dimension of problematicity in L2 acquisition. On the basis of the evidence to date, it certainly would appear that the TCD Modern Languages Research Project in the words of David Singleton, "will have some important contributions to add to the second language research pool."

Review of **Jennifer Ridley, Strategic Competence in Second Language Performance: A Study of Four Advanced Learners.** CLCS Occasional Paper No. 28. Centre for Language and Communication Studies, Trinity College Dublin, Spring 1991. Pp. 95. ISSN 0332-3889.

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This 95-page booklet by Jennifer Ridley, published by the CLCS at Trinity College Dublin, is an amended version of the author's M. Phil. in Applied Linguistics thesis, submitted in September 1989. The aim of the study described in the booklet was (a) to test the hypothesis that individual second language learners develop their own quite different distinct strategies to cope with linguistic problems of oral interaction and (b) to investigate the extent to which the same learners' introspection might be used to increase students' awareness of their particular areas of difficulty and the role that strategic competence can play in oral performance.

By way of background to the study, I should point out that the author is a very experienced teacher who has specialised for many years in the language training of prospective bilingual secretaries. In the course of her work, she noticed that students seemed to develop their own particular ways of coping orally when caught in linguistically tight corners. Each student seemed to make a personal selection from the wide range of (at least theoretically) available communication strategies to overcome problems which tended to be largely lexical in nature. She also noticed that when students were given the opportunity to listen to recordings of their own oral performance in mock interview situations, they were frequently unable to differentiate between the use of various communication styles. This lack of awareness suggested that a more conscious approach towards the development of what Ridley calls ''strategic competence'' might be of considerable assistance to advanced language learners.

For the purposes of the study, four students enrolled on a two-year bilingual secretarial course were selected. They were interviewed in French twice: the first interview (Stage One) being held shortly before their departure for France or Belgium where they were to spend a six-month period and the second interview (Stage Two) being held shortly after their return to Ireland. On both occasions, the interviews were conducted by a native speaker of French and tape-recorded in full. Transcripts of all eight interviews are provided in the Appendix as, indeed, are the very revealing transcripts of each student's attempt at introspection immediately after each Stage One interview. (Stage Two introspection transcripts are to be found in the body of the study where they are discussed in detail.)

The study is divided into five sections. Section one provides the theoretical background to the study and commences with the obligatory, though thankfully brief, reference to Chomsky. Moving from the Chomskian distinction between competence and performance, Ridley goes on to explore the more pertinent concept of communicative competence and, subsequently, pragmatic and grammatical competence. The types of difficulty experienced by advanced language learners are looked at with reference to declarative and procedural knowledge and the section concludes by looking at the types of communication strategies which can be used to cope in L2 oral interaction in an effective, authentic manner.

Section two outlines the methodology used in the study while sections three and four present Stage One and Stage Two findings respectively. It is the comparison of these findings that forms the substance of the study and the transcripts of the interviews and introspections make interesting reading. Section five presents the conclusions arising from the study and suggests some pedagogic implications of the findings.

The initial hypothesis that L2 language learners develop their own distinctive ways of coping in oral interaction is confirmed. As far as testing learner introspection as a way of gaining insight into the processes involved during L2 oral performance is concerned, the study suggests that learners vary greatly in their linguistic awareness during and after oral performance, as they also do in their ability to remember or speak coherently about the strategies they adopt in L2 oral communication.

Ridley's investigation is exciting in its approach in that she is determined to view communicative strategies as much more than "an imperfect manifestation of grammatical competence" and argues convincingly that strategic competence is worthy of study by researchers and L2 learners alike as an end in itself.

I do, however, have a few criticisms. While personal experience leaves me well disposed to Ridley's conclusions, I feel that it is very difficult to try to argue a case on empirical grounds on the basis of a study which is so limited in scope. Ridley, herself, is aware of this and reminds us that the study deals with "only four subjects from a specific learning environment, performing a specific task".

Moreover, I feel it was a shame, having argued for a broader, more holistic approach, to then limit an analysis of students' communicative strategies to those which showed up on a sound tape-recording as opposed to a video tape- recording. What appear as blanks or silences on a tape may well represent moments in the communication process when eyebrows are raised or shoulders shrugged in a very fluent French fashion. That said, I realise that there may well have been all kinds of financial, time or other constraints which prevented such an approach from being adopted.

Finally, while I found the material very clearly and systematically presented, I would have greatly appreciated a table of contents complete with page numbers on the first page. Conclusion - well worth reading if you are involved in modern language teaching.

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The Irish Yearbook of Applied Linguistics

Eagarthóir/Editor: Dónall P. Ó Baoill

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Máire Owens

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An tEagarthóir, Aibreán, 1993.

Introduction

This is a special issue on *Adult Language Learning*. Seven of the articles were delivered at an IRAAL seminar on this topic in November, 1992. The issue also contains two other articles from a symposium entitled *Language Maintenance and Loss: An International Perspective* held in May, 1992. We would like to extend our thanks to Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann for providing us with desktop and typesetting facilities.

Members of IRAAL automatically receive TEANGA published yearly, TEANGLITIR published twice a year and AILA publications. For information regarding membership contact: The Secretary, IRAAL, c/o ITÉ, 31 Fitwilliam Place, Dublin 2.

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AN FOCLÓIR PÓCA

Redefining motivation from the L2 learner's point of view

Ema Ushioda
Trinity College, Dublin

INTRODUCTION

In the December 1991 issue of *Language Learning*, a radical challenge to the wealth of literature and empirical research on L2 learning motivation is voiced by Graham Crookes and Richard Schmidt:

> From a conceptual point of view, much of the work on motivation in SL learning has not dealt with motivation at all. *(Crookes and Schmidt 1991, p.502)*

They argue that the SLA researcher's theories of motivation, firmly rooted in the *social-psychological conceptual* framework that has dominated the field since the early 1970s, bear little relationship to the so-called *practitioner-validated* concept of motivation, as it is understood by language teachers, educators and textbook or materials designers.

What then of the *learner-validated* concept of motivation? Is there not yet a third important perspective to add to that of the SLA researcher-theorist and that of the language teacher-practitioner? The L2 learner after all is the person who directly experiences and acts upon the complex psychological processes loosely labelled motivation, and would seem to be at a unique vantage point to offer insight into something of their operation.

This paper reports findings from a small-scale exploration of learner perceptions of motivation currently in progress at TCD, in conjunction with the college's on-going Modern Languages Research Project (Singleton 1990). A total of twenty first and second year students taking French with one or two other subjects have been interviewed. On the basis of asking each student to explain his or her motivation for studying French, the structure of each tape-recorded interview was dictated as much as possible by the student's own rationale, allowing perceived motivational features to emerge in terms of their psychological immediacy and meaningfulness to the individual. The interviews lasted 15-20 minutes each and were conducted by the same researcher (myself). Limitations of time and space restrict this paper largely to theoretical discussion in the light of early findings obtained, and fuller treatment of methodological issues and presentation of data must await a later detailed research report. The paper begins by briefly examining two major assumptions central to the dominant social-psychological research tradition.

ASSUMPTION ONE: MOTIVATION AS GOAL-DIRECTED

The figure principally identified with social-psychological theories of L2 learning motivation is Robert Gardner, who defines the motivational construct in terms of four elements (Gardner 1985, pp.50-6):

goal	(=ORIENTATION/class of reasons for learning the L2 with reference to future use - instrumental/ integrative, etc.)
desire to achieve the goal/learn the L2	
motivational intensity/effort)	(=MOTIVATION)
attitudes toward learning the L2	

Although for purposes of clarity Gardner maintains a conceptual distinction between orientation and the three-part motivational component, the existence of motivation is viewed as depending on the given of goal-orientation. In his own words, the goal "is a stimulus which gives rise to motivation" and the motivated individual necessarily "displays some goal-directed activity" (*ibid.*, p.50).

The pervasive impact of social-psychological theory on SLA research has of course become crystallised in the instrumental-integrative distinction. While differing degrees of effectiveness have been ascribed to these orientations in differing linguistic and cultural contexts (e.g., Gardner and Lambert 1972, Lukmani 1972, Loulidi 1990), and other orientations also postulated (e.g., Clement and Kruidenier 1983), the goal-based rationale of the motivational construct has never really been seriously questioned. Moreover, the three constituents of the motivational component - desire, effort and attitudes toward learning the L2 - are likewise defined with reference to the more immediate goal, i.e., the goal of learning the L2, which itself mediates the ultimate social, personal or vocational goals of the learner.

ASSUMPTION TWO: L2 SUCCESS AS THE DEPENDENT CRITERION VARIABLE

Added to Gardner's definition of the motivational construct in terms of goal-orientation and a complex of three motivational characteristics is a series of group-related and context-related attitudinal variables, labelled Integrativeness and Attitudes Toward the Language Learning Situation (Gardner, Lalonde and Pierson

1983, p.2). "Group" refers to foreign language communities in general and the specific target language community. Gardner *et al.* define Integrativeness as a "cluster of attitudes relating to outgroups and foreign languages in general as well as attitudes toward the specific language community and integrative orientations to language study". (Gardner, Lalonde & Pierson 1983, p.2). Gardner uses the term "group-related" (e.g., Gardner 1985, p. 168) to distinguish this set of attitudes from those attitudes relating to the language learning context (i.e., evaluative reactions to the L2 teacher/course). Gardner underlines their importance but hypothesises that they function as support for rather than constituents of motivation. His argument is that attitudes correlate less strongly with measures of L2 achievement than motivation does, in support of which he provides evidence from partial correlation's (Gardner 1979).

However, it may be recalled that the tripartite definition of motivation itself contains an attitudinal constituent - namely Attitudes Toward Learning the L2. Its inclusion is warranted by Gardner on the basis of its superior strength of association with L2 achievement indices (compared with the other attitudinal variables) (Gardner 1985, p.50). In short, the theoretical definition of motivation seems essentially determined in terms of those elements which correlate most significantly with indices of L2 achievement. The underlying assumption is that success in learning a language is the key dependent criterion variable not only in discussing the effects of motivation, but also, by implication, in identifying the theoretical components of this complex construct.

One could however name other possible "effects" of motivation, such as persistence, classroom participation, productivity, attentiveness, enthusiasm, high input generation, high amount of L2 use, etc., which might equally be considered significant outcomes in themselves, or at least crucial to the process and progress of L2 development. Gardner indeed makes reference to studies which have investigated relationships between motivation and both persistence in language study and classroom behaviour (*ibid.*, pp.56-60).

Yet if these possible effects of motivation seem numerous and varied and the interrelationships complex, a definition of L2 learning motivation should perhaps avoid making arbitrary assumptions about any specific kinds of dependent criteria. It is advocated that the descriptive focus needs to be on the whole complex of features which motivate the individual to engage in the task of learning a language, rather than on distilled motivational elements selected for their strength of association with predetermined linguistic or non-linguistic outcomes.

CLASSIFYING AND CODING LEARNER PERCEPTIONS

In this quest for an empirically-based descriptive approach to L2 learning motivation, the present investigation aims to draw attention to salient motivational features which impinge on the consciousness of the young adult learner. Initially a simple taxonomy of feature identified in the interviews was built. Features sharing common characteristics were classified together, resulting in the emergence of eight broad motivational categories to provide a descriptive framework:

A Motivation arising from academic interest
B Motivation arising from language-related enjoyment/liking
C Motivation arising from language attainment aims
D Motivation arising from personal goals/directions
E Motivation arising from prior language learning experience
F Motivation arising from personal satisfaction
G Motivation arising from affective orientation
H Motivation arising from external sources of stimulation

The individual motivational determinants featuring in each category were then further refined to provide a set of coded variables, as illustrated below for Category A:

A Motivation arising from academic interest
language and languages
the French language
aspects of the French language

France
the French people
French culture
French literature
other francophone literature

On the basis of these eight motivational categories and the coded variables defining each, twenty individual motivational profiles were then constructed from the interview data, the organising principle for each being the order of perceived salience or strength in which the learner identified motivational elements. The individual motivational profile consists of the set of motivational variables identified by the student. These variables are categorised according to the eight motivational categories discussed above. In each profile the categories are ranked from the top in descending order according to the relative importance ascribed to the relevant variables by the student. A sample profile is illustrated below.

SAMPLE MOTIVATIONAL PROFILE

Category A: Motivation arising from academic interest
France
the French people
French culture
French literature

Category B: Motivation arising from language-related enjoyment/liking
learning French
learning languages
sound of the French language

Category C: Motivation arising from language attainment aims
maximum spoken fluency

Category E: Motivation arising from prior language learning experience
ease of learning French
facility for language learning
good academic record in France

Category G: Motivation arising from affective orientation
desire to visit France
romantic/attractive image of France

Category D: Motivation arising from personal goals/directions
regard French as potentially useful asset
live in France short term

Category H: Motivation arising from external sources of stimulation
degree award

The grouping of two or more categories together within the hierarchy (e.g., categories B, C, E, in the sample profile illustrated) arises from the un-differentiated importance attributed to those motivational features by the learner (i.e., in the sample shown, motivational elements relating to enjoyment, the desire to achieve fluency, and prior success are cited by the learner as equally salient, but these factors are all subordinated to the primary motivating appeal of academic interest in France, its people, culture and literature). Categories pertaining to elements attributed similar emphasis were ranked together, and dominant or forefronted categories featured at the head of each learner profile, followed by those of lesser perceived importance.

THE TEMPORAL DIMENSIONS OF PERCEIVED MOTIVATION

Contrary to expectation, motivational categories relating to **personal goals/directions** (Category D) and **language attainment aims** (Category C) feature in the top and second-ranked positions in only about half the profiles (11 and 10 out of 20 respectively). The predominant categories featuring in these upper rankings are in fact **motivation arising from prior language learning experience** (Category E - 16 out of 20) and **motivation arising from language-related enjoyment/liking** (Category B - 14 out of 20).

A frequency count does not of course indicate whether most learners may ascribe similar motivational emphasis to goal-orientation and past or present experience, or whether learners tend to prioritise one temporal dimension or the other. A Spearman rank correlation coefficient was thus calculated between each pair of motivational categories as they feature in each profile.

Strength of motivation attributed to **prior experience** or **language-related enjoyment/liking** showed no significant positive correlations with strength of motivation attributed to **personal goals** or **language aims**. Strength of motivation was calculated on the basis of the rank order of the motivational categories in the 20 profiles.

The lack of any significant positive correlations between strengths of motivation attributed to factors such as prior experience/enjoyment on the one hand, and factors such as personal goals/language aims on the other, suggests that learners who identify future L2-related goals and aims as providing the principal motivational impetus are unlikely to be strongly motivated as well by enjoyment factors and perceptions of prior success. Similarly, learners who stress the motivational appeal of enjoyment and prior positive L2 experience are unlikely to identify future goals as equally motivating factors.

> Moreover in this sample it is reference to past and present experience which clearly predominates. The ratios of variable scores relating to these differing motivational timescales (past-present experience versus future goals) were calculated (see Table 1). With a mean ratio of over 2 to 1 (2.45), the results indicate a general predominance of motivation ascribed to past and present L2-learning and L2-related activity. The ratio of variable scores was computed for each learner profile as follows. A score was assigned to each motivational variable according to the ranking of the respective motivational category. Variables featuring in top-ranking categories were scored 5 points, those in second-ranking categories 4 points, and so on. Separate totals were then obtained of the scores for variables relating to the L2 experience, past and present (e.g., enjoyment of learning French, ease of learning French, learning

atmosphere, positive experience of being in France), and of the scores of variables with future reference (e.g., definite career plans using French, live in France short-term or long-term, aim for maximum spoken fluency, getting a good degree). The ratio was then calculated of the total score for past-present variables to the total for future variables.

Table 1
Ratio Index Of Past-Present Motivation

Student	*Past-Present Total*	*Future Total*	*Ratio Index*	*Student*	*Past-Present Total*	*Future Total*	*Ratio Index*
1	18	22	0.82	11	8	23	0.35
2	56	9	6.22	12	20	14	1.43
3	59	7	8.43	13	26	18	1.44
4	35	16	2.19	14	31	18	1.72
5	47	13	3.62	15	22	9	2.44
6	33	18	1.83	16	34	25	1.36
7	41	23	1.78	17	30	13	2.31
8	33	19	1.74	18	31	27	1.15
9	34	21	1.62	19	36	20	1.80
10	40	22	1.82	20	20	4	5.00

Mean ratio index of past-present motivation: 2.45

This finding is all the more surprising since, in the context of third-level education, it seems reasonable to predict that personal and vocational goals should function as major motivational determinants (e.g., Wankowksi 1978). The fact that goal-orientation does not emerge as the dominant motivational feature among this student sample not only calls into question the assumption of the goal-based rationale of motivation in social-psychological theory, but also draws attention to the salience of intrinsic motivation in the L2 learner's attributed rationale - i.e., motivational factors stemming from the process and experience of L2 learning and L2-related activity.

INTRINSIC MOTIVATION AND THE ROLE OF POSITIVE AFFECT

In cognitive motivational theory, despite the emphasis on a goal-directed intentional psychology, typically within an Expectancy x Value framework (e.g., Atkinson and Raynor 1978, Weiner 1980), attention has also turned to theories of intrinsic motivation. As Csikszentmihalyi comments, research on intrinsic motivation "reveals that a considerable proportion of behaviour cannot be explained in terms of anticipated goals or rewards but rather in terms of goals or rewards that arise out of direct involvement with an ongoing activity" (Csikszentmihalyi 1978, p.206).

Theories vary, with some focusing on the intrinsic/extrinsic distinction, i.e., internal versus external causation (e.g., Deci 1980), and others focusing on the intrinsic/instrumental distinction, i.e., the motivation to pursue an activity as an end in itself or as a means to an end (e.g., Kruglanski 1978). Intrinsic motivation nevertheless is commonly identified with the characteristics of positive affect and self-perpetuation:

> It is assumed that intrinsic motivation would be reflected in the actor's verbal statements about an interest in, enjoyment of, and freedom at the activity as well as in (the actor's) overt behaviour - notably, persistence at or resumption of the activity in circumstances where this does not appear to mediate exogenous rewards. *(Kruglanski 1978, p.92)*

In social-psychological theories of SLA, positive affect has typically been conceptualised in terms of those emotional characteristics underlying an integrative or affiliative orientation towards L2 speakers (Gardner and Lambert 1972), or empathy and ego permeability (Schumann 1975). Among the present sample of students, however, the affective rewards of intrinsic motivation emerge far more consistently as a major feature of the learner's attributed rationale (e.g., pleasure in speaking the L2, sheer enjoyment of learning, fondness for the sounds and rhythms of the L2). By contrast, **motivation arising from affective orientation** (Category G) is forefronted by only 6 of the 20 students. Moreover, the variables featuring in this category suggest that attribution of motivation to an affective disposition is less an indication of integrative goals than a reflection of prior positive experience in the L2-environment (by far the most frequently cited variable in this category). Once again the dominant temporal frame of reference is the past rather than the future.

THE MOTIVATIONAL ROLE OF PERCEIVED ABILITY

According to theories of intrinsic motivation, one of the principal sources of positive affect and hence a powerful motivational determinant is posited to be one's sense of competence in a particular area or skill:

> intrinsically motivated activities are ones in which people engage to experience a sense of competence and self-determination - that is, to feel good about themselves as effective causal agents. *(Deci and Porac 1978, p.159)*

The link between subjective evaluations of competence and intrinsic motivation is given particular emphasis by educational psychologists, who commonly advocate the pursuit of absolute performance criteria rather than norm-referenced competitive criteria, in order to enhance students' perceptions of their ability and hence their intrinsic motivation (e.g., Maehr 1984, Block 1971). Even within the goal-based

Expectancy x Value framework of motivational psychology, perceived ability is theorised to function as a key motivational determinant for successful learners:

> Success at academic tests and tasks attributed to stable factors such as high ability result in higher future expectancies than does success ascribed to unstable factors such as luck. *(Weiner 1984, p.25)*

In social-psychological theories of SLA, however, ability or aptitude is hypothesised to be independent of motivation as a variable affecting L2 development, while motivation is viewed principally as a cause rather than an effect of L2 success (Gardner 1985). Yet the self-report data from the current investigation provides several simple unequivocal statements of motivation attributed to perceptions of ability, a facility for L2 learning or successful L2 learning history, while the overall category (**Motivation arising from prior language learning experience**) is the most frequent top or second-ranking category across the profiles. In the words of one student: "You keep up something you're good at". The statements moreover seem well-founded, since a rank correlation calculated between strength of motivation arising from **Prior language learning experience** and post-primary French grades (for half the sample for whom examination records were available) indicates a strong positive association of 0.70, significant at the 5 per cent level.

An association between earlier and later success/ability is hardly surprising. My point, however, is that those who have done well in the past (as documented by post-primary French grades) commonly (and spontaneously) cite prior success/ability as an important **motivating** factor for further learning (no doubt they believe they will continue to do well). Cause and effect are here identified by the learner's perceptions (i.e., "I'm motivated to study French because I've always been good at French"). This is in contrast to other correlational and factor analytic studies (e.g., Gardner *et al.*) where cause and effect are determined by manipulating and controlling variables, and which commonly demonstrate that motivation is independent of ability/aptitude.

A resultative hypothesis of SLA motivation has indeed been proposed by some researchers - i.e., the notion that nothing succeeds like success (Burstall *et al.* 1974, Hermann 1980, Strong 1984). Such studies have generally been conducted in a social-psychological framework, whereby the motivational variables measured are largely confined to cultural and group-related attitudes. If as indicated by the data from the present investigation, however, affective attitudes toward L2 speakers and their culture are not ascribed a major role in the learner's own rationale, any effects of success on motivation seem unlikely to emerge within this restricted research focus.

It may accordingly be more fruitful to reconsider a resultative hypothesis in the context of psychological theory, with reference to the concept of causal stability (ascription's of success to ability/aptitude) in attributional theories (Weiner 1984), and the role of perceived competence in intrinsic motivation (Deci 1980). Of particular relevance in this latter regard may be the inference from the data obtained that students who express a high degree of intrinsic motivation (**Language-related enjoyment/liking**) also tend to be highly motivated by perceptions of L2 ability and success (**Prior language learning experience**). A Spearman rank correlation calculated between the strengths of the two categories as they feature in the profiles indicates a positive association of 0.49, significant at the 5 per cent level.

CONCLUSION

This paper does not of course claim to provide a new definition of L2 learning motivation. Nevertheless, although contextualised within the kind of learning environment investigated, the findings do offer some basis support for a new descriptive framework which takes account of differing temporal dimensions. It seems that not all learners perceive the impetus to learn a language primarily in terms of future reference - i.e., goals and aims - but rather in terms of factors intrinsic to the process and experience of learning. In view of the amount of time and effort required to learn a language, and the reality that few ever achieve native-speaker competence, ultimate goals which may or may not be attained perhaps offer too distant or too idealistic a prospect to sustain motivation in the here and now. Motivation which is principally founded on immediate intrinsic rewards arising directly from involvement in L2 learning activity, and which is bolstered by experience of such affective rewards and perceptions of ability gained from prior L2 history, seems a rather more solid sustaining basis for continued engagement in L2 learning. Whatever the "effectiveness" of this type of motivation on specific linguistic or non-linguistic outcomes, the value of its self-perpetuating rationale speaks for itself.

By self-perpetuating rationale I mean the sense in which this kind of motivation provides its own rewards (enjoyment, satisfaction, pleasure) and is therefore likely to sustain itself. Other types of language learning motivation governed by language-extrinsic goals or concerns (getting a job, passing exams) are less likely to endure beyond the attainment of these goals unless new goals are too difficult, the process is too long or other concerns intervene.

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Oral performance of Erasmus students: An assessment

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This paper reports preliminary results of an analysis of the oral production of three students at three different stages of their development, using as data recordings of their oral performances when they were asked to perform various tasks of different levels of cognitive difficulty. Based mainly on an analysis of the psycho-linguistic processing of the L2, this paper shows that a period abroad contributes to a quicker processing of the L2 by the three subjects. Further research is needed to assess whether all aspects of the performance are affected in the same way and whether the level of cognitive difficulty of the task has a detrimental effect on the students' interlanguage.

From its inception in 1989, I have been involved in the French course offered to first and second year students in the Business, Economic and Social Studies [B.E.S.S.] Faculty in Trinity College. One of the principles underlying the BESS French programme is the integration of content and language. Little formal language instruction is given: students are encouraged to be users rather than just learners of L2 and this involves, among other activities, a programme of lectures and seminars in French on contemporary France. One of our specific aims is to prepare students to cope with the linguistic demands of an Erasmus exchange. The overall emphasis is on developing their communicative competence in an academic setting. The first cohort of students who followed the 2-year programme before spending a period abroad under the Erasmus scheme are now back in Dublin.

For a long time, second language acquisition at advanced level seemed to be neglected by researchers in comparison with beginners or those at intermediate levels. Most of the studies concerned with the interlanguage of advanced language learners that I know of, use as their data, recordings of learners performing cognitively non-demanding tasks in an informal setting. For example, informal interviews with a native-speaker known to the learner can be found in studies undertaken by M. Raupach (1987), R. Towell (1987) or J. Ridley (1991). In these studies the interviews are concerned with general conversations on a personally relevant topic such as why are you studying French? Which subjects did you study this year? or what did you do in France? Although they are not natural conversations and are not dealing with the "here and now", these interviews give the learner some flexibility with regard to the content of what they are saying. This allows them to devote some attention to what they are saying and how they are saying it. Now as R. Ellis shows in *Discourse Processes in Classroom Second Language Development*, *"the cognitive complexity of specific tasks influenced the success with which the L2 learners performed the tasks, and also the complexity and accuracy of their use of language"*. Cognitively non-demanding tasks in other words are more likely to result in the production of spontaneous speech which is a better representation of the learners' interlanguage than speech produced under contrived circumstances.

However, if our aim is to evaluate the validity of content-based language programmes and of some of their components such as a period of study abroad, and if we wish to increase our understanding of the pace and the direction of second language acquisition amongst learners involved in such programmes, I believe we should study their language production when they perform tasks requiring them to deal with content through the L2. Such tasks are, by definition, cognitively demanding. As will be shown later, the tasks required from our BESS students for the assessment of their oral performances fall into this category.

Furthermore, if we believe that interlanguage is a variable system, then a comparison of the interlanguage used when performing tasks of different levels of cognitive difficulty should give us an insight into the nature of this variability and a better understanding of second language acquisition.

By carrying out research in this area we should be able to provide answers to the following three questions:

(1). *Does a period abroad contribute to a progression of the learners' interlanguage towards native-speaker use of the L2 when they perform a cognitively demanding task?*
(2). *If there is such a progression, are all aspects of the performance (fluency, lexical and/or syntactic accuracy, pragmatic competence) affected in the same way?*
(3). *To what extent is the learner's interlanguage affected by the performance of a cognitively demanding task as opposed to a non-demanding one?*

In this paper, I will report on the preliminary results of an analysis of the L2 oral production of three BESS students.

In their oral examinations BESS students are asked in their first year to present a statistical document (task 1), and in their second year, a summary of a text (task 2).

Both documents are closely related to the content of the course. These presentations are followed by a short discussion of the issues raised by the document. Both activities can be described as cognitively demanding: they require students to devote some attention to the content of the document, so that they cannot concentrate exclusively on what they are saying and how.

For each of our 3 subjects, the data comprises 5 sets of recordings.

Table 1

Date	*Task*	*Data-Set*	*Student* *Fiachra*	 *Sinead*	 *Sheila*
June 90	1	1	yes	yes	yes
June 91	2	2	yes	yes	yes
Oct. 92	1	3	yes	yes	yes
Oct. 92	2	4	yes	yes	yes
Oct. 92	3	5	no	yes	yes

Set 1 and 2 are recordings of their end-of-year 1 and end-of-year 2 oral examinations. Sets 3 and 4 are recordings of their oral production when they were asked to perform tasks 1 and 2 after their return from Strasbourg in October 1992 where all three had spent 9 months following courses in business and social studies in French academic institutions.

A further set of data [set 5] is available for each of the two female students as, after their return from abroad, I was able to record conversations in French on topics of personal interest to them [task 3].

The present study focuses on the formal presentation element of tasks 1 and 2 for sets 1 to 4 and on the first two and a half minutes of the set 5 conversations.

The relevant extracts from the recordings were transcribed, using standard orthographic conventions. Filled and unfilled pauses, drawls [extended vowels], repetitions, hesitations and false starts were noted. Excerpts from these transcriptions can be found in the appendix.

Comparisons of data-sets 1 and 3 and of sets 2 and 4 for each student are used to answer questions (1) & (2) referred to earlier concerning the impact of the year abroad on oral performance, A comparison of sets 3, 4 and 5 should allow us to analyse the effect of the level of cognitive difficulty of the task on the learners' oral performance.

In order to gain a better understanding of the students' second language acquisition, I feel it is necessary to compare the data along two different dimensions.

The first is based on a study of the psycholinguistic processing of the language and allows us, I believe, to gain an insight into the "performance" dimension, that is to say, how the learner produces language.

The second dimension involves a study of the students' interlanguage as a way to better understand the "competence" dimension, in the Chomskyan sense. By studying the interlanguage and the way it changes over a certain period of time we are trying to assess the level of internalisation of some of the rules that govern L2. The occurrence or non-occurrence of syntactic errors at different points in time allows us to map the learners progress towards a native-like mastery of the L2. It gives us some indication of the direction followed during SLA.

I believe fluency and accuracy to be the main areas in which, intuitively, we all expect "progress" from our advanced learners.

Looking at the way these two "parameters" change in the 5 sets of data from each learner, within the dual perspective of psycholinguistic processing and interlanguage, will allow us flesh out our intuitive expectations and gain some insight into the acquisition processes at work at advanced level.

The results I will now present concern the way the three learners process the L2 in psycholinguitic terms. The second dimension will be touched upon briefly in my conclusion but this paper does not attempt to analyse it systematically.

First, I have attempted to chart their progress in terms of fluency as they were performing different tasks, at different times, hoping to be able to infer from an analysis of the results the impact both the year abroad and the nature of the task had on the way they process the language.

To do so, I used three temporal variables:

(i) *The speaking rate is expressed in syllables per minutes and takes into account the time spent in pauses. It gives an indication of the average number of syllables uttered during the performance and is an overall indication of the speed at which speech is produced.*

(ii) *The articulation rate is given in syllables per second of actual speech and excludes the time spent pausing, and finally*

(iii) *the phonation/time ratio gives the proportion of the total time spent actually speaking.*

The values of these variables are very individual, in L1 as in L2 and I am not interested here in comparisons between our three students but in the changes which took place over a period of time for each individual.

Other temporal variables can be used such as the average length of utterance between pauses or the mean length of pauses. Although they can give us valuable information on the way learners process the language, I was unable, due to pressure of time to use them here.

My hypotheses were, that for each individual learner performing the same or a similar task at different points in time, all three temporal variables should increase. As their exposure to L2 and their opportunities to use it increased, they would become more proficient at processing the language: they would need to spend less time looking for words or retrieving syntactic structures and their speaking rate would improve. Their articulation rate would increase as well. I suspected that the increase in the phonation/time ratio might be less marked as some of the pause time is devoted to thinking about what to say rather than to how to say it. Therefore the nature of the task and its level of cognitive difficulty would influence the score on this variable.

For all three variables in our particular study, I was expecting some improvements between sets 1 and 2, as, hopefully, students would have benefited from their second year of the BESS programme. A bigger improvement should be evident between set 2 on the one hand and sets 3 and 4 [both recorded at the same time] on the other, reflecting the impact of the year abroad. The results for sets 3 and 4 should be almost identical as they are samples of oral production obtained under similar circumstances, at the same stage of second language acquisition. Since I felt that the task involved in set 5 was less demanding in cognitive terms, I was expecting yet higher figures for the three variables and in particular for the speaking rate [which takes pauses into account] and for the phonation/time ratio: a less demanding task would lead to less time spent pausing and reflecting about content.

Table 2
Temporal Variables

Speaking Rate
[syllables per minute]

Data-set	**Fiachra**	**Sinéad**	**Sheila**
1 [Year 1]	*131.73*	*121.95*	*173*
2 [Year 2]	*164.75*	*131.70*	*158.85*
3 [Year 3]	*198.57*	*185.93*	*188.05*
4 [Year 3]	*201.20*	*207.65*	*179.04*
5 [Year 3]	*na*	*206.55*	*205.25*

Articulation Rate
[syllables per second of actual speech]

Data-set	**Fiachra**	**Sinéad**	**Sheila**
1 [Year 1]	*3.08*	*3.82*	*4*
2 [Year 2]	*3.64*	*3.66*	*3.73*
3 [Year 3]	*4.07*	*3.91*	*4.54*
4 [Year 3]	*4.27*	*4.40*	*4.71*
5 [Year 3]	*na*	*4.60*	*5.33*

Phonation/Time Ratio
[% total time spend speaking]

Data-set	**Fiachra**	**Sinéad**	**Sheila**
1 [Year 1]	*71.32*	*53.19*	*71.99*
2 [Year 2]	*75.38*	*59.93*	*71.01*
3 [Year 3]	*81.21*	*79.15*	*69.02*
4 [Year 3]	*78.50*	*78.55*	*63.38*
5 [Year 3]	*na*	*74.83*	*64.13*

In general terms, our hypotheses appear to have been verified but an analysis of the case of each student should give us a clearer idea of what is happening to their processing of the L2.

In the case of Fiachra, on the whole, the results are consistent with our hypotheses. As expected, his speaking rate increases steadily over the three years of the study, as does his articulation rate. The pattern for the phonation/time ratio verifies the hypothesis of improvement over time when performing the same task before and after the period abroad. The differences between the results for sets 3 and 4 for the speaking rate are too small to be significant. The only explanation I can so far offer for the difference in the phonation/time ratios of sets 3 and 4, recorded on the same day, is the different nature of the two tasks: he probably needs to stop and think about what to say less often when he is presenting a graph than when he is summarising a text. The language processing involved in the latter task is also twofold as it involves reading and understanding the L2 text before deciding on the content of the summary. This would seem to indicate that this second task is both linguistically and cognitively more demanding. But once these difficulties are overcome, the processing ability is restored. One explanation for the slight increase in the articulation rate between the second performance of tasks 1 and 2 could be that task 1 involves a higher proportion of numbers and figures which appears to remain an area of difficulty even for advanced students. Another explanation could be the effect of a "warming-up" factor: when the recordings were made in October, the learners had been back in Dublin for a few weeks and since their return, had little opportunity to speak French until the day of the recording. It seems plausible to argue that at first they feel a little "rusty" but that they progressively reactivate their L2 processing abilities to or near the level they were at when leaving Strasbourg.

In Sinéad's case the progression for all three variables is somewhat limited between years 1 and 2. But the progress indicated by the data for the three later sets is striking. Her period abroad has quite significantly improved her ability to process the language quickly. Like Fiachra, she appears to need more time to stop and think when performing the summary task. More surprisingly she seems to require even more time to stop and think when she recounts, in set 5, how she tackled her problems with conversational French just after her arrival in Strasbourg. In her case, the increase in the articulation rate between sets 4 and 5 cannot be explained by the "warming-up" factor as the recordings were made a few days apart. One way of investigating the impact of the "warming-up" factor would be to analyse samples of the students' performances at regular intervals during each recording session rather than the first few minutes of each as has been the case in this study.

In Sheila's case the general evolution of the speaking and articulation rates are consistent with our hypotheses with the exception of set 2 [task 2 in Year 2], when the two rates are lower than in both Year 1 and Year 3. The only explanation I can offer is that she is finding task 2 more demanding, both in cognitive and linguistic terms. This seems to be confirmed by the lower speaking rate for set 4 [task 2 in Year 3]. The pattern followed by the phonation/time ratio is intriguing: she shows a slight reduction in the time spent speaking after her year abroad. The nature of the task appears to have more influence than the passage of time : the differences between sets 1, 2 and 3 are minimal and probably statistically insignificant but the results of sets 3 and 4 are quite contrasted. She needs much more time to think when summarising the text in set 4. Her speaking rate is slightly higher in set 5 when she is talking about the courses she followed in Strasbourg.

So far, we have mainly confirmed what most of us know intuitively: that students speak the L2 more fluently after a period abroad. They process the language more quickly. We now need to understand what allows them to process the L2 more quickly. Do they change their processing strategies, and how? Are these changes likely to have an impact on the temporal variables? Are these new strategies similar to those used by native speakers?

I have spent quite a few hours over the last few weeks transcribing recordings of these three young adults at various stages of their language learning careers and I have tried to capture not only what they were saying, but also how they were saying it by recording their pauses, their hesitations, their false starts, etc.. This work also involved transcribing a number of interventions from the native-speakers acting as interlocutors. Of course native-speakers use various strategies to give themselves time to think when they are speaking but, usually they don't remain silent for any significant period of time. They think, so to speak, on the spot. As I was transcribing our three learners, I was under the impression that gradually they were becoming more able to think "on the spot": my impression was that unfilled, silent, pauses were progressively giving way to filled pauses of the *um* or the *euh* type. Drawls or extended vowels seemed to become more frequent. False starts or repetitions of various elements [articles, first syllables, etc.] seemed to be more frequent in the later recordings. If these impressions were confirmed, we would have identified some of the devices used to process the language more quickly, with less silent pauses and without breaking the flow of communication. A reduction in the number of pauses would result in an increase both of the speaking rate and the phonation/time ratio. I was also under the impression that each student had developed his or her own favourite strategies.

The following tables shows the average number of times, per minute of speech, that unfilled and filled pauses, drawls, combined drawls and filled pauses [ex: et euh] and repetition are used in the various sets of data.

Table 3

(average number of occurrences per minute of total speech)

Fiachra

Data-set	*Unfilled Pauses*	*Filled Pauses*	*Drawls*	*Combination*	*Repetition*
1 [Year 1]	*2.88*	*10.41*	*0*	*0*	*2.21*
2 [Year 2]	*1.62*	*8.50*	*0.62*	*0.62*	*2*
3 [Year 3]	*1.08*	*6.21*	*5.15*	*0*	*2.71*
4 [Year 3]	*3.45*	*6.21*	*5.06*	*0.92*	*4.37*

Sinead

Data-set	*Unfilled Pauses*	*Filled Pauses*	*Drawls*	*Combination*	*Repetition*
1 [Year 1]	*5.99*	*8.13*	*2.99*	*0*	*0.43*
2 [Year 2]	*6.32*	*8.75*	*0.49*	*1.46*	*0.97*
3 [Year 3]	*3.75*	*3.28*	*7.51*	*0.94*	*1.88*
4 [Year 3]	*6.73*	*3.14*	*2.69*	*0*	*2.24*
5 [Year 3]	*7.18*	*5.58*	*4.39*	*0.80*	*1.20*

Sheila

Data-set	*Unfilled Pauses*	*Filled Pauses*	*Drawls*	*Combination*	*Repetition*
1 [Year 1]	*6.52*	*11.15*	*1.09*	*0*	*3.54*
2 [Year 2]	*6.08*	*7.77*	*2.43*	*0.24*	*2.67*
3 [Year 3]	*6.22*	*5.53*	*3.22*	*1.38*	*4.15*
4 [Year 3]	*7.35*	*4.90*	*3.67*	*2.20*	*7.35*
5 [Year 3	*12.22*	*3.37*	*3.79*	*2.53*	*5.48*

Fiachra, in his end of year one performance, relies quite heavily on filled pauses and makes no use at all of drawls. In subsequent years, he reduces his reliance on filled pauses and he has very clearly developed his use of drawls in Strasbourg. His use of repetition appears to be affected more by the nature of the task than by his rate of progress in French.

Sinéad uses unfilled pauses at all three stages, whatever the task. Her use of filled pauses and drawls has changed over time and appears to verify our hypothesis but the nature of the task influences her communication strategies. During the year abroad, she has developed the use of repetition as a device to process the language more effectively.

Sheila is very clearly making less use of filled pauses and more use of drawls and repetition in year 3 than in previous years. Her particular trait is the combination of drawls and filled pauses. There again, the stay abroad appears to have been a major influence.

There are also other devices that can be used to gain time to think, refereed to by some writers as automated units of language, chunks or formulae : they are units of language that are so well internalised that they can be used to give yourself time to think, either about the content of what you are going to say next or about how to say it. Even beginners will have a few at their disposal. Advanced learners would have more, and they would probably be more complex or allow the use of more complex constructions. Over a period of time, an increase as well as a change in the formulae used would be expected as the learner becomes more proficient. A task requiring more thought should generate proportionally greater use of chunks and formulae and less use of more creative forms.

In my sample, I have noted a tendency by all 3 students to add to the *il y a* and the *ça, c'est + noun group* that they heavily rely on in the earlier stages. A greater variety of constructions based on c*'est* are used, such as *c'est + adv + adjective, c'est + noun group, c'est + comparative*, etc.

Both Sinéad and Sheila seem to make more use of these constructions in what I see as the less cognitively demanding task of set 5. A close study of their interlanguage would now be necessary to draw further conclusions.

I am aware that this remains a very crude indication of what is happening and that further investigations are needed to identify which of these devices are being used to disguise which types of processing difficulties. I would nevertheless suggest that during their stay abroad students have refined their own way of coping with processing difficulties and have developed ways of sounding more like native speakers whilst giving themselves time to think.

As I have said earlier, my aim was to report on my findings concerning the psycholinguistic processing mechanisms of the three subjects. To understand more fully what is happening to the L2 competence during an Erasmus exchange abroad and to evaluate how the cognitive nature of the task performed affects the learners interlanguage, we need to embark on the second axis of study. But this is for another time.

To conclude, I return to the three questions posed earlier and conclude that:

(1). Yes, a period abroad contributes to a quicker processing of the L2 by our subjects and their production becomes somewhat closer to that of native-speakers.

(2). I am not at this stage, however, in a position to say whether all aspects of the performance are affected in the same way. I have only just begun an analysis of the students interlanguage and can only say that the progression in terms of syntactic accuracy does not appear to be linear. The areas of improvement vary from one student to the next suggesting that the path of SLA at this stage is not universal.

(3). I believe that the psycholinguistic analysis doesn't allow us to conclude with any certainty what the effect of the level of cognitive difficulty on the students interlanguage is. My impression is that this effect is limited but I am not sure now that the data at my disposal is entirely suitable to investigate the problem.

If the second axis of investigation confirms this impression, then we will have to question the applicability to my advanced learners of Ellis's proposition that cognitive difficulty has a detrimental effect on L2 performance.

APPENDIX

Key to symbols:

[..... euh ..0.91 ..] : filled pause in seconds
(1.32) : unfilled pause in seconds
Italic : error
—— : formula
: : drawl, lenghtening of syllable
.. : unfinished word

FIACHRA

Data-set 1 : END OF YEAR 1 : Le commerce extérieur de la France par zones et par pays.

[euh .97] Ce schéma [euh .28] nous donne les chiffres [euh .60] de *la* commerce extérieur de la France [euh .88] par les ss.. zones et pays *de Franc* [euh 2.30] *on peut voir* à première vue que [euh 1.38] beaucoup *des* j.. [euh .75] soldes *est* en déficit et que euh euh *c'est* p.. [euh 3.22] *un* posi.. une position [

euh 1.35] très grave pour la France [euh 1.75] presque chaque [euh 1.38] pays *est* a un solde déficitaire avec *le* France sauf l'Italie et les pays de l'Est [euh 1.68] *il y avait* un [euh 2.93] *petit* augmentation là [euh..2.04] la la Grande-Betagne Bretagne et *la* PVD [euh..1.28] ici *il y a* un [euh..1.16] solde supplémentaire de [euh..1.93] treize virgule un pour cent [euh..1.25] en quatre-vingt huit et quinze virgule trois pour cent en quatre-vingt (1.22) neuf [euh..1.85] *en* chaque pays.

Data-set 2: END OF YEAR 2: entrées et sorties des étrangers en 1988

Cet article est [euh 1.28] un article *qui nous dit des choses comme les émigrations* et les mouvements des *ouvrières* [euh .88] entre les pays *Europe* surtout eux qui vient *de* France [euh 1.62] *ça nous dit que il y avait* un grand nombre de personnes chaque année qui [euh 1.09] fait des demandes sur le sur l'office [euh.1.12] pour [euh 1.00] utiliser des *éduqui* et et *bénéficer* des [euh 1.20] médicaments et *des choses comme ça* français [euh 1.30] au total *il y avait* environ [euh . euh 2.37] soixante *diz* mille pour cent [euh 2.12] *de* composant des travailleurs et *dez* personnes qui *vient* des pays euh avec de avec qui le France a avait un conjoint conjoint env.. environ deux mille [euh 1.25] *des* personnes de des techniciens de haut niveau et des cadres qui v.. qui a qui ont un contrat avec des *organise* [euh .82] *français* [euh 1.63] et qui *bénéficent* le pays ...

Data-set 3: RETURN FROM YEAR ABROAD: Le commerce extérieur de la France par zones et par pays.

euh *ce* feuille nous donne le: solde: (1.03) par zone et pays *de le* commerce extérieur de la France [euh 2.00] on peut voir que (.87) *il y avait* une augmentation de tous les soldes *c'est* une: d'habitude *c'est* un solde [euh 2.47] négatif et ça ça nous dit que *il y a* une dépendance euh *sur par* le [euh 1.12] de la France: (1.10) sur les autres pays surtout dans la CEE parce que le pourcentage *c'est* assez fort et ça a augmenté *environ* dix pour cent *dans dans* entre les deux les deux périodes euh la dépendance dépendance *le* plus grand *c'est* avec: *le* (.69) l'Allemagne [euh 1.75] *il y a* un solde [euh 1.41] négatif de quarante-cinq virgule deux milliards de francs [euh .97] *c'est* aussi assez grand [euh .69] avec *le* OCDE ça *c'est* hors de CEE et *c'est* moins fort avec: les Etat-Unis et *les et les lé* Japon le Japon parce que *c'est* il y a les frais .

Data-set 4: ON RETURN FROM YEAR ABROAD : Entrées et sorties des étrangers en 1988

Ce feuille c'est concerné avec immigration dans *le* (.53) *dans* en France [euh 1.13] *il y a des grands très grands nombres* de personnes qui veulent entrer en France euh chaque année *il y a* environ [euh 1.31] cinquante mille demandes de d'asile en France et [euh 2.50] beaucoup de personnes environ trente mille [euh 1.10] veut re.. rejoigné le chef de famille en France ça c'est quelqu'un qui est déjà en

France, déjà implanté et les autres membres *de famille* veulent *rejoigner* ça *c'est un* méthode assez subtile [euh 1.59] aussi *il y a* [euh euh 1.88] *deu.. douz douze mille et demi* travailleurs [euh 1.28] il y environ six six travailleurs qui *vient* de la CEE [euh 1.32] six mille hors de CEE mais qui *a:* (1.34) qui (1.19) sont [euh 1.53] qui *peut* entrer à cause de la: libre circulation des travailleurs [euh 1.88} ...

SINÉAD

Data-set 1: END OF YEAR 1 évolution du chômage dans 6 pays de l'OCDE

[euh 1.25] on présente *une*: (.47) ***graphe*** a:vec les années (.65)/ mille neuf cent: (.87) quatre -vingt sept à mille neuf cent quatre-vingt neuf ***au rizontal*** et: (.85) les pourcentages [euh 1.18] de chômeurs en verticale [euh 1.81] les variations saisonnières sont corrigées et *on peut voir* la tendance générale pour chaque pays (1.88) *c'est* [euh 1.22] six pays (.78) décrits ici [euh 5.40] *une il y a* [euh 1.66] entre les années (.90) quatre-vingt sept et: quatre-vingt neuf [euh 1.97] *on peut voir* une petite amélioration dans les pays *de* France [euh 1.87] Allemagne Etats-Unis et Japon [euh 1.90] la France l'amélioration *en* [euh 1.87] à dix (.97) virg.. vers dix virgule cinq pour cent (1.25) en qu.. quatre-vingt sept et dix pour cent en mille neuf cent quatre-vingt neuf [euh 3.28]

Data-set 2: END OF YEAR 2 - La négociation d'entreprise en 1989

Le texte concerne des entreprises (.90)e: [euh 1.09] les syndicats et (1.06) les nombres d'accord qui [euh 1.81} était conclus (.84)dans les années quatre-vingt huit [euh 1.31] de quatre-vingt neuf non [euh 1.85] quatre-vingt dix (.90) oui ok [euh 1.50] au début [euh 2.10] *on dit que*: (.66) selon une étude [euh 1.15] pu.. publiée en mille neuf cent quatre-vingt neuf [euh 1.81] le nombre d'accords (.84) a conclu en entreprises a augmenté [euh 1.44] dans [euh .78] cette année et [euh 1.06] les *accordes* concernent des entreprises *petits* est augmenté [euh 1.91]

Data-set 3: ON RETURN FROM YEAR ABROAD - Evolution du chômage dans 6 pays de l'OCDE

Je vous présente une graphe sur le taux de chômage [euh 1.44] dans *sis* pays pendant les année:s quatre-vingt sept et quatre-vingt neuf alors d'abord [euh 1.31] la première chose qu'on peut voir *c'est* qu'*il y a une* écart énorme entre: les *sis* pays le: taux de chômage le plus: (.78) bas *c'est* celui du Japon et le plus haut *c'est*: (.78) celui de: l'Italie les *sis* pays aussi [euh .97] les quatre pays avec le taux de chômage le pluz haut c'est les pays *du* C.E.E. *le* R.F.A. la Grande-Bretagne la France et l'Italie et (1.00) les: deux Etats les Etats-Unis et le Japon ils ont une: (.47) un taux de chômage pas trop pas gr.. trop grand (1.80) OK aussi euh *on voit* une amélioration dans: chaque pays sauf l'Italie [euh 1.47]

Data-set 4: ON RETURN OF YEAR ABROAD - La négociation d'entreprise en 1989

Le nombre d'accord conclu en entreprises a augmenté de (.68) quarante pour [euh .63˚] quarante pour cent *sorry* quatorze pour cent entre quatre-vingt huit et quatre-vingt neuf { euh 2.21] mais ils touchent moins de salariés en quatre-vingt neuf que en quatre-vingt huit et concernent les entreprises de plus petites tailles que: (.43) en quatre-vingt huit le *thème* le plus évident (.84) concerne les salaires et les prix cinquante six virgule quatre pour cent puis l'aménagement du temps de travail trente six virgule deux pour cent (1.06) la: représentation des entreprises dans les accords sont (.63) *sont* intéressants *c'est* intéressant [euh 1.63] les entreprises avec moins de cinquante salariés représentent moins de *sis* pour cent des accords (.97) et *virgule trois* pour cent des salariés (1.34) les entreprises de cinquante entre cinquante et quarante quatre cent quatre-vingt dix neuf (.65) salariés représentent six cent soixante huit des ac: pour cent des accords et vingt-quatre pour cent des salariés mais les entreprises avec plus de cinq cent salariés [euh 1.22] sont (1.12) ils ont cin.. vingt-cinq pour cent des accords et soixante quinze pour cent des salariés...

Data-set 5 - INTERVIEW ON RETURN FROM YEAR ABROAD

C. : et c'était organisé comment ces ces cours de langue?

S. : *Il y avait* [euh .85] cinq heures par jour je crois quatre heures peut-être chaque matin il y avait les cours de grammaire (1.28) et linguistique et l'après-midi [euh 1.85] quelques fois *il y avait* des gens qui sont venus et: ils nous *a* donné un petit discours (.94) ou on a fait des (.53) *petits* excursions euh on a fait la route de vins (.84) une fois *c'était* super alors comme ça on a rencontré beaucoup de d'*étrangères* après les trois semaines tous les Français ils sont venus (.81) et: (.50) on a: on a commencé les cours (1.53) et (1.19) je sais pas oui d'abord m.. (.84) le: mon intonation [euh 1.94] était très (.50) anglophone *it is* (1.25) même maintenant c'est terrible je sais mais [euh 1.16] d'abord *c'était* juste incroyable et *quekfois* il avait du mal *de* me comprendre alors *il y avait* quelques amis euh qui me donnaient *les* petits cours pas des cours mais [.euh 1.60] on a discuté des problèmes les plus grands...

SHEILA

Data-set 1: END OF YEAR 1 - PNB, prix et chômage dans les pays de l'OCDE

OK euh *je vais parler* des [euh .53] des *statitiques* statistiques de OCDE et *il s'agit de* trois variables [euh 1.28] pendant les années [euh 1.72] quatre-vingt cinq à quatre-vingt neuf et d'abord *je vais parler* de (.65) *PNBe* B en pour cent (.97) en pourcentage de variation et après ça [euh .87] les prix *c'est-à-dire* l'inflation et: enfin euh le chômage (.78) et (1.25) d'abord euh le PNB [euh 1.35] en mille neuf cent quatre-vingt cinq [euh 1.47] le PNB *s'agit* de trois virgule quatre pour cent mais après ça euh *il y a* une chute de [euh 1.09] zéro virgule huit point euh jusqu'*au* euh deux virgule six pour cent en mille neuf cent quatre-vingt six et ça *c'est* le niveau le plus *basse* (1.47) le plus bas et après ça [euh .91] *il y a* une progression constante [euh 1.41] jusqu'*au* trois virgule cinq pour cent en mille neuf cent quatre-vingt se.. sept *ate* ...

Data-set 2: END OF YEAR 2 - Le cas de l'entreprise Girodet

Euh *well* ce texte [euh 1.68] est *titre* Girodet a mis l'Allemagne dans sa poche et il s'agit de: (.81) *une* un couple Martine et Jean-Michel Girodet Girodet [euh 1.72] qui ont fait un succ.. succès de [euh 1.32] l'entreprise de (1.10) *fournissier* des tissus [euh .87] que (1.00) Jean-Michel a (.91) *unhéri*.. (.53) a hérité de son père mais quand il a (.53) *unhérité* l'en.. l'entreprise [euh 1.13] *c'est* très endettée et: il doit changer les stratégies pour [euh 1.12] faire un su.. *pour faire un succès* (1.31) et (1.66) premièrement il: (1.78) change les les (.72) tissus *que* il fait [euh 3.84] quand le p.. son père [euh 1.03] dirige l'entreprise [euh 1.25] l'entreprise fait *les* (2.22) *rubains* pour étiquettes ...

Data-set 3: ON RETURN FROM YEAR ABROAD - PNB, inflation et chômage dans les pays de l'OCDE.

S. : Donc *c'est* un *c'est* un document de: (.72) le l'organisation pour la coopération et le: (.75) développement économique je crois j'espère et: *il s'agit de* trois trois: [euh 1.75] trois tableaux [euh 1.72] un sur le produit *nation*.. non le produit national bru.. brut [euh 1.31] un sur le les prix et un sur le chômage et: (.82) *c'est* ce sont ils sont pour le (.47) les années de mille (.60) neuf cent quatre-vingt cinq quarante quatre-vingt cinq à quatre-vingt neuf donc pour le produit produit *nation* le PNB *c'est* [euh euh 2.28] *c'est* le pourcentage de variation entre les années (.84) pour le (.47) pour ce stat..cette statistique donc (1.06) en mille neuf cent quar.. cinquante (.47) quar.. quatre-vingt cinq [euh 2.31] il le: le produit *natio* le PNB a augmenté de (.75) plus trois virgule quatre pour cent puis il a chuté de [euh 1.25] par un virgule deux pour cent [euh .85] en quatre-vingt six [euh 1.84] ...

Data-set 4: ON RETURN FROM YEAR ABROAD - Le cas de l'entreprise GIRODET

Donc *c'était* un *document* document sur: euh une entreprise [euh 1.56] textile [euh 1.25] et sur le: la l'amélioration de: de leur performance économique euh quand le: (1.43) le fils *ont* été euh en charge a a pris la charge de l'entreprise de son père donc *il s'agit d'un* entreprise qui a fabriqué [euh .63] du ruban pour les étiquettes et [euh 1.25] le le fils a décidé de tout changer et: il a [euh 1.50] diversifié vers les la [euh] production des soieries je ne sais pas le (1.16) le lien entre (.97) les les étiquettes et les soi.. les soieries mais (1.50) et [euh 1.91] donc avec sa femme il a: (72) ils ont ils ont travaillé ensemble et ils *ont diversifié* [euh

2.12] vers *le* la soierie avec mais ils ont axé *tout* leur (.87) *tout tout* leur stratégie sur *le* l'intégration de tous les (.94) tous les procédés de fabrication (.97) et (.47) donc ils ont acheté beaucoup *des masch.. des* machines *de* textiles pour faire tout dans la même usine ...

Data-set 5 : Interview on return from year abroad
C. : La politique, c'est ça qui vous intéresse?
S. : mm mm oui parce que je (.43) là-bas j'ai fait [euh 91] l'histoire des relations internationales depuis la deuxième guerre mondiale (.94) et *c'était* (.68) vraiment très intéressant et [euh 1.00] le prof a été (.90) il a été très très [euh .75] très intéressant et [euh .56] la présentation tout ça (1.09) et (1.31) pour moi j'ai fait l'histoire [euh .56] à l'école pour le: *leaving cert* mais (.63) *c'était* sur un niveau beaucoup plus spécialisé (.88) et main.. en France [oui] et [..euh 1.56] *c'était* chouette vraiment *c'est* le *(.53) c'était* le (.68)le (.78)le cours le plus intéressant que j'ai fait je crois dans ma vie (.60) parce que *c'était* jusqu'*au* quatre-vingt neuf (1.38) donc *c'était* très très intéressant de voir le (.56)le (.78) les chutes et les (1.03) le le (2.40) le quoi je ne sais pas [euh 2.00] *c'était c'est* intéressant de voir le (.87) comment les choses ont changé (1.25) entre les les *ennées* cinquante et les *ennées* quatre-vingt et tous les les (.72) re.. relations les liens entre les di les les pays différents (1.12) et aussi j'ai fait un cours de (.75) sur les problèmes contemporains

c'était sur le (56) l'Inde et l'Asie du Sud-Est et moi j'ai (1.10) j'ai su rien sur ces ces (.50) ces pays et *c'était* très intéressant aussi

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Some aspects of phonological transfer from Arabic to English[1]

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ABBREVIATIONS

AE:	Actual Error
C:	Consonant
L1:	First Language or Mother Tongue
L2:	Second Language or Target Language
'L2':	the second variety of the L1, e.g. MSA for the Syrian Arab
'L3':	the first L2 in a language-learning context where Arabic is the L1
MSA:	Modern Standard Arabic, i.e. the modern extension of Classical Arabic
SCA:	Syrian Colloquial Arabic
v:	Short Vowel
V:	Long Vowel

INTRODUCTION

Within the constant reconsideration of the term 'language transfer' (see, for example, Gass and Selinker (1983); Dechert and Raupach (1989)), it has become clear that the individual's past experience of his/her first language (L1) has a significant role to play in the learning of a second language (L2). However, one of the most difficult problems that arise for language-transfer specialists is to specify exactly how the L2-learner can 'behave' linguistically in order to evade the negative effects of transfer identifications[2].

The purpose of this article is to examine the specific effects of transfer from Arabic on the English interlanguage system of a group of Syrian-Arab adult learners. By recourse to both the Standard and Colloquial varieties of Arabic, the areas of language transfer are identified with some features of the phonological subcomponent, namely, epenthetic phenomena which affect several types of consonant clusters. Given that Arabic offers tremendous variation between the two main varieties (a seemingly unique language situation in the world), the article will indicate that it is the Colloquial, rather than the Standard variety, which acts as the strongest trigger of language transfer at a phonological level. This will be demonstrated by analysing a number of interlingual identifications of epenthesis actually produced by the Syrian-Arab learners in their oral production of English. The article will conclude with some suggestions and implications for teaching the aspects of English phonology under discussion to Syrian-Arab learners in general.

PRELIMINARIES

The concrete data (which include a selection of certain forms of epenthesis for analysis in this paper) have been collected from a group of Syrian-Arab learners of English in completely naturalistic settings. These informants are postgraduate students reading for higher degrees in Engineering at several universities in Dublin. Therefore, given the learners' L1 whose principles and parameters are not easy to describe in explicit terms, it is believed that Syrian Colloquial Arabic (SCA), like any other colloquial dialect of Arabic, is much more prone to phonological transfer in the context of English learning than Classical Arabic or its modern extension, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

In the 'intralingual' operation[3] of Arabic phonology (where the phonological 'deviation' from the MSA-norm can be observed within the Arabic speech community), there is a strong possibility that Colloquial-Arabic phonology may interfere in the production of spoken Classical Arabic. This can be seen when a number of native speakers of Arabic with different colloquial dialects are induced to orally perform a given text written in Classical Arabic. For such 'intralinguistic' manifestation it is not hard to find empirical corroboration in the literature of Arabic linguistics. Harrel (1960), for instance, points to the fact that "any Arab's use of spoken Classical Arabic is always influenced in some way by his native colloquial dialect" (Harrel (1960:4)).

It seems, therefore, that the native speaker of Arabic is historically confronted with at least two different, but 'diglossically' related, varieties of his/her mother tongue: the Colloquial variety (i.e. his/her native colloquial dialect) and the Classical variety whose modern extension (MSA) is used as a standard written form all over the Arab World (see, for example, Ferguson (1959)). In particular, with regard to the phonological subcomponent whose linguistic interpretation can largely be determined by surface-structure constituents, the Arab's native colloquial dialect seems to represent his/her L1 (which is, in this case, SCA for the Syrian Arab) whereas Classical Arabic represents his/her 'L2' (or rather his/her 'second' L1) in the sociolinguistic sense. From this point of view, it appears that the Syrian Arab's phonological knowledge of the L1 (SCA) is *internal* in nature as opposed to his/her phonological knowledge of the 'L2' (Classical Arabic) which can be looked upon as *external*. SCA, therefore, is the language which he/she has been exposed to during the language acquisition period and is presumably the language used in most domains, excluding formal domains (such as education and mass media) where MSA is used. This would lead one to suggest that, in such a perspective, English, when being learnt as the 'first' foreign language by the Syrian Arab, would represent his/her 'L3' chronologically and thus gain access to a second 'external' but third phonological system.

It follows from the above that, in an Arabic speech community such as Syria, the L1 (SCA) appears to be much more phonologically dominant than the 'L2' (Classical Arabic) as the 'intralinguistic' effects of the former variety can be easily discerned in the Syrian Arab's attempt to orally perform the latter variety (see Harrel above). In other words, because of the phonological domination of the L1 system (SCA), activating this potential phonological knowledge (as internalised in the Syrian Arab's mind) is much more automatised as compared with the 'L2' system (Classical Arabic). Therefore, in the case of learning the 'L3' system (English) in the sense discussed here, the most phonologically dominant variety (i.e. the most automatised variety L1 (SCA)) seems to be the strongest trigger of language transfer at the phonological level. Among the large number of interlingual identifications that can be invoked to support this point of view are the epenthesis errors made by the Syrian-Arab learners when using their English interlanguages orally. Hence, it will be presently illustrated that the process of short vowel epenthesis, which breaks up several types of English consonant clusters, is triggered by an equivalent phenomenon occurring in the Colloquial variety (SCA) but not in either the Classical variety or in its modern extension (MSA).

ATTESTED FORMS OF EPENTHESIS

Epenthesis is one of two sorts of phonological intrusion (the other being prothesis) where an extra short vowel is inserted initially or medially into a consonant cluster. This phonological intrusion can be observed in some regional dialects of Hiberno-English (e.g. [fil*i*m] versus /film/ 'film'). In this context, an attempt was made by Broselow (1983) to analyse the epenthesis errors made by members of two Arabic-dialect groups: Egyptian Colloquial Arabic and Iraqi Colloquial Arabic. The researcher observed that the epenthesis of short vowels into two-segment and three-segment clusters differed in treatment by members of the two colloquial-dialect groups (see Broselow (1983)). For example:

Errors by Egyptian speakers[4]

(1)	a.	[f*i*loːr]	'floor'	(AE)
	b.	[θ*i*riː]	'three'	(AE)
	c.	[tʃild*i*rin]	'children'	(AE)

Errors by Iraqi speakers

(2)	a.	[*i*floːr]	'floor'	(AE)
	b.	[*i*θriː]	'three'	(AE)
	c.	[til*i*drin]	'children'	(AE)

This phonological intrusion can be attributed to the fact that Egyptian speakers, in their colloquial dialect, tend to insert the short vowel *i* between the first and second consonants of an initial two-consonant cluster as in [t*i*ši:l] 'she carries' (cf. 1a-b). They also tend to insert the same vowel after the second consonant of a final three-consonant cluster as in [katabt*i*lu] 'I wrote to him' (cf. 1c). Iraqi speakers, on the other hand, tend to insert the short vowel *i* before an initial two-consonant cluster as in [*i*tši:l] (cf. 2a-b), and after the first consonant of a final three-consonant cluster as in [kitab*i*tla] (cf. 2c). Attested interlingual identifications such as (1a-c) and (2a-c) are, among many others, clear evidence of phonological transfer from the internalised knowledge of Colloquial Arabic rather than the externalised knowledge of Classical Arabic or its modern extension (MSA). The MSA-counterparts of the above L1- examples (taken from Egyptian and Iraqi colloquial Arabic) are [taši:lu] 'she carries' and [katabtu lahu] 'I wrote to him' respectively.

With respect to the Syrian learners in question[5], epenthetic phenomena are observable in their attempts to produce some final consonant clusters in English. For example:

(3) a. [fe:r*i*m] 'firm' (AE)
b. [no:r*i*m] 'norm' (AE)
c. [le:r*i*n] 'learn' (AE)
d. [bo:r*i*n] 'born' (AE)

The insertion of the short vowel *i* into the final two-segment cluster ([r]+[nasal]) can be ascribed to the articulation of alveolar /r/ of English as an alveolar [ ] or [r]. The articulation of /r/ in MSA involves a single tap [ ] made by the tip of the tongue against the dento-alveolar ridge. It is, therefore, similar to one of the variants of the English alveolar /r/, namely, the intervocalic flapped alveolar [ ]. It follows that, if this one-tap articulation was maintained in the Syrian learner's English interlanguage, the resultant identification would very likely lead to positive transfer. In SCA, on the other hand, most speakers, if not all, tend to use more than one tap when pronouncing /r/. Thus, it is similar to the Scottish English counterpart /r̄/ when trilled. The insertion of the short vowel *i* into the final two-segment clusters [r-m] and [r-n] makes their pronunciation easier in SCA. Consequently, when phonological transfer operates, the more-than-one-tap articulation of /r/, and therefore the insertion of *i*, is directly transferable from SCA but not from MSA. For example:

SCA **MSA**
(4) a. [far*i*m] [faɾm] 'mincing/chopping'
b. [jir*i*m] [jiɾm] 'mass/bulk'

c.	[qar*i*n]	[qaɾn]	'horn/century'
d.	[fir*i*n]	[fuɾn]	'oven'

Furthermore, the epenthesis of the short vowel *i* within this phonological representation is readily apparent if the more-than-one-tap articulation of /r/ happens to precede the final two-segment cluster /k-t/ in English. For example:

(5)	a.	[wo:rk*i*d]	'worked'	(AE)
	b.	[wo:rk*i*t]	'worked'	(AE)
	c.	[ma:rk*i*d]	'marked'	(AE)
	d.	[ma:rk*i*t]	'marked'	(AE)

These examples suggest that, because the English alveolar /r/ is articulated by the Syrian learners as alveolar [r], the resultant interlingual cluster appears (in their focus of attention and attempted utilisation) to be a final three-segment cluster (cf. [r-k-d] in (5a,c) and [r-k-t] in (5b,d)), into which the short vowel is inserted. Thus, the learner's tendency to insert an extra short vowel into a final consonant cluster is systematic; that is, the epenthesis of *i* normally occurs before the final segment of a final consonant cluster whether it contains two segments or three segments. For example:

(6)	a.	[a:sk*i*d]	'asked'	(AE)
	b.	[a:sk*i*t]	'asked'	(AE)
	c.	[monθ*i*z]	'months'	(AE)
	d.	[monθ*i*s]	'months'	(AE)

The Syrian speakers' tendency to systematically insert the short vowel *i* in such a position (particularly when the final consonant cluster is not followed by a vowel) occurs only recurrent in the sound system of SCA as compared with that of MSA. For example:

		SCA	**MSA**	
(7)	a.	[sakab*i*t]	[sakabt]	'poured out (I)'
	b.	[tarak*i*t]	[taɾakt]	'left (I)'
	c.	[sab*i*t]	[sabt]	'Saturday'
	d.	[tah̲*i*t]	[tah̲t]	'under/beneath'

This substantially demonstrates that it is SCA-influence (and not MSA -influence) which underlies the operation of epenthesis in the English interlanguage of the Syrian learner (cf. also 4a-d).

Examples of epenthesis are also observable in the Syrian learners' attempts to produce three-segment clusters in initial position. These, too, appear to be systematic; that is, vowel-insertion normally occurs between the first and second segments of an initial three-segment cluster. For example:

(8)	a.	[s*i*kri:n]	'screen'	(AE)
	b.	[s*i*pri ŋ]	'spring'	(AE)
	c.	[s*i*tri:t]	'street'	(AE)
	d.	[s*i*tri ŋ]	'string'	(AE)

Epenthetic phenomena are more explicitly observable in the Syrian learners' attempts to produce intervocalic four-segment clusters, which normally occur as the first consonant clusters in some English words. Again, vowel-insertion occurs systematically between the second and third segments of these clusters. For example:

(9)	a.	[iks*i*kyu:z]	'excuse'	(AE)
	b.	[iks*i*ple:n]	'explain'	(AE)
	c.	[iks*i*prein]	'expression'	(AE)
	d.	[iks*i*tri:mli]	'extremely'	(AE)

So far as the actual examples (8a-d) and (9a-d) are concerned, phonological transfer requires a more detailed analysis in this case due to the intricacy of the phonological processes which underlie the equivalent phenomena in SCA. To avoid possible confusion, some abbreviations will be employed here: (C) stands for a consonant, (v) for a short vowel, and (V) for a long vowel. In MSA, some simple present verbs are governed by the phonological structure (CvCVC) as in (10a-c) below:

(10)	a.	[tuɾi:d]	'you (sing. masc.) want'	(MSA)
	b.	[taɾu:h̲]	'you (sing. masc.) go'	(MSA)
	c.	[tana:m]	'you (sing. masc.) sleep'	(MSA)

In MSA, in particular, one of the interrogative forms is formulated by prefixing the question particle [a] to a simple present verb. This particle is phonetically represented as a glottal stop [?] followed by the short vowel [a]. Since it always occurs initially, the symbol [?] is usually dropped and thus the interrogative prefix is represented by the short vowel [a][6]. Consequently, the phonological structure of the above verb class will be (vCvCVC):

(11)	a.	[atuɾi:d]	'do you want?'	(MSA)
	b.	[ataɾu:h̲]	'do you go?'	(MSA)
	c.	[atana:m]	'do you sleep?'	(MSA)

In SCA, on the other hand, the phonological structure of the verb class (CvCVC) as in (10a-c) is changed by dropping the short vowel (v), and the resultant structure will be (CCVC):

(12) a. [tri:d] (SCA)
b. [tru:ẖ] (SCA)
c. [tna:m] (SCA)

Specifically, the initial two-segment clusters not preceded by a vowel as in (12a-c) seem to occur in SCA only[7]. This would imply that the Syrian learners experience no difficulty in producing initial two-segment clusters in English (cf. 1a-b; 2a-b in Broselow's data). It follows that when Syrian speakers prefix, for example, the consonant [b-] (one of whose functions is to create interrogative forms)[8] to the verb class (CCVC) as in (12a-c), the result would apparently lead to a formulation of initial three-segment clusters within the phonological structure (C-CCVC):

(13) a. [b-tri:d] (SCA)
b. [b-tru:ẖ] (SCA)
c. [b-tna:m] (SCA)

However, when the consonant [b-] is prefixed to the verb class (CCVC) in order to form interrogative forms in SCA, Syrian speakers tend to systematically insert the short vowel *i* after that consonant. Hence, the phonological structure of the above verb class will be (CvCCVC):

(14) a. [b*i*tri:d] 'do you want?' (SCA)
b. [b*i*tru:ẖ] 'do you go?' (SCA)
c. [b*i*tna:m] 'do you sleep?' (SCA)
(cf. the actual utterances (8a-d))

Notice, here, that the insertion of the short vowel *i* into initial three-segment clusters as in (14a-c) occurs systematically between the first and second segments. Therefore, by analysing some examples from the (CvCVC) and comparing it with their corresponding forms in SCA, it can be shown that it is SCA-influence (and not MSA-influence) which triggers phonological transfer in the actual examples (8a-d).

By analogy, phonological transfer in the actual examples (9a-d) can be explored with reference to some examples of another MSA verb class and their SCA-representations. If, for instance, the processes (illustrated in (11) to (14) above) are applied, within more or less the same phonological representation, to other verb classes such as (CvCCvC) in MSA, we get the following:

(15) a. [tadrus] 'you (sing.masc.) study' (MSA)
b. [taskub] 'you (sing. masc.) pour out' (MSA)
c. [taksab] 'you (sing. masc.) win' (MSA)

Since the interrogative prefix in SCA is [b] then the resultant SCA-realisation of this verb class will involve an initial four-segment cluster due to the occurrence of a medial two-segment cluster in the MSA-form. The short vowel [a] in these verbs is replaced by a shorter vowel [i] as in (14a-c) but its insertion occurs systematically after the second consonant of the resultant four-segment cluster. Thus, the SCA-representation of the above MSA verb class will be governed by the phonological structure (CCvCCvC):

(16) a. [bt*i*dros] 'do you study?' (SCA)
b. [bt*i*skob] 'do you pour out?' (SCA)
c. [bt*i*ksab] 'do you win?' (SCA)

Furthermore, [i]-insertion in (16a-c) will still be maintained in its underlying position even if Syrian speakers emphasise these verbs by SCA-particles such as [e][9]:

(17) a. [ebt*i*dros] 'do you (really) study?' (SCA)
b. [ebt*i*skob] 'do you (really) pour out?' (SCA)
c. [ebt*i*ksab] 'do you (really) win?' (SCA)
(cf. (9a-d))

It now becomes evident that epenthetic phenomena, which occur systematically in SCA-examples such as (14a-c) and (17a-c), seem to be systematically transferable onto the Syrian learners' English interlanguages as in (8a-d) and (9a-d) respectively. In other words, when the learners attempt to produce English words beginning with a three-segment cluster: /skriːn/, they usually insert the short vowel *i* between the first and second segments of this cluster [s*i*kriːn] by falling back on a systematic SCA-representation as in [b*i*triːd]. When the learners attempt to produce English words containing an intervocalic four-segment cluster: /ikskjuːz/, they tend to divide the cluster into two two-segment clusters by inserting the short vowel *i* between the second and third segments of this cluster [iks*i*kyuːz], which relates to a similar process in SCA as shown by [ebt*i*dros].

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

As noted at the outset of this paper, one of the most problematic tasks is to ascertain the 'remedial' linguistic cues for the L2-learner when he/she faces tenacious obstacles as a result of negative transfer. This is due to the fact that the processes underlying L2-learning are still not fully understood in current research, and that language transfer is one such process. Traditionally, the pedagogical issue rested on the belief that language teachers should be encouraged to focus their teaching plans on the formal differences between the learner's L1 and the L2, since these differences were assumed to be the main source of negative transfer. This approach, however, had its problems as the degree of formal difference does not necessarily correlate with the magnitude of the learning difficulty; provided that the formal similarities (particularly, those which are only available in the learner's perception) cannot always guarantee learning facilitation (see Kellerman (1983)).

Despite contradicting viewpoints on contrastive studies, there has been a recent interest in research into the crosslinguistic similarities between L1 and L2, and in their relevance for foreign-language teaching. It seems that the ongoing debate and controversy over language transfer does not call into question the *fact* of L1-influence on L2-learning, but arises from the use of appropriate and clearcut terminology to describe the linguistic as well as the nonlinguistic paradigms of this fact. Therefore, whether it is a behaviouristic or a cognitive interpretation, the greater the potential for crosslinguistic similarity between L1 and L2, the larger the scope of facilitation (positive transfer) there will be in the process of L2-learning. Furthermore, facilitation is also conditioned by the learner's real perception of crosslinguistic similarity, where such similarity would lead to positive transfer. In this case, the possibilities of negative transfer decrease and the pedagogical issue should place special emphasis on the utilisation of the L1-items or rules that are to varying degrees similar to their L2-counterparts, particularly those L1-items or rules which are 'known' to the learner, but that he/she does not perceive as crosslinguistically similar to the L2-counterparts. Hence, widening the learner's perception of the 'unknown' similarities at the early stages of learning is necessary for him/her to make - and therefore automatise - the relevant crosslingual tie-ups, since the ability to associate incoming data with already existing linguistic knowledge is a natural tendency (see, for example, Ringbom (1987:143f)).

Concerning the epenthesis errors discussed here, it is the task of the language teacher to affirm the facilitative role of Arabic (SCA and MSA) by inducing his/her students to make the necessary crosslingual tie-ups for the production of the English consonant clusters in question, since the analysis of the data illustrated that the Syrian learners relied on what they could find 'phonologically legitimate' in SCA as a feasible strategy in their real attempts to produce the clusters. These English consonant clusters can, therefore, be classified according to their positions within a word and the number of segments which they contain, into four main types:

1. Final two-segment clusters

These clusters refer to the occurrence of (/r/+/nasal/) in word final position in some English words (cf. 3a-d). Given that the articulation of the English alveolar /r/ is the main problem as shown above, the Syrian learner could have two options for the production of the nearest approximation to these clusters: *Either* maintain the one-tap articulation of /r/,namely [ ], in MSA and draw on the equivalent clusters (cf. 4a-d MSA); *or* drop /r/ completely and draw on long vowels preceding a final nasal in SCA-words such as [ge:m] `clouds', [no:m] `sleeping', [be:n] `between', [bo:n] `distance', etc[10].

2. Final three-segment clusters

This type refers to the occurrence of the English alveolar /r/ before a final two-segment cluster as in /r-k-t/ (cf.5a-d). Again, since the articulation of the English alveolar /r/ is the main problem, the best thing to do, from the learner's point of view, is to drop /r/ and draw on a final two-segment cluster in MSA-words such as [saba*kt*] `cast (I)', [tara*kt*] `left (I)', etc. (cf. 7a-d). Similar strategies could be applied in the case of the final three-segment clusters /s-k-t/ and /n-θ̪-s/ (cf.6a-d) by drawing on the linguistic resources of both MSA and SCA.

3. Initial three-segment clusters

In most cases, the English sound /s/ occurs as the first segment of these clusters (cf. 8a-d). The Syrian learner, must make a greater effort in this case at producing the three consonant clusters, since they do not occur in SCA without vowel-intrusion (cf. 14a-c). Thus, the articulation of initial three-segment clusters with the sound /s/ should entail the following strategy: produce a voiceless sibilant [s] with a very slight pause intervening between it and the production of the two-segment cluster which follows it. This should be facilitated by the canonical structure of SCA itself.

4. Intervocalic four-segment clusters

Analogous with the previous type, the English sounds /k-s/ occur as the first two segments of these clusters (cf. 9a-d). The effort required, here, is far greater as the cluster never occurs in SCA without vowel-intrusion (cf. 16 a-c; 17a-c). Thus the following strategy is recommended: break up the cluster into two two-segment clusters; the syllabic break should occur with a very slight pause between the 2nd and 3rd segments. The production of the last two segment cluster should be facilitated by the structure of SCA (cf. 12a - c).

CONCLUSION

I hope that what I have said above will have illuminated some of the complexities that manifest themselves when learners transfer certain rules and processes from Arabic to English. Given that SCA, rather than MSA, was the strongest precondition for phonological transfer in the production of several types of English consonant clusters, certain solutions have been offered with reference to the crosslinguistic similarities that exist between English and Arabic within its two main varieties. It is the responsibility of the teacher to reinforce the facilitative role of Arabic by focusing on the learner's perception of these similarities. This of course demands of the teacher that, besides his/her mastery of English, he/she possesses wide knowledge of both MSA and SCA. In addition, he/she has available a set of paradigms in terms of which he/she is able to elucidate how a given MSA-item is realised through the highly flexible boundaries of SCA and processed when acting as a trigger for language transfer. In such a perspective, the teacher would be in a better position to over-stress the crosslinguistic similarities of which the learner is *not aware*. Thus, L1-knowledge, as an aiding reference frame, can be automatised from the beginning, since crosslinguistic relations are always being modified during the interlanguage experience.

Notes

1. This paper is based on the empirical research conducted for a PhD thesis entitled "The Potential for Arabic Transfer in the Oral Interlanguage of English" at Dublin City University. I would like to thank Dónall P. Ó Baoill and two external readers for their comments on an initial version of this paper.

2. Transfer or interlingual 'identifications' refer to those 'deviant' or 'non-deviant' structures produced in the L2, which are deemed to be a reflection of L1-influence. Structures of this category, therefore, result in one sort of linguistic solution (interlingual), which involves hypotheses about the application of items, rules or properties of rules by generalisation from the L1.

3. 'Intralingual' operation indicates, here, the making of phonological errors by native speakers of Arabic in their L1, when these errors are judged from the viewpoint of the MSA-norm of phonological representations.

4. To avoid possible confusion in this paper, the square brackets [ ] are used to indicate the phonetic transcription of learner interlanguage, Arabic, and any other language where necessary; whereas the oblique dashes / / indicate the phonemic contrast within either English or Arabic.

5. The home colloquial dialects of these informants are: Northern Colloquial Dialect (the dialect of Aleppo), Southern Colloquial Dialect (The dialect of Damascus), and Western Colloquial Dialect (the dialect of Tartus).

6. The glottal stop [?] is usually used to represent the Arabic radical [hamza] when it occurs both medially and finally due to its importance in these two positions. Since this radical has a full consonantal value, it can be governed by each of the three short vowels in MSA: [fat'ha] 'sign of accusative [a]', [damma] 'sign of nominative [u]', and [kas'ra] 'sign of genitive [i]'. In initial position, however, the symbol [?] is usually dropped in Roman transcription, and the short vowel that

governs [hamza] represents the whole phonological structure. Thus, there is no difference in pronunciation between the following contrasts: [ʔalam]/[*a*lam] 'pain', [ʔumam]/[*u*mam] 'nations', [ʔibar]/[*i*bar] 'needles', etc. (cf. 11a-c).

7. Two-segment clusters in MSA, however, can occur initially (but preceded by a short vowel) as in [*if*la:s] 'bankruptcy', or medially as in [ta*sk*ub] 'pour out (you)', or finally as in (7a-d MSA).

8. The consonant [b-] is derived from the initial radical of the SCA-word [*b*iddak] 'do you like/prefer?' (whose MSA-counterpart is [a*b*iwiddika]) and is used as an interrogative particle prefixed to the simple present verb in SCA.

9. The particle [e], which is derived from the SCA-word [e:] 'yes', can be prefixed to the simple present verb in SCA to strengthen or affirm the information portrayed by the verb.

10. The MSA-variants of these words are: [gaym], [nawm], [bayn], and [bawn] respectively.

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Research study on affective and environmental factors of older learners during second language immersion

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INTRODUCTION

The University of Limerick has links under the Erasmus and ECTS scheme with several institutions in France and Belgium and participates in many exchanges. Students who follow the course "Business with a language" are very strongly encouraged to avail of the opportunity to study in the country of the target language and to improve their language skills. However, this experience of study abroad is at an early stage and its format is constantly changing to achieve the best conditions and results for students.

Therefore, in order to understand the students' language expectations and to create the optimum learning environment during the period of immersion, it was decided to conduct a survey on a sample of students who had completed a six month period of study abroad. This paper is part of an in-depth study (doctoral thesis) examining the overall value of immersion in the target language on the written skills of second language learners, focusing extensively on error analysis of collected data. The number of students tested therefore was limited to 7. It comprises a longitudinal study which evaluates the performance of students with various degrees of proficiency. Based on a questionnaire completed by the same students which investigated their level of exposure to the language, their attitude to French language and culture and their perception of achievements in the language prior to departure and upon their return from France, this paper examines the students' affective and language educational factors and how these variables interacted with the different environmental factors encountered by these students during their language immersion period.

This is a first exploration of preliminary results. Nonetheless the findings provide some first clues about favourable and unfavourable aspects of study abroad which may facilitate the structuring of such programmes in the future.

AFFECTIVE FACTORS

After the immersion period in France (or Belgium), students' motivation was so high and their attitude towards further learning was so positive that the investigation of the affective factors contributing to this infatuation for the French language aroused my interest and spurred me onwards to look into the causes for this infatuation. At the time the task undertaken was the collection of data in order to carry out an error analysis of their written work. The feeling was that the students' reflection on their own experience of learning might help to evaluate their degree of competence, to see later on if their performance was really affected by these factors and finally to comprehend better the evolution of their written skills in the French language. In order to allow them to get a more balanced view of their study abroad programme they answered a questionnaire six months after their return; they emphasised the fact that their responses would not have been the same if they had been tested immediately upon their return as opposed to six months later. To classify affective factors while setting up the questionnaire, Ellis's definition of general factors commonly known as effective factors as distinct from personal factors, was adopted:

> Personal factors are highly idiosyncratic features of each individual's approach to learning a L2. [...] The general factors are variables that are characteristic of all learners. They differ not in whether they are present in a particular individual's learning, but in the extent to which they are present, or the manner in which they are realised.
>
> *(Ellis 1985:100)*

So, the general factors which were retained for the survey were the following: gender, linguistic and academic background, previous immersion, age, attitude, motivation, perceptions of achievement towards integration and performance. The personality factor remains so difficult to deal with on its own that it will be taken into account only when discussing students' integration with the French community.

GENDER

Among the students who study "Business studies with a language" a greater number of female students is found (of a total class of 46 students, 13 were boys and 33 were girls). This clarifies the high percentage of girls represented: 5 of the 7 students tested were girls.

LINGUISTIC AND ACADEMIC BACKGROUND

Among these students only one is a native speaker of the Irish language; they are all fluent speakers of English and have various degrees of proficiency in Irish and French. At the University of Limerick they chose to follow the "Business studies with a Language" programme which requires very high overall results in the Leaving Certificate and entails attending French lectures and tutorials for 4 hours each week. They had spent 4 terms of 10 weeks duration in UL before they went to France. These students were excellent, good, and average (some were weak in their written French).

Swain and Lapkin (1989) posit that an older second language learner has a strong advantage when learning a second language, compared to a very young learner, because of the good command of his first language:

> Thus an individual who has a well-established first language has important cognitive and learning strategies as resources to call upon in learning and using a second language, particularly with respect to literacy-related activities.
>
> *(Swain and Lapkin 1989:152)*

Given this perspective, an excellent first language learner could be expected to be more effective in learning a second language than the weaker first language learner. On examining some of the grades obtained by the students in English at their Leaving Certificate and in comparing them with their French results at the same exam (see Appendix 1) the discrepancy seems to contradict the above prediction. After the immersion period, even though the French grades of these students had altered somewhat, they were still contrasting with their previous English grades.

The results for the English and French examinations for our sample of students seem to indicate that the degree of competence in the first language is not a sufficient factor in itself to predict the rate of success of second language learners.

PREVIOUS IMMERSION IN THE TARGET LANGUAGE

Although 5 of the 7 students had been to France, their stay only involved a holiday either with their family or with friends (all English speakers). None had previous real interaction in French with French people.

Age

By the time they went to study in France the students were 20 or 21 years old and had been studying French for about 8 years. Although they were about 12 years old when they started learning their second language and therefore were "older beginners", one would think the age factor to be of benefit to their learning in this situation since language learners of mature years are able to reflect on their own language use and to attend consciously to language per se (Swain and Lapkin, 1989) and are particularly well-suited to more autonomous modes of learning (David Little, 1989).

Attitude

Regarding their general attitude to the French language: on being asked how they found learning French, their answer was either easy (4 students) or average (3 students), in other words, not difficult. Regarding their future study experience: five students were very enthusiastic about their time abroad and two were quite happy.

On the whole, they all were reasonably positive in their outlook on the future study experience.

Before leaving for France the majority of them (5 students) considered that they had an active role to play in the process of learning French abroad; one had never thought about it and the weakest felt that she had no active role to play. This response came from the weakest student and the only one who never read any French book (extra reading being left to her own discretion) while abroad. The environmental factors section should give us an answer as to whether the eagerness to take part in the learning process was put into action by the others or not.

Motivation

When asked to specify their reasons for studying abroad (see Appendix 2), the majority of them said that they were going to France first and foremost to learn the language (6), the second reason was either to get to know the culture (5) or for a minority (2), to enhance post university employment prospects. It is an interesting answer considering the course of study that they follow - "Business Studies with a Language". One would have expected their second main reason for studying abroad to be for future employment prospects rather than for a better knowledge of the culture.

Gardner and Lambert (1972) define motivation which reflects practical considerations as "instrumental", while motivation reflecting a sincere and personal interest in the people and culture is defined as "integrative". In the case of these Business Studies students, the integrative motive outweighed the instrumental motive. This was confirmed during the immersion period where some students felt that their motivation grew, together with their awareness of a new dimension of the language. One student wrote: *"Increased awareness of French culture also spurs you on to improving your language skills as you wish to learn more about the culture".*

PERCEPTION OF ACHIEVEMENTS

Integration

When asked if they felt integrated with the French community, four answered positively but three did not. Of these three, one said that she felt integrated only when she started to work as an au pair after her period of study. It appears that those who felt isolated did not mix with the French students as much as they would have liked to (see environmental factors section) but rather with foreign students or the Arab community. These particular students did stay on at the end of their study period to work (as waiters, guides, among French staff..) but still did not feel part of the French community despite efforts to achieve this aim. This gives rise to the question of whether this phenomenon can be explained by the personality of the three students concerned or not, as they all appeared to be introvert, quite ambitious and rather anxious.

PERFORMANCE IN THE LANGUAGE

Before going to France, the students perceived their oral skills to be either average or poor whereas on their return they perceived them as good or very good; one had changed her perception from poor to very good - she was a student who thrived on the au pair system. She mentioned that she enjoyed dealing with people on a one to one basis, being corrected by the hosts and getting explanations of vocabulary when necessary. The students' experience showed that the regular use of French accelerated the development of their oral skills. They were very pleased with the significant improvement in these skills.

On the contrary, they stated that their written skills were not fuelled during their immersion period and they feared that their previous level of performance in written French had either worsened from very good to poor (1), remained the same (2) or dropped (4) after their six month study abroad. They complained about the lack of formal French classes for foreign students as being the main contributory factor. They said that the only opportunity for writing in French was mostly for essays and exams (one exam-session during their stay) and for this reason were never actually corrected grammatically. The same comment applied to lectures where they took many notes but were never sure if these were grammatically correct. The general feeling was that time was wasted by not having more formal instruction, apart from the case of one student who attended formal classes - but did not improve greatly in her written work.

On the whole, they felt that they had achieved a much greater autonomy in language learning and that this experience also boosted their confidence immensely. The following comment illustrates this positive feeling about their competence: *"In my eyes the main achievement of those six months in France was to have been able to get on and to communicate successfully with French people through French"*. This was stated by the weakest student of the group.

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

One student's comment expresses the general feeling of the group about the immersion experience: *"Living so far away from home makes one become more independent, more balanced and more responsible"*. Some students (4) decided to stay on in France after their study period to gain work experience and to get to know other sections of the French community. This was a personal choice which shows some maturity. The students were all unanimous in their praise of the benefits of such an experience. They generally felt that it broadened their horizons, that it gave them an insight into the European mentality and that they matured both as persons and as learners, the two things being inseparable.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Since the learning environment provides the input data necessary for language acquisition it is imperative to define and analyse the various elements of this environment;

> These three different emphases - on environment, learner, and interaction - correspond to Corder's notions of input as the outcome of activity which involves both environment and learner.
>
> *(Pica 1991:189).*

This investigation should lead us to outline the factors which are essential to a conducive learning background during language immersion. Only the more important environmental factors which may have a significant influence upon students' acquisition of a foreign language were considered: instruction, cultural activities, sport, reading, watching T.V., work experience, exposure to the language and mixing with the community.

Instruction

Since these students are from the Business Studies course in UL, it is an integral part of their programme to study or work in the target language country. These students who studied in France or Belgium had to follow an equivalent course to the Business one offered in UL. This type of course is provided by an "Ecole Supérieure de Commerce" or "la Faculté des Sciences" of the different universities.

The type of lectures that they followed were held in large theatres and did not contribute to a good interaction between students. Very little project work was undertaken so the integration of foreign students with their French counterparts was difficult. Nonetheless, the amount of input that the students received was quite large as they had to attend many lectures, often in specialised subjects like economics or accountancy. It must be stressed that the grades obtained abroad for the different assignments undertaken by our students did not alter their overall results on their return (it is a work experience period for students remaining in Ireland). This could explain the fact that they tend in their responses to show more interest in performing in the language rather than in the content of classes. The strongest complaint made by all the students about their foreign university program was the absence of formal French classes for foreign students. Their comments speak for themselves: *"I felt that my written French deteriorated due to the lack of French classes/I was not given the opportunity to improve my grammar through a French course/My* *language capabilities were not exploited to the extent I hoped as no French classes were provided in the host university/etc".*

They felt that their degree of fluency was stunted by the absence of formal French classes. Their belief in the real benefit of this type of instruction to their learning could be disputed. Many empirical studies have been conducted on the effects of formal instruction on the success of second language learning (as opposed to the effects of exposure alone...). This produced mixed results ranging from rejecting the notion that instruction has any value Fathman, (1976) to Krashen (1978) who sees instruction as necessary only in "acquisition-poor" environments:

> "Instruction will be of value in acquisition poor environments, where the learner may not be able to obtain adequate input through exposure, but of no significant value in acquisition rich environments, where there is plenty of comprehensible input".
>
> *(Krashen 1978:259)*

However, Swain and Lapkin's strong belief in integration of content teaching and language teaching in the foreign language classroom is relevant here:

> We have learned that grammar should not be taught without regard to content. But then, neither should content be taught without regard to the language involved. A carefully planned integration of language and content, however, holds considerable promise.
>
> *(Swain and Lapkin 1989:153)*

Also other reviews show that comprehensible input alone seems insufficient, as far as older learners are concerned, to fine-tune the internalised L2 grammar and lexicon (Long 1983).

In any case, we have to take into account the needs expressed by the students and try to understand why they felt so strongly about formal instruction. It must be remembered that these students had been used to formal instruction as well as continuous assessment in second language learning in Ireland. Without feedback, guidelines or reference points, they felt at a loss as to how to evaluate and improve their language performance. The consequences of the absence of formal instruction on their strategies as learners should be analysed in order to discover if they compensated for it or just complained without any remedial action. The next section on cultural activities should throw light on this question.

Cultural activities

This section includes all activities performed during leisure time; socialising itself will come under another heading. These activities include: sport/reading/watching T.V./listening to the radio/going to the pictures.

Sport

A majority of students (6) joined a sports' club. However, the choice of sport made by the students (4): swimming, skiing and tennis did not give them a chance to practise the language or to get to know many other young people. They did not partake in any team sport although they had done so in Ireland.

Reading

This activity includes reading books, newspapers and periodicals.

During the six month period of study, the number of course related books prescribed by the university that the students were attending varied substantially in number: some had no book to read at all for their study, some had up to 4 books to read but despite this most students (6) read 3 to 4 more literary books of their choice. Some who took the same subjects did not agree on the required amount, which shows a difference in attitude towards reading. In the case of one student who was very dissatisfied with her very poor level of written French it transpired that she had read no extra books at all. Her experience would tend to confirm the very important role that outside reading can play in the language learning process.

> In fact, unlike the previous cases, an intensive English program here does not seem to help non-readers, while the readers seem to do quite well whether or not they have taken intensive English. This observation certainly confirms our previous findings that outside reading is a very important factor in promoting language learning, and it strongly suggests the ESL (and foreign language) programs would do well to encourage this language activity.
>
> *(Gradman and Hanania 1991:47)*

As for newspapers and magazines some students (4) said that they rarely read them and some (3) said that they often did. Unfortunately, French newspapers were not always readily available in the different universities but students in the same surroundings gave opposite answers. It could be concluded that interest was more important than availability.

Watching t.v./listening to the radio/going to the pictures

All students who had access to television said that they watched it. The number of hours spent watching T.V. every week varied a lot between students: One hour weekly to 21 hours! The student who watched T.V. for such an amount of time did add that he found it an important tool for language input and acquisition. All of them had access to the French radio and all used it in a moderate way: 4 to 12 hours weekly. Very few went to the pictures (to see films in French) more than once or twice a month. The striking point of this section is that the students (3) who watched T.V., listened to the radio and went to the pictures the most frequently, were the very same students who complained strongly of the absence of formal classes for foreign students and who felt that some of their time was not used to its full potential. Therefore, they decided and took upon themselves to take advantage of every day language input available to them.

But, unfortunately, these students are also the ones who felt the least integrated with the French community. It may well be that this particular solution reinforced their isolation from the community, or perhaps that their sense of isolation pushed them into more solitary activities.

Accommodation

The French towns hosting the Irish students are big in size (150,000 to 500,000 inhabitants) and have many immigrants, mostly Arabs. Also, their universities offer international courses and have a large number of foreign students. The cheapest accommodation available to students is that offered on campus: a room in a hall of residence. Most foreign students stay there (Arab and ERASMUS students: English, Spanish and Germans mostly); French students rarely stay there. Despite this, foreigners tend to speak the language of the country they live in so Irish students spoke French on campus at all times. Their main criticism of this type of accommodation was the lack of privacy (communal showers and kitchens) and considerable verbal harassment from other students; as a result some Irish students picked up slang words that they have a tendency to use even in more formal circumstances. A minority of students chose to live in town and rented a room in a family home; they found that it gave them a great opportunity to get to know a cross-section of the community through the circle of family friends.

Social life

For most students (5) social life was reported as the most helpful way of learning French far outweighing lectures and activities. (see Appendix 3). This is an interesting statement, given that France does not have the same type of social life as is experienced in Ireland (cafés are quite different from pubs, striking up casual acquaintances is more difficult...). Perhaps the good effects of a friendly atmosphere rather than being in a studying or performing situation helped them to get rid of inhibitions and enhanced communication.

Work experience

The study period finished in early June. The students who left France (3 out of the 7) had a summer job to return to in Ireland (or America). Those who decided to stay on in France had to look for a job. They were very anxious to continue on with their progress; they felt that they needed to extend their immersion period and they were curious about getting better acquainted with a working environment. They realised that to find a summer job in a firm was an impossible task due to the economic recession and decided to take up any job that would give them a chance to be in contact with French people and practice their French. They found themselves working as hostesses, waiters and au pair and stayed for a period of 2 to 3 months. Apart from the "au pair" experience they still did not feel integrated.

The "au pair" experience proved to be very successful if one considers the fact that the student involved felt well integrated with the French community once she was working in a family and that she felt much more in control of her learning under their supervision. She pointed out the fact that she acquired more formal French there than while amongst students and that she became aware of the various language registers thanks to mixing with a wider spectrum of the French community. As for the remaining 3 students, they felt that they got to know what living in France entailed, having studied and worked there, that the work environment gave them another perspective on the French language and culture and that it gave them *"a chance to see life through the eyes of French people"*.

Exposure to the language

When asked to quantify the number of hours of spoken French per day (outside lectures), the students said that it could vary greatly according to circumstances: from 2 hours up to 6 hours but averaging between 2 to 4 hours per day for most students; this is quite an extensive amount of input and output.

Mixing with the community

Even though Irish students met more foreign students than French ones on the university campus (as already explained), through everyday situations they came in contact with various sections of the French community: lecturers/bank and university employees/shopkeepers and waiters/sport club members/French students relations/work colleagues/immigrants.

Obviously one can argue that meeting other individuals does not necessarily imply mixing with them and that the amount of interaction can be minimal. The point is that the students felt that any form of dealing with native speakers was beneficial to them in some way (linguistically or culturally or both).

CONCLUSION

Although this report was based on a very small sample of students, one can argue that they are representative of a group of third level students following a Business Studies course with varying levels of proficiency and involving both male and female students. In the future, it is intended to extend the research to a much larger group of learners and to compare the results.

Designed to explore the internal and external factors affecting second language learning during immersion, the investigation produced quite surprising results. Against all expectations, students had two primary complaints to make, the first one being the lack of formal instruction and the second one being the difficulty to integrate with the French community.

The former complaint seems the easiest one to resolve since the resources required to set up a formal instruction course would be qualified personnel and finance. At present many universities offer short intensive courses at the beginning of each academic year. Unfortunately these courses are expensive, not always attended and often a mere introductory course on French civilisation. The kind of course that these business students appeared to be seeking was one that "focused on form" and raised their general awareness of the language itself. Such a course should not be too difficult to provide since most of the universities in question have access to or are connected with Arts universities and can avail of the presence of teachers of "Le Français Langue Etrangère". The cost of such a course could be funded from the grants allocated each year and left to the discretion of each university.

The second complaint, that of the lack of integration felt by some students, is more intricate and seems to be as a consequence of a complex interaction of affective and environmental factors. Fortunately, some affective factors as well as some environmental factors are modifiable. If a better distribution of the number of foreign students between various universities were organised and a better liaison between hosting exchange organisers and foreign students established, greater integration could almost certainly be achieved.

This survey which reinforces the importance of attending to students affective needs when planning study abroad programme highlights the necessity of revising our exchange programmes on a mutual and regular basis.

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APPENDIX 1

	Leaving Certificate results in English	Leaving Certificate results in French	UL Grade before studying abroad	UL Grade after studying abroad
1.	A	C	C	B
2.	B	B	A	A
3.	B	C	C	C
4.	B	B	B	B
5.	B	C	B	B
6.	C	C	C	B
7.	C	A	A	A

APPENDIX 2

Please indicate (in order of preference) which of the following activities you found the most helpful

Lectures
Social life
Cultural activities
Contact with native speakers
Personal study
Work experience
Other (please specify)

APPENDIX 3

Specify (in order of preference) your reasons for studying in France or Belgium

To improve your level of French
To get to know the French culture
To enhance post-university employment prospects
Definite travel/residence abroad plans
European dimension
Other category

Matching learner perceptions of language and cultural needs in cross-cultural sales negotiations with the realities of the negotiation situation

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In March 1991 a features page examining attitudes to language training within Irish-owned and multi-national companies based in Ireland, appeared in an edition of the 'Sunday Business Post'. It is certainly not surprising to learn on the one hand that there is a general feeling within industry that language proficiency should be encouraged in export-oriented firms and on the other, that many firms lack coherent planning in respect of their language training policy. Such observations are by no means new. The message as to the importance of foreign languages has in recent years been emphasised in numerous articles of this kind. The problem has always been and continues to be that there is a quantum leap between recognising a need and taking the appropriate concrete steps to satisfy this need. In this respect business people represent an extremely vulnerable group. Many of those who determine company policy on language training have themselves never participated in such programmes and the tendency is to apply general business principles, such as value for money, to language learning. One has only to take the example, featured in one of the articles in the Sunday Business Post, of a programme which involves learning a language over the telephone: "It costs £350 for a 20 x 20 minute course, and the student has a free trial lesson. "Both the approach itself and the wording of the description are clearly pitched at the busy executive who equates the process of language learning with the way in which he conducts his daily business. One might also posit that the growing tendency amongst adult business learners to opt for one to one tuition, above and beyond the advantages of flexibility which this type of arrangement offers, is a reflection of the belief that intensive exposure is the most cost-effective way to learn the L2. In reality this naive view of language learning must often result in business executives embarking on programmes which do not best correspond to their needs.

The question which, however, has not yet been satisfactorily answered is how the needs of adult business learners can be identified more precisely and the right types of programme designed. Language audits have become more popular in recent years and are a useful tool in the hands of the experienced language trainer, yet research has shown that it is not always possible to depend on the perceptions expressed by potential learners during such surveys regardless of whether the researcher selects a 'diagnostic', 'discrepancy' or 'democratic' approach(Berwick, 1989).

The first part of this paper sets out to highlight some of the particular methodological issues facing language trainers when th[illegible]quired to identify the language needs of adult learners within one specific v[illegible] context, namely the area of sales-negotiation, and to propose a research model which responds to the difficulties of matching learner perceptions of language and cultural needs with the realities of the negotiating situation.

The second part of the paper aims to demonstrate, using this model and taking concrete examples from an ongoing research project focused on Irish-German sales negotiation, the dangers of relying on learner identified needs.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ideally, research into learner needs in intracultural and intercultural negotiation should be based on empirical analysis of learner behaviour in observed real sales negotiations, recorded on video and subsequently examined using the techniques of discourse and conversational analysis. In reality, for reasons of confidentiality and the effect which the presence of a third-party can have on the process and outcome of negotiations, alternative methods of data collection must be explored. Some researchers encountering similar problems have adopted qualitative techniques such as guided interviews (Beneke and Nothnagel 1988) or had recourse to quantitative methods involving the use of negotiating games and subsequently, subjecting identified variables to statistical evaluation (Graham, 1989; Neu, 1985). Although both approaches allow us to examine the process of negotiation, which is important from the perspective of identifying specific language behaviours which recur during the interaction, neither provides on its own a sufficiently generalisable and reliable measure of negotiating behaviour.

Several problems arise in the case of interviews: the possibility of leading the interviewee thus producing a halo effect, distortion in interpretation, with the researcher interpreting the data according to his/her own subjective norms, which are themselves culturally determined, and the respondent often expressing attitudes purely on the basis of personal experiences. Similarly and more critical to the present study are the doubts as to the reliability of respondent perceptions of their own behaviour. As Richterich (1983, p.3) pointed out: 'Experience has shown that the learner is, in general, little aware of his needs.'. Neil Rackham of the Huthwaite Research Group, one of the few training organisations to have adopted participant observation techniques as a means of analysing smaller and larger sales negotiations, underlines this latter caveat in respect of using interviews to elicit from top salespeople the behaviours which determine successful negotiation: " Good performers often do things naturally without even realising what it is that makes them different."(1987, p.2)

An alternative to the interview strategy has been the use of negotiating games. The choice of negotiating game must also, however, consider that the criteria of analysis are often culturally determined and that many games are outcome rather than process oriented. The use of negotiating games has tended to go hand in hand with deductive, quantitative methods of analysis. Hypotheses are generated and tested using statistical procedures to overcome the problems of generalisability. Advocates of this approach point to the fact that the vast number of situational and individual constraints in any communicative event diminish the value of participant observation (Graham, 1981, p.103). Saville-Troike(1982, p.119) in the ethnographic tradition, states that quantitative measures are essential to an empirical study in order to ensure sufficient generalisability, but are alone inadequate as they often suppress variables which although statistically insignificant can prove instrumental in the outcome of a particular interaction. Yet, arguably, even if one attempts to limit the number of situational variables, it is impossible to control the range of individual variables, a factor which on the positive side surely lends greater authenticity to this technique of data collection. In spite of any effort to reduce the complexity of negotiation, it is ultimately a speech event which is constructed on the basis of how individuals interact with one another. Those larger companies which propound a particular type of selling culture and try to train their salesforce in this mould, must reckon with the preponderance of individual personality traits in pressurised negotiating situations. It might also be argued that statistical methods, when applied to a restricted sample size, as has been the tendency to date, have limited validity.

Obviously, generalisability and reliability are central to any research which takes as its brief the design of course materials. It is important, however, to develop a model of data collection which allows the researcher to separate the individual dimension of negotiation from the shared components. Using retrospective interview techniques should ideally create a broad context in which to establish a profile of Irish export sales personnel, provide access to individual and collective affective factors which impinge on negotiation processes and help to identify recurring types of language behaviour and difficulties in the L2 negotiating situation, all of which are products of the L1 culture and the way in which the foreign language has been learned. This does not, however, by itself guarantee an appropriate level of reliability and generalisability. It is necessary to test the 'subjective needs' generated through interviews as to the perceived language and cultural behaviours of Irish negotiators against 'objective needs' (Richterich, 1980), in other words, what happens in reality. The desired outcome of this approach should be a model based more centrally on 'process-oriented' interpretation which, to quote Geoffrey Brindley(1989, p.63), sees needs "primarily in terms of the needs of the learner as an individual in the learning situation".

In the absence of any opportunity to observe real negotiations, the use of simulations can provide the essential counterbalance to the subjectivity of qualitative interview techniques. Critics of simulations emphasise, above all, their lack of authenticity, yet fail to suggest an alternative. Bearing such misgivings in mind, it is important that the simulation exercise is designed so as to allow the participants to build their own personality traits and negotiating experience into the role brief and to retain their usual selling/buying behaviour. Only in this way can a significantly higher degree of authenticity and reliability of the observations be achieved. Once an element of emotional involvement enters into the simulation the experienced negotiator is unlikely to alter his behaviour radically and the dynamics of the interaction prevail. Likewise, the concept of face is once again a powerful factor in ensuring the commitment of both parties to the task which they have been set and ultimately helps to strike a balance between the integrative and competitive dimensions of negotiation. To quote Goffmann(Brown and Levinson, 1978, p.66):

> (...) normally everyone's face depends on everyone else's
> being maintained, and since people can be expected to
> defend their faces if threatened, and in defending their
> own to threaten others' faces, it is in general in every
> participant's best interest to maintain each others' face(...).

Negotiation represents one of the most extreme examples of the role of 'positive' face which even in simulated situations regulates the interaction between the various parties.

Where adult learners are concerned, the subjective cultural baggage brought to the intercultural negotiating situation is arguably one of the critical factors influencing their approach to doing business in L2. If the researcher is to try to relate individual perceptions of Irish-German sales negotiations to observed negotiating behaviour a dual approach such as that outlined above is necessary. The case for a dual approach can be argued more tangibly with reference to an analysis of 30 interviews conducted between June 1992 and September 1992 with experienced Irish export salespeople in small, mid-sized and large companies based in Ireland and to one of the recorded simulations. The interviews consisting of 49 open and close-ended questions and lasting on average 1½ hours, draw attention to learner perceptions of language and cultural needs, whilst the simulation underlines just how wide the gap between subjective and objective needs can be.

ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEW DATA

The 30 interviewees are broadly made up of exporters who have studied German post Leaving Certificate at third-level, subsequently acquiring a business qualification, those who have pursued an interdisciplinary degree course such as Business Studies and German, and those who have been thrown into the L2 culture with no previous knowledge of German and forced to sink or swim after minimal training in the foreign language, usually in the form of an intensive course. The majority fit into the last category, although within this grouping some of the respondents had spent several years in the interim in a German speaking country. Others had some exposure to German prior to moving to the L2 culture and built on this knowledge by attending intensive courses in Germany.

The majority of the interviewees, irrespective of group, have received no formal sales training in L2. Learning inductively or "on the job" is the norm: many have simply accompanied a senior manager to the export market and watched him/her in action. Others have learned by observing German agents or distributors. For a competent L2 speaker the latter can offer a useful means of refining one's selling skills, improving presentation techniques and familiarising oneself with specialist vocabulary. However, for a less fluent L2 speaker the capacity to filter and evaluate received information is initially limited. Unless the learner brings a critical and reflective eye to the performance of his colleague, the pitfalls of this situational approach can outweigh its advantages and ultimately leave the learner in a more vulnerable position. In addition, it leads us to reassess the relationship between *erwerben* and *lernen* and the point at which the latter can successfully give way to the former.

Equally, a significant number of interviewees claim to have simply transferred their L1 sales techniques to the L2 situation. The dangers of adopting this approach are particularly insidious in a situation where the cultural differences are less overt, say for example in Irish-German as opposed to Irish-Japanese negotiations. In the less competent L2 speaker who has not developed the capacity for critical reflection in the foreign language and tries to explain the foreign culture by L1 terms of reference, seeking explanations for behaviour within his own cultural frames, the opportunities for misunderstanding are multiplied. Moreover, the indication by some researchers that listeners tend to explain and evaluate human behaviour more in terms of the personal characteristics of the speaker than on the basis of situational criteria (Lalljee, 1987), might lead us to posit that if the learner possesses limited linguistic and cultural competence in the L2 , the likelihood of this is increased considerably, thus serving to further cultural stereotypes and to reinforce existing affective preconceptions.

Within each of the groups, there is clear evidence of considerable difficulty experienced by the respondents in describing their language needs in respect of sales negotiation situations, and more specifically the linguistic and cultural problems encountered during negotiation. We might expect this trend to predominate amongst sellers who have little or no formal training in L2, in reality many of those interviewed who have studied the foreign language over a much longer period interpret their experiences in the same black and white terms.

All interviewees asserted that they felt confident in negotiating sales in the L2. Looking at answers to one particular question which asked respondents to pinpoint difficulties which they encountered in understanding, speaking, non-verbal communication and in respect of cultural differences during the course of a typical negotiation, there would on the surface appear to be few major problems. Most apparent was the claim made by the overwhelming majority of respondents that difficulties with 'understanding' were restricted to certain dialect forms and technical terminology. In respect of speaking, approximately one sixth of negotiators indicated that they find themselves concentrating so hard on how to phrase an idea that it is hard to keep the train of thought, thereby running the danger of forgetting to listen to the customer. On a similar note the lack of time available to think proved problematic to negotiators at all levels of language proficiency. Five of the interviewees, particularly those who have learned the language situationally, professed to have difficulty in expressing themselves with the appropriate precision in the L2, notably where the sale of high technology products was involved, and in verbalising nuances in the language. No seller identified problems with turn-taking or structuring arguments and only a couple alluded to difficulties with cultural differences. Those identified were the most obvious, i.e. formality and use of honorific.

One would rapidly gain the impression that sales negotiations between Irish sellers and German buyers run like clockwork or that there is a widespread absence of reflective capacity in the L2. There is an apparent reluctance on the part of the interviewees to admit to having anything other than minor difficulties, a factor which is again conceivably tied up with the concept of face, yet, some of the anecdotal material offered by the respondents in the course of the interviews, particularly by those who have received little formal L2 training, would imply that they have encountered problems and learned in some instances by their mistakes, One seller told of an incident when he interspersed a number of foreign words into his sales pitch, only to discover subsequently that the buyer didn't understand any of them. Other anecdotes indirectly highlight the consequences of a lack of appreciation of the socio-cultural implications of hierarchy within German companies. Whilst the value and generalisability of anecdotal evidence is questionable, it sometimes constitutes, as in this case, an invitation to look beyond the picture presented by the seller to the interviewer.

It is by examining the way in which Irish exporters describe their approach to negotiation in the foreign culture, how they perceive their German counterparts and the manner in which they seek to deal with these issues, that provides us with more varied insights into potential areas of friction, and a more comprehensive source of information as to the perceived components of successful negotiations.

Negotiators who have studied the L2 at third-level would appear, in general, to adopt a more cautious approach to the negotiating situation in so far as their responses attest a greater awareness of the necessity to earn credibility and to assess each sales negotiation and customer individually, thereby intentionally avoiding the perpetuation of stereotypes. Ideas as to how personal credibility can be achieved also tend to advocate a strategy which shows respect for the L2 culture, whilst stressing that the negotiator should assert his identity in a positive manner, rather than simply hoping to cash in on being Irish. In this vein, several of the respondents have mentioned the fact that Irish negotiators should be more prepared to argue with the German buyer, a point which might be interpreted as a desire to be seen and treated as an equal and to be establish oneself as a serious contender.

The notion of credibility also seems to be linked to a perception expressed by some of the interviewees as to the need to speak accurately, i.e. grammatically correct German and to master some of the basic rules of discourse competence (Canale, 1983, p. 9); even if the latter are expressed in general terms, such as stressing the importance of link words/conjunctions so as to avoid sounding stilted and knowing when to interrupt someone. Indeed, the role of grammar is attributed considerably more weight amongst respondents with third-level language training. As one exporter pointed out: "Speaking fluent, correct German gives you a psychological advantage." Those with less formal L2 training tend to emphasise fluency before accuracy, in one case underlining potential tactical advantages which can be gleaned from using a badly constructed sentence: "It makes the customer think". In such cases there is no recognition as to how the German buyer might actually interpret this type of language behaviour and how, even allowing for a certain level of tolerance, it ultimately affects his perception of the seller, his company and product. These conflicting attitudes to grammar simply underpin the fact that as in all interviews the perceptions are based on individual experience.

There is a more general appreciation of the significance of gaining a broader cultural perspective on the context of the negotiation, of understanding the socio-cultural boundaries created, for example, by the *du/Sie* demarcation and variations on same, and their implications for the development of the business relationship. By the same token, opinions differ widely as to how such an appreciation can be developed. Three respondents who had learned the language in the L2 culture express the strong belief that cultural awareness cannot be taught, rather it must be acquired through a process of cultural immersion. Interestingly, analysis of the questionnaires would appear to indicate that negotiators with less formal training in L2 are more likely to take socio-cultural risks in the L2 situation. One negotiator noted that he intentionally breaks etiquette by suggesting use of *du* after 5 minutes if he feels that he has judged the situation correctly. He views this as a tactical ploy and believes that being a foreigner allows him to get away with it. Obviously there are other factors which influence the chances of acceptance of this strategy, including the branch of industry, the size of the company and the status of the customer within the company hierarchy, but the seller did not verbalise such criteria to the interviewer. It is also evident from the interviews that in the case of two of the less experienced L2 speakers, whilst respecting German business procedures, they would appear to be more eager to try to get the German buyer to accept aspects of the Irish business approach notably in respect of attitudes to formality and informality. One can only hypothesise that this might be traceable to a more constricted sense of identification with the socio-cultural norms of the foreign culture.

The majority of interviewees believe that German buyers are tolerant and patient and less likely to correct you than their French counterparts, as long as they understand what you are saying and don't have to concentrate too hard. There is, however, an obvious tendency amongst our exporters to exploit the generally positive image enjoyed by Ireland and the Irish in Germany, although few respondents are prepared to admit that an interest in Ireland offers no guarantee of ultimately getting the business. The danger of relying on the ostensible tolerance of German buyers is that it can lull the seller into a sense of complacency with little or no incentive to reflect critically on his L2 performance and, if necessary, to improve L2 skills.

Moreover, most Irish sellers perceive Southern Germans to be more like themselves and the atmosphere during such negotiations to be more relaxed. Only a small proportion of those interviewed stated that underneath it all they are just as demanding as their North German counterparts and cash in on their 'easy-going' image. Indeed, it would be a worthwhile exercise to carry out a study of the influence of accent and dialect on the perceptions of non-native speakers of their native speaker counterparts and vice-versa. In this context reference might be made to Giles and Powesland's research (1975) into the relationship between accent and perception of the speaker amongst native speakers. They report on a study carried out in Britain showing that nonstandard accented speakers were often 'found to be more favourably evaluated ... with respect to personal integrity and social attractiveness ... More specifically, the nonstandard speakers were perceived as less serious and more talkative, good natured and humorous than the RP speakers.'(p. 68) One can only speculate at this stage on the transferrability of these findings to intercultural contexts.

Although there is only limited cognisance of the role of accent, pronunciation and intonation in L2 negotiation and this tends to be recognised by those who have taken the language at third-level, it is possible to detect more widespread awareness of other language and cultural skills required by negotiators. Listening skills and maintaining concentration over long periods are seen as crucial. Moreover, aspects of strategic competence, notably how to win time to think by recourse to paraphrasing, summarising, asking for clarification and the use of fillers would seem to be recognised as having relevance for negotiation. Ability to use and understand widely used business terms in the 'Fachsprache' of individual branches is seen globally as a prerequisite. An ability to use more complex tenses, such as the conditional, and the subjunctive mood is also considered necessary. Only a very small number of interviewees, however, admitted to having any difficulties in dealing with any of the above.

Two of the main points confirmed by the interviews are that the way in which sellers approach negotiation is to a large extent determined by individual personality and perception and that there is little critical reflection on language performance. Whilst some of the observations in the questionnaires are recorded by a significant number of the respondents, there are equally as many contradictions, illustrating the impossibility of drawing any generalisable conclusions as to the language and cultural needs of Irish sellers in Germany using only qualitative interview techniques. With reference to the criterion of reliability, the researcher is left with the impression that whilst all the sellers are convinced of the authenticity of the record which they have presented of their negotiating performance in the L2, this is not the full picture.

ANALYSIS OF A SIMULATED NEGOTIATION

To exemplify the extent to which self-perception and reality can differ and to illustrate the potential value of the research model presented above, it is useful to examine in greater detail one of the negotiation simulations featuring an experienced seller who had been learning German for 11 years and had studied German and Business at third-level. The buyer was employed by a German company based in Ireland. The simulation exercise which was designed by this researcher, focused on the sale of facsimile equipment by an Irish firm to a large German food import and distribution company. Negotiation time was limited to 90 minutes and the negotiators were allowed to structure the negotiation over more than one meeting. The simulation was recorded on video and subsequently transcribed according to the guidelines used by Levinson (1983, pp.369-370). Questionnaires were completed by the seller and the buyer before the simulation was recorded, in order to provide an insight into their objectives and the strategies to be used.

The seller had also been interviewed at an earlier date during which she did not identify any areas of difficulty in negotiating with German buyers, other than understanding dialect and coping with "off days". It is important, she noted, to adapt one's presentation to German norms, with the necessary attention to detail and hard evidence of product achievement. Fluent communication, rather than accuracy is critical, in other words, the objective should be to get the message across with as few errors as possible. She also noted that negotiators should be able to exploit intonation to make themselves sound interesting.

In the pre-simulation questionnaire the seller stated as part of her strategy that she intended to ask plenty of questions in order to find out as much as possible about the buyer's current position and to get him to listen. The approach is central to her negotiating philosophy, expressed also in the earlier interview, and relies on the fact that the buyer will ultimately recognise his own needs. She also stressed that she was interested in developing a long term relationship with the buyer and in getting him interested in the solutions to problems that he as yet doesn't know that he has.

As the negotiation progressed it became obvious that the seller was encountering problems in fulfilling her intended strategy. One of the main objectives of any seller is to gain control of the conversation, usually by asking questions and listening carefully to the responses of the buyer and subsequently turning the information obtained in this way into sales advantages. Analysis of the simulation shows that the seller does not have control of the conversation, nor does she succeed in controlling its direction and pace. This aspect is underlined by the internal rhythm of her speech. Changes in the rate of articulation fluctuate between extremes of hesitation and fluency, giving alternately the impression of uncertainty and over-eagerness. Her credibility and conviction threatens to be compromised at times by repeated use of hedges and imprecise qualifiers, which might equally be interpreted as indicators of a desire to be cautious. Faerch and Kaspar (1989, p.76f.) have underlined this tendency amongst non-native speakers "Rather than assessing the external contextual parameters as subject to cultural variation, the learners may perceive their role as non-native speakers as calling for more tentative verbal behaviour." In this particular context the result is that instead of giving precise facts which most German buyers tend to be looking for, the presention of the company and its products comes across as woolly. It is apparent that the buyer endeavours to hurry up the conversation, in some instances by completing sentences for the seller, elsewhere by interrupting her, usually with a request for confirmation such as *das heißt*, provoked by the seller's tendency to longwindedness which obscures important and relevant facts. The irritation of the buyer, obvious through his abrupt tone, at not getting factual answers to his questions becomes particularly pronounced during the price negotiation. In the post hoc interview he simply noted that a German salesperson would make his presentation *knapper* and *härter* and provide more focused information on his product.

The first part of the sales presentation is guided largely by the buyer's questions. When the seller does take the initiative and asks the buyer about his own firm, many questions show what appears to be a lack of focus and uncertainty as to the nature of the information required. At one point, a question posed by the seller serves the purpose of introducing an irrelevant discussion about car telephones. By the same token, some of the responses of the buyer provide details about the company structure which would have offered an ideal opportunity for the seller to ask more appropriately targeted questions and turn the information into arguments to promote her product. This demands both intensive listening skills and an ability to convert the points made by the buyer into benefits or advantages in favour of the product. Whilst the buyer is describing his firm, the seller seems to have some difficulty in getting her turn. When she does succeed and poses a question its force is often weakened or lost completely by falling intonation and low voice. At a later stage in the negotiation, the cogency of many of the seller's arguments is compromised through poor structuring and insufficient use of appropriate cohesive devices, particularly when put under pressure by the buyer, further contributing to the lack of consequentiality and unbalanced rhythm of many of her utterances. This aspect is also aggravated by inconsistent use of deistic markers. In the debriefing the buyer makes the observation: 'Nicht alle Gedanken wurden konsequent in Vorteile übersetzt.' (Not all thoughts were translated logically into advantages).

Indeed, one of the most obvious examples of the potential unreliability of subjective perceptions emerged in respect of listening. In the post hoc interview the seller expressed the belief that the behaviour which had the most impact on the buyer was her listening ability. By stark contrast, the buyer recorded that the seller had difficulties with listening and was more interested in reeling off general arguments than responding to his needs.

Whilst the seller recognised in the debriefing that she had been longwinded and 'chewed over words' causing the buyer to complete sentences for her, and that she had some difficulties with technical details, facts and figures, she did not identify any other problem areas relating to conversational management, and expressed satisfaction with her performance. The sale was not closed as a question about maintenance costs remained unclarified, however, the seller was confident that she would get the business.

In conclusion, it is useful to recall a point raised earlier in the paper, namely the general level of confidence expressed by Irish exporters as to their L2 negotiating competence. If one seeks to interpret this apparent comfort one possible explanation can be offered: sales negotiations are highly structured speech events which follow a more or less clearly defined pattern. It is relatively easy to predict the stages through which they progress in a specific culture and to identify cultural differences with regard to the approximate amount of time spent on each phase. In Irish-German sales negotiations the structural differences are minimal progress: negotiations progress through comparable stages and the most obvious cultural variation is the amount and position of small talk. This undoubtedly provides the seller with a sense of security which, in turn, may conceivably deflect attention from his actual linguistic performance and distort his evaluation of same.

In this paper I have set out to illustrate the relationship between learner self-perception, at all levels of competence, and actual performance. The research methodology outlined above with its emphasis on a combination of qualitative interview techniques and simulation exercises carried out in a more controlled environment proposes, in the absence of participant observation, offers one possible solution to the difficulties of generalisability and reliability which arise in needs analyses. From a pedagogical perspective, it is hoped that the model will provide a basis for the development of teaching materials which endeavour to mediate between objective and subjective needs and thereby respond more accurately to the requirements of the adult business learner.

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Language measurement and the year abroad

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to provide background information on a longitudinal Second Language Acquisition research project initiated in the German Department UCD in May 1991. The materials used, the participants involved, the procedures undertaken and an analysis of the information acquired shall be described. Finally, the purpose of the project, its present status, our objectives during the course of this research project and its potential contribution to the teaching of DaF (Deutsch als Fremdsprache), shall be outlined.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Language assessment has always been and still is a very delicate area. Especially when the broader concept of "communicative competence" rather than that of grammatical correctness and accuracy is employed. Most people will probably know at least one foreigner whose communicative competence is beyond doubt but who hardly utters a sentence without a grammatical mistake of some kind[1]. As we will concentrate on the linguistic development i.e. measure the language achievement, mainly by means of error analysis in the more restricted sense of grammatical errors, the question might arise whether such a procedure is compatible with modern language teaching which is principally focused on the acquisition of communicative skills. However, the notion that a large number of grammatical errors might affect the communication negatively or render it even impossible seems to be commonly accepted[2].

The principal objective behind this project "Language Measurement and the Year Abroad" is to attempt to assess the value of the Junior Year Abroad in terms of linguistic and, to a lesser extent, personal development. Or, to put the question quite bluntly: What is achieved by whom and why? As a long term objective, and with the co-operation of other universities participating in the project (Turin, Porto, Berlin), we shall eventually be in a position to compare and contrast the linguistic development and range of errors amongst learners of German with different mother tongues who have also completed two years studying German at University in order to suggest various hypotheses which might add to an overall theory of second language acquisition.

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THE ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

As an optional part of their three year Degree course and in preparation for their final year at the home university, students of German at UCD spend a one year period in a German speaking country at the end of their second year of study Normally students who participate in the Year Abroad scheme are employed as English Language Assistants with the PAD, receive DAAD scholarships, or Erasmus grants to study at a university in the target country. For the period 91/92 a total of 39 students from the Department of German were in Germany under such schemes. (excluding B.Comm. International). The year abroad is becoming increasingly popular and the competition for places on some of the schemes is quite strong.

INSTRUMENTS

In order to measure their German oral competence before commencing the year abroad, we employed the "Soziolinguistisches Erhebungsinstrument zur Sprachentwicklung" as designed by CAROL PFAFF and RENATE PORTZ of the Pädagogisches Zentrum Berlin 1981. The "Soziolinguistisches Erhebungsinstrument zur Sprachentwicklung" (SES) is a sociolinguistic research instrument: "...ein Instrument, mit dessen Hilfe die mündlichen Sprach- und Kommunikationsfähigkeiten von Sprechern des Deutschen als Erst- und vor allem als Zweitsprache eingeschätzt werden können" (PFAFF/PORTZ 1981:1) When the SES was being developed in 1981 research into language learning amongst foreign children within the German school system had only commenced[3]. The SES enables the researcher to assess the linguistic and communicative competence of foreign pupils in German schools i.e. German for Foreign Students . It consists of a set of pictures (see Figure 1) to which the candidates have to react i.e. either to describe the story depicted or answer specific questions, and a questionnaire section.

The SES concentrates predominantly on assessing language and communicative ability of pupils who speak German as a Second Language.

During the course of their research PFAFF/PORTZ used the SES on a range of age groups amongst foreign school children using German as a Second Language. The materials cater for a variety of ethnic groups of varying cultural backgrounds and varying degrees of linguistic ability. Ultimately the SES assists the language teacher or researcher in diagnosing the linguistic standard of a particular learner or group of learners at a particular time. If the teacher can assess which linguistic structures are being used by the learner at a given time in his/her language development the teacher can assess what exactly has been correctly acquired, what language strategies are employed when communicating, what learning strategies are used and, ultimately, receives feedback relating to pupil needs and can thus decide on appropriate measures based on the insights and data provided by the longitudinal study.

There has been much research conducted in the area of German as a Foreign Language/Second language amongst the adult population of foreign workers in Germany[4]. Such research has resulted in hypotheses on the concept of 'Pidgin German'[5] Pfaff and Portz (1970) outlined the limitations of research methods employed to date in this area. The principal method of extracting linguistic data has been the informal interview technique which according to the designers of the SES causes the following problems:

1. The linguistic intentions of the speaker remain unclear.

2. The probability that certain linguistic structures will be employed is totally unpredictable and depends entirely on how the interview is conducted.

3. Comparing the language performance of the various speakers is not facilitated by this informal interview technique. What is more readily observable in this unstructured technique is the interlanguage[6] employed by the speaker of German as a Second Language.

The questionnaire (see Annex) designed by us in the German Department UCD, to provide information pertaining to attitudes towards the language, culture and people of the target country (in this case Austria and Switzerland were excluded), was also completed by the students ready to embark on their year abroad.

The information we gather throughout the course of the research project will provide us with information regarding the preparation, structure and value of the year abroad and the necessary improvements required in order to assist the students in getting the maximum benefit both linguistically and personally from their study abroad.

As a result of the SES interviews a further field of enquiry has emerged which we consider merits investigation, namely, the assessment of the level of communicative competence achieved by those students taught German prior to their university studies by teachers employing the communicative method and the communicative competence of those students who commenced their university studies as "Nullanfänger" (i.e. those students who commence German studies at third level with no previous knowledge of the language). Whilst conducting the oral assessment using the SES it emerged that previous "Nullanfänger", were noticeably more advanced in oral competence and accuracy than those students with 5-6 years German at second level.

It might be worthwhile interrupting the argument here and speculating about the reasons. Motivation[7] is possibly one explanation for the relatively weak performance of the "normal" Arts students. Although the majority gave "interest in German language and culture" (see Question 11) as their chief motivation for taking up German as a subject, it remains dubious whether this can be taken seriously. Especially in light of the fact that the average rating they gave themselves was 4 on a 7 point scale (7 being native-speaker competence) (see question 14). Assuming that motivation drops as soon as a target objective is achieved, we might infer that the students subjectively feel that they have mastered the language and therefore do not see any point in putting more effort into the process of further acquisition. Or, as Krusche (1983:252), pointed out, as soon as stimulating curiosity (stimulierende Neugier) is discouraged, Secondly, language acquisition becomes an extremely laborious and unrewarding affair.[8]

The fact that the "Nullanfänger" performed on average better than the regular students supports this claim, i.e. for them the language is still new enough to offer challenges and has enough areas which still have to be explored.

It seems that further research in language teaching at secondary level will provide us with interesting information relating to methodologies employed within the field of DaF, the role of native/non-native speakers as teachers, motivation amongst students of DaF etc.

As well as conducting research in the areas of language assessment and personal development during the course of the research project, more specific linguistic topics within this broader context shall be examined, topics such as fossilisation[9], error correction in oral performance and methods of self-correction.

According to Pfaff/Portz (1981:7) the precondition for satisfactory analysis and evaluation of oral linguistic and communicative competence amongst learners is, of course, an adequate research instrument which fulfils the following requirements:

a) *It should facilitate coherent conversation using natural, everyday language.*
b) *It should relate to everyday communicative situations.*
c) *It should encourage a range of linguistic, pragmatic and stylistic structures.*
d) *It should guarantee comparison of data both from a content and structural point of view.*
e) *It should cater for children of various ages, sex, and of different regional, social and linguistic backgrounds and of varying degrees of oral and communicative competence.*
f) *It should cater for the unequal social status of the adult interviewer and the child. The topic, presentation of the topic, manner in which the*

conversation is conducted, should facilitate openness and the interview should be conducted in an informal, personal, interesting and lively manner.

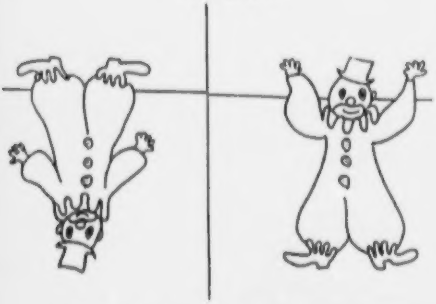
g) It should be easy to administer and evaluate.

The SES promotes a coherent and informal conversation. It makes use of everyday situations, and encourages the speaker to use particular structures central to these topics of communication. It thereby facilitates the analysis of certain communicative strategies which are employed by the learner.

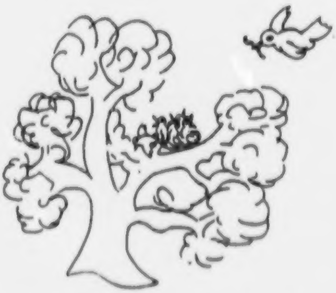
The SES consists, as already mentioned, of two parts: Part I is a series of 21 questions extracting information which provides social, socio-psychological and sociolinguistic background data. For our purposes, however, we did not use the SES "Interviewleitfaden" but designed our own questionnaire consisting of 39 questions eliciting data relating to students' profile, linguistic background and attitudes. (See appendix).

Part II consists of 20 pictures which in the interview situation elicit linguistic data on the level of morphology, syntax and pragmatics. The pictures used do not restrict the speaker to describing exactly what is presented visually but may extend beyond the scene portrayed and lead into spontaneous conversation at times. So although certain structures are vital in order to describe what is portrayed in the scene, the speaker is also provided with the scope to extend beyond this. The pictures merely provide a framework.

Picture 6



Picture 7



Reasons for choosing the SES materials were mainly due to the fact that the SES was already designed and tested in Jan/Feb 1979 in Berlin Grundschulen and Hauptschulen amongst 50 schoolchildren with ages ranging 5-15 and of various nationalities. The series of tests carried out resulted in the conclusion that the SES could be used on a variety of age groups and with pupils of varying degrees of linguistic competence. The materials appear to elicit exactly those linguistic elements we wish to examine. In some cases the student elicited as anticipated, in other cases an alternative elicitation was produced. As the range of possible reponses is to some extent unlimited, so too is the range of possible errors.

However, as the SES materials are designed principally for schoolchildren in the age range 5-15, living in Germany and participating as foreigners in the school system, it may be valid criticism that the SES materials are not in fact entirely suitable for use at university level, amongst 18-20 year olds, in a non-German speaking environment. The following questions arise in this respect:

1) *Is the informal interview technique as successful with students as it is with schoolchildren who might be less sceptical as to the motivation behind the interview?*
2) *Are the picture materials suitable for our target group?*

To question 1: When informed that they were participating in a language research project and not an interview which would assess their oral competence for continuous assessment purposes in the German Department, students were inclined to relax and regard the interview as a once-off situation which would have no negative repercussions if errors were made, unlike an oral examination situation. To this extent they probably performed in a manner approaching that of a relaxed conversation. In this latter case the need to communicate as effectively as possible would be the main objective and there would be no overriding need to impress the listener as was probably the case here at the University where the interview was conducted with a member of staff.

To question 2: This question appears central to the pertinence of the entire interview i.e. if the student regards the pictures as infantile he/she is likely to ridicule the interview - but the overriding fact is that regardless of the student's attitude towards the materials he/she was either fully capable or incapable of using particular structures. We would therefore claim that even if we had selected materials from authentic sources e.g. newspaper photos depicting scenes which would promote elicitation of similar structures to those promoted by the SES, the student would be capable of either responding correctly or incapable of doing so. It is immaterial which Bildmaterial is used.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

34 students completed the questionnaire section of the project and 30 of these students then participated in the interview section. The interview was conducted on a one to one basis.

23 students were 2nd Arts. 6 of these 2nd Arts students had only 2 years of German i.e. had commenced their German studies at UCD as Nullanfänger. 7 students were B.Comm. Int. students. 5 of these B.Comm. Int. students had only 2 years of German.

Broadly speaking, information relating to the following subject areas was obtained

Student profile: Questions 1,2,3,4,10,11
Language background: Questions 4,5,6,7
German language: Questions 8,9,12,14,18,19,22,25,27,30
General language: Questions 26,31
Our teaching: Questions 15,16,20,21,22,30,32,33,34
Cultural stereotyping: Questions 13,23,24,29,35,36,37,39
Junior year abroad: Questions 17,20,21,28,38

Profile of subjects

Questions 1,2,3,4,10,11
A total of 34 students, 27 females and 7 males, completed the questionnaire. Their ages ranged from 18-20 years. All respondents have English as a mother tongue. All candidates have completed their 2nd Year of either an Arts Degree or B.Comm. Int.

Amongst the Arts undergraduates the combination subject with German varied:
9 French;
4 Politics;
4 English;
3 Economics;
2 Italian;
1 Greek and Roman;
1 Geography;
1 Philosophy;
1 Linguistics;
1 Archaeology.

7 of the 34 students are B.Comm. Int. candidates. These students study a B.Comm. course and also the B.A. course in German language and literature. Their studies include a compulsory year abroad in a German third level institution.

In Question 11 students were presented with 4 possible reasons as to why they had selected German as a university subject.

Question 11

Which of the following reasons most accurately describes why you chose to study German?

a) interest in German language and culture
b) an additional qualification - better career opportunities

c) undecided at the time when subject choices being made so opted for German
d) other reasons (please specify)

The most frequent response was: (a) followed by (b), followed in turn by a combination of (a + d). Response to (d) as follows: *I wanted to learn a language; Interested in combining German language with business with a view to working in German I like the actual sound of German language when spoken fluently.* Partly the reason given in (b) i.e. an additional qualification and equally because of an ambition to be truly bilingual generally like learning languages. The (c) option received a frequency of 1, as did the (d) option on its own, and also the combinations (a+b), (a+c), (a+b+d).

LANGUAGE BACKGROUND/GERMAN LANGUAGE

In terms of their language background all 34 candidates have English as their mother tongue. Four stated that they had a bilingual upbringing i.e. Irish and English. They explained that they had either attended an all Irish school as part of their education or spoke Irish at home. Of the 34 candidates 22 had learned German in school. One had attended a Goethe Institute course. Eleven had no German language instruction prior to commencing their Third Level studies. The number of years spent on formal German language instruction varied. Ten candidates had received the norm of 5 years i.e. commencing in first year post-primary and continuing to Leaving Certificate level. Nine candidates had received 6 years formal instruction, presumably due to either the provision of a transition year in their particular school, or due to the fact that they repeated a year. Twelve candidates had received 7 years instruction. One candidate had received 3 years instruction, possibly to Intermediate Certificate level or alternatively a 3 year Leaving Certificate cycle. Information on how difficult German was percived was elicited by Question 12.

Question 12

Do you find German:
a) very difficult
b) of average difficulty
c) of less than average difficulty
d) easy

Thirty of the 34 students regard German 'of average difficulty'; three 'of less than average difficulty'; one 'very difficult'. No respondents regard German as 'easy'. Question 12 relates also to Questions 14 and 27.

Question 14

How do you rate your overall performance in German? Please rate from 1 (very limited knowledge) to 7 (almost mother tongue ability)

In the case of Question 14, fourteen opted for a rating of 4, eight for a rating of 5, three for a rating of 3 and one for a rating of 2. Four candidates proposed a rating of 4-5, three one of 3-4 and one a rating of 2-3.
No candidate selected a rating of 6 or 7.

Question 27

Imagine that you have been asked to accompany a group of German business people around your country. You will have to explain everything in German of course. However, you will earn £ 200 per day. The tour lasts 3 days. Do you feel confident enough to take on the job?

Bearing in mind the responses given by students to Questions 12 and 14 a majority of 21 students felt they could take on the job and 13 gave a decisive No. So students who rated their German performance at e.g. 3,4, and 5 felt competent enough to undertake such an ambitious task. This would seem to indicate a certain amount of overestimating competence and underestimating exactly what language proficiency requires in terms of linguistic knowledge.

Question 18

Have you already spent a significant period of time abroad? (longer than 3 months)

Question 18 should have been amended and rephrased to "Have you already spent a significant period of time in a **German speaking country**" as some responses included English and French speaking countries in the follow-up Question 19.
18 of the candidates had already spent 2½ - 3 months or longer in a German speaking country, predominantly the southern regions of Germany, in most cases presumably consisting of seasonal work during summer holidays.

THE INTERVIEW

Our Students were shown the series of pictures one by one and the guidelines for questioning, as provided by the SES, were roughly adhered to. Native speakers were used for the interview section. ULRICH STEINMÜLLER, of the Technische Universität Berlin participated in the administration of the SES during the pilot phase in Berlin and reported that if a Turkish interviewer was used to interview Turkish children the interviewer tended to correct errors and thereby cause unease. It is also unnatural to have two native speakers of Turkish converse in German. Depending on student reaction the question was rephrased if necessary, prompts provided etc. Each conversation was recorded and the student was aware of this fact. The recorded conversations were then transcribed and analysed.

TRANSCRIPT SAMPLES

Pfaff/Portz provide the SES user with a "Tabelle der grammatischen Merkmale" in which those grammatical elements which one would expect to be elicited are outlined. For example, **pictures 6 and 7** elicit the following:

Picture 6

Präposition

Frage: Was ist hier der Unterschied?
Antwort Er steht *auf* dem Kopf und er steht *auf* den Beinen

Picture 7

Singular und Pluralformen

Frage: Was siehst du da auf dem Baum?
Antwort: Vogel/Vögel

Indirektes Objekt

Frage: Was macht die Vogelmutter?
Antwort: Sie bringt *ihren Kindern* was zum Essen

Nebensatz mit Weil (Wortstellung)

Frage: Warum?
Antwort: *Weil* die Hunger *haben*

Modalverb und Infinitiv

Frage: Was macht dieser Vogel da?
Antwort: Er fliegt. Er will fliegen

Wortstellung

Frage: Warum?
Antwort: Er *will* selbst was zum Essen *holen*

Below are extracts of the recordings corresponding to pictures 6 and 7. In each extract those items which the SES expects to elicit are underlined. The SES "Tabelle der grammatischen Merkmale" serves only as a guideline.

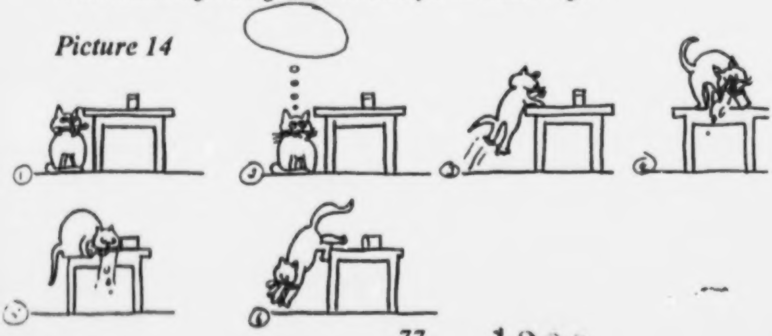
DUB 2,1 (male/6 years German/Italian second subject)
i: Und was ist da der Unterschied?
a: ähm der Erste stands *auf* seine Kopf
i: Ja
a: Der andere ist äh // senkrecht
i: OK, was macht die Vogelmutter?
a: ähm / *sie gibt ihre Kinder* etwas zuhn Essen

DUB 2,9 (female/beginner/B.Comm.Int.)
i: Ja und hier, weißt du nicht?
a: Ich kann nicht das Wort errinern
i: Aha, OK, und hier?
a: Eine Vögel nähert die Baum, in der seine Jungvögel wartet warten. *Sie füttert ihnen.*

DUB 2,13 (male/7 years German/Economics)
i: Mm. Was ist hier der Unterschied?
a: Dieser Clown steht *auf* ähm seinem Kopf
i: OK. Und was siehst du auf dem Bild?
a: ähm ähm Ich sehe *Vögeln*. Es gibt kleine *Vögeln* in ähm wie heißt das? ähm es es gibt *ein Vogel*, der ähm mit seinem Wurm ähm. Das ist alles, was ich erkennen kann.

DUB 2,16 (female/beginner/French)
i: Was ist hier der Unterschied?
a: Dieser Clown er steht und er steht nicht
i: Steht nicht
a: Er steht *auf auf* die Hände
i: Ja. OK. Gut. Also was siehst du hier an diesem Bild?
a: Ein ein Baum mit viele *Vögel* und viele *Vögel*
i: Was macht die Muttervogel?
a: Die *Muttervögel bringt ein Wörmchen für die kleine Vögel*

Picture 14



Picture 14 elicits the following:

Modalverb und Infinitiv/Wortstellung
Frage: Erzähle die Geschichte von der Katze und der Milch!
Antwort: Die Katze *will* die Milch *trinken*

Präsens, Personalendungen, Präpositionen
Frage: Was denkt die Katze hier?
Antwort: Sie springt *auf den* Tisch
Dann *springt sie* wieder runter

Verbstellung im Nebensatz mit *weil*
Frage: Warum springt sie so plötzlich runter?
Antwort: Weil die Mutter kommt

Again, those elicitations anticipated by the SES are underlined in the following transcripts. The errors which occurred are categorised[10].

DUB 2,1
i: Kannst du hier die Geschichte erzählen?
a: äh, die Katze sieht ein Glas Milch auf den Tisch
i: Ja
a: äh // sie denkt wie, äh, sie es bekommen kann
i: mhm
a: äh, die Katze *spring auf dem Tisch*, äh, sie trinkt das Milch
i: mhm
a: ähm // das Glas fällt auf den Boden

auf dem Tisch	- prepositional error - and case
die Katze spring auf den Tisch	- morphological error - verb ending
das Milch	- gender error

DUB 2,9
i: OK. Kannst du diese Geschichte erzählen?
a: Der Kat die Katze sieht eine eine Glasse Milch auf dem Tisch. Sie will *sie will das Milch haben*.
i: Mhm
a: Sie wirfe sie wirfe das Milch auf das auf der Tisch und sie trinkt das und sie lauft vom von der Tisch

eine Glasse Milch	- gender error - lexical error
das Milch	- gender error
sie wirfe	- morphological error (irreg. verb)
auf das auf der Tisch	- error in use of prep. and case/gender error
sie trinkt das	- gender error - pronoun error
sie lauft	- morphological error (irreg. verb)
von der Tisch	- gender/case error

DUB 2,13
i: Was ist das hier? Was ist das für eine Geschichte?
a: ähm..ähm..ähm..die die Katze ähm sieht ähm einen
Glas ähm von Wasser auf dem Tisch und sie ähm sie
ähm f f fragt sich, was drin ist und dann ähm ähm
ging sie auf den Tisch und ähm hat ähm ähm...ich
glaube, daß es Wasser ist und ähm die Katze trinkt
das Wsaser und ähm das Glas ähm fällt und ähm das
Wasser ähm geht auf dem Tisch und die Katze ähm
trinkt dann trinkt das die Katze das Wasser

i: Und hier?
a: Dann ähm l läßt die Katze dem Tisch den Tisch

Die Katze sieht einen Glas	- gender error
sieht einen Glas von Wasser	- gender error error in use of prep.
dann ging sie	- error in tense
das Glas fällt	- lexical error
das Wasser geht auf dem Tisch	- error in use of prep. and case and lexical error
dann läßt die Katze dem Tisch läßt	- lexical error
den Tisch	- case error

DUB 2,16
i: Kannst du hier die Geschichte erzählen?
a: Eine Katze sitzt neben einem Tisch und ein Glas
Wasser steht auf dem Tisch und die Katze will

> trinken und ***sie springt auf dem Tisch*** und trinkt das
> Wasser und dann geht sie

sie springt auf dem Tisch - case error prep + acc

Admittedly, the above transcripts are unlikely to representcommunicative scenarios which our Year Abroad students are likely to encounter but the grammatical structures required for these simple tasks are necessary for a range of everyday communicative acts. However, these grammatical structures apparently continue to pose difficulty (even after seven years of German in the case of some students). Overall, the quantity and type of errors encountered in the transcripts far exceeded anything we had anticipated.

CONCLUSION

Having conducted the questionnaire and interview sections of the SES with our Year Abroad students before their departure, our attention has been drawn to several areas which we believe merit further investigation. As we shall be using the SES materials on two more occasions during the students period abroad, questions concerning the reliability and validity of the materials have arisen. Conclusions so far would indicate that we will be pursuing the following lines of inquiry.

- Do the materials represent a realistic communicative task?
- Are the SES materials regarded by the participants as a valid tool for eliciting a sample of their oral proficiency?[11]
- Does the repeated use of the same materials on several occasions result in overfamiliarisation with the materials thus encouraging repetition of similar errors on the three occasions that the SES materials are used? Such errors might in fact be avoided if the student were engaged in free conversation and could apply various communication strategies?[12]
- Given that the SES materials promote elicitation of fossilised errors could the interview section be supplemented by a conversational section?
- Which examples of error fossilisation emerge over the course of our research and error analysis?
- Can methods and materials be developed to undo fossilisation?
- Which factors might explain the discrepancy which emerged between the German produced by the "Nullanfänger" and that produced by students who have previous knowledge of German before commencing Third Level? At this preliminary stage motivation appears to be one source of explanation.
- In the event that certain students make no noticeable linguistic progress during the course of the Year Abroad despite the fact that we employed the SES on three separate occasions, which factors might be responsible for this?
- To what extent do the students themselves consciously attempt to improve

their language skills whilst abroad?

- Which aspects of our language teaching do students find most useful?
- To what extent do student attitudes towards grammar hinder or facilitate learning?
- Which aspects of our course prove adequate/inadequate as a preparation for the Year Abroad.

Our longitudinal study to date, rather than corroborating the methods of the SES, has yielded more questions than answers, questions which we shall be endeavouring to provide answers to over the course of the study and with the feedback and cooperation of our Year Abroad students.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] Leisi (1972:35) distinguishes between "clever" and "silly" errors. The former may be interpreted by the native speaker because they occur in an "appropriate" communicative context. The latter is not open to unambigous interpretation by the native speaker and the communicative act is unsuccessful. See also Kaufmann (1974:6).

[2] Kolde (1975:157).

[3] See Stölting (1978), Pienemann (1978), Meyer-Ingwersen Et.AL. (1977), Steinmüller (1979).

[4] See Barkowski/Harnisch/Kumm (1980).

[5] The term 'Pidgin-German' was used by the 'Heidelberger Forschungsprojekt 'Pidgin-German'. It is misleading because according to Schuhmann (1976:391)Pidgin languages are defined as simplified and reduced variations which occur when people of different language backgrounds communicate in a third language which is not the mother tongue of either of the participants. For example speakers of English and German using French as a regular means of communication would thus create a 'Pidgin-French'.

[6] Selinker (1972:209) describes Interlanguage as the learner's language system which is neither that of the mother tongue nor that of L2 but contains elements from both. If we imagine a continuum between L1 and L2, Interlanguage is the language spoken by the learner at various points along this continuum. Similar to this concept is Corder's Transitional Competence i.e. the system of rules the learner has developed at a particular stage and of a temporary nature. (see Corder 1967:161) Also Nemser's Approximative System i.e. aspects of the learner's language which approximate the full L2 system. (Nemser 1971:115)

[7] We follow Atkinson in our definition and interpretation of motivation as cognitively determined and success oriented behaviour. (cf. Atkinson 1964:21ff/Weiner 1972:193ff)

[8] Krusche (1983:252) continues his criticism of didactic materials as follows: "Es ist das Elend und der Fluch vieler Lehrbuchtexte, daß sie die Besonderheiten der jeweiligen Fremdkultur auf deren niedrigstem, unanschaulichstem und unkonkretesten Niveau repräsentieren."

[9] As the learner's Interlanguage moves closer to the Target language system, it contains less and less errors. However some errors never disappear completely and these are referred to as fossilised i.e. they are permanent features of the learner's L2. (see Selinker)

[10] The classification of errors is still a much discussed area. Cf. Hach/Moestrup/Wagner (1978:119f),Bierwisch (1970:391ff)and Bausch/Raabe (1978:60f). What we present here is merely a list based on syntactic and morphologic criteria.

[11] See Hendrickson (1979:357)

[12] See Tarone (1980:417)

Problem-solving strategies in *ab initio* learning: A study of two adult learners

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with a particular type of adult learner: university students with previous experience of language learning at school, who start to learn a foreign language ab initio (completely from scratch) as a mainstream subject in their degree programme. A skill which learners taking part in a language-oriented course need to develop is the ability to analyse linguistic structures and their various functions in a range of text types. In class, focus is likely to be on explicit grammatical rule knowledge. At the same time learners need to learn how to access and use this knowledge when actually performing in the target language. Since the performance of ab initio learners is frequently hindered by inadequate L2 knowledge, they also have to develop problem-solving strategies to cope with the demands of the various tasks set for them.

The general purpose of this paper is to explore some of the ways in which individual learners develop their own coping style when producing L2. It focuses on two aspects of language use and language learning; first, the extent to which learners operate on the basis of implicit and explicit knowledge when solving lexical and syntactic problems in writing; and secondly, the possible link between learners' conscious beliefs about what is entailed in learning a foreign language and individual strategy styles. Adults are usually able to reflect on their own language learning (Wenden 1986); the type of learner under discussion here is especially likely to have some kind of conscious awareness about the learning process and about his or her role in it.

In a model of language learning and language use Bialystok (1978) proposes that the learner has three types of underlying knowledge sources from which to draw: *explicit knowledge* ("the conscious facts the learner has about the language"); *implicit knowledge* ("the intuitive information upon which the learner operates in order to produce responses") and *other knowledge* ("knowledge of the native language and of other languages, knowledge of the world, etc.") (p.72). Although the relationship between implicit and explicit knowledge is notoriously problematic (see Odlin, 1986), it is possible to use Bialystok's paradigm as a framework to distinguish between on the one hand a learner solving linguistic problems by coming up with compensatory strategies on the basis of immediate intuitive "feel", (implicit knowledge); or, on the other hand, on the basis of a more reflective, conscious use of explicit knowledge, which may be expressed in metalinguistic terms. Linked to these two types of problem-solving behaviour is the procedure of editing or monitoring, which can be on the basis of intuitive "feel" (Morrison and Low, 1983), or on the basis of partial explicit knowledge, or on more conscious metalinguistic knowledge. Faerch, Haastrup and Phillipson (1984) see implicit and explicit knowledge as a continuum of awareness, with metalinguistic knowledge at the most conscious end.

One way of gaining insight into some of these processes is to use learner introspection (see Faerch and Kasper, 1987). The use of think aloud protocol - getting learners to talk aloud all the thoughts which go on inside their heads as they perform in the L2 - is seen as providing a reliable, although naturally incomplete, source of information about the more conscious aspects of language processing. Problem-solving tends to take place at a conscious level (Newell and Simon, 1972). The task of written translation with think aloud protocol is one way of accessing learners' problem-solving strategies. Faerch and Kasper (1986) use such a task to elicit information about the role of explicit and implicit knowledge in performance.

THE STUDY

A longitudinal study was made of a group of university-level ab initio students of German, some of the volunteers taking part in the TCD Modern Languages Research Project (Singleton, 1990). The subjects performed a series of L2 production tasks across a two year period, during which they spent a few months in Germany. In addition they were informally interviewed about their approaches to language learning and their past language learning experience. At intervals they were asked to complete a translation from English to German, without the use of a dictionary, and to give a think aloud verbal report which was tape-recorded and transcribed. On the evidence of their hesitations, intonation, sighing and other more direct statements in the think aloud protocol, it was possible to identify how many times each learner perceived a problem and how the problem seemed to be overcome (although the process of categorising strategies was itself at times problematic). A taxonomy was built up of strategies used to overcome problems, based on that of lexical retrieval (Glahn, 1980) and of translation strategies (Krings, 1986).

ANALYSIS OF PROBLEM-SOLVING STRATEGIES

The data showed that one or two learners in the group tended to use preferred strategies and monitoring procedures consistently in the translation tasks throughout the two year period. From listening to the think aloud introspection it was possible to identify those lexical problems which were solved by more or less immediate intuitive feel. For example, the subjects jumped straightaway into a rendering of which they were clearly uncertain. This was sometimes followed by think aloud monitoring according to what they (intuitively) thought looked or sounded right - often it was: "does that sound right?" - or solutions were repeated over again. In other instances subjects stated they were operating entirely on the basis of pure guesswork - "I'm making this word up" - a process which was presumably linked to a feel for correctness. At other times words were coined on the basis of explicit L2 knowledge, for example, the think aloud translation of the word "range" (of goods for sale) was: "I'll make a noun from 'verschieden', 'das Verschiedenes'".

Two ab initio learners, X and Y, had noticeably different strategy styles from each other when translating. Moreover, their strategy styles did not change across the two year period. The following table shows how X and Y approached their lexical problems in two of the translation tasks, and the extent to which they monitored out loud after they had uttered. These tasks were performed six and twenty months into the course. Translation text 1 was an excerpt from *Cara*, Aer Lingus' in-flight magazine; text 2 was an excerpt from Maeve Binchy's *Circle of Friends*).

	TEXT 1, MARCH '91		TEXT 2, MAY '92	
Strategy and source	S.X	S.Y	S.X	S.Y
(Implicit source)				
- recall via immediate feel	4	0	12	3
- word coinage (stated guesswork)	2	0	2	0
(Explicit source)				
- L2 synonym or paraphrase of which the subject felt sure	8	10	5	6
- explicit monitoring for grammatical correctness	1	11	9	26
(Other Knowledge)				
- word coinage using L1 knowledge or with L1 influence	2	1	0	0
- word coinage based on Ln knowledge	2	0	0	0
- code switch to L1 or Ln	0	0	1	0
- think aloud monitoring for appropriateness of the lexical solution	3	9	6	18

Other strategies:				
- silent waiting to recall item	0	2	2	2
- recall via the learning situation	4	2	0	0
- restructuring of the original L1 message	0	0	3	13

The number in each column represents the number of times a particular strategy was used. It must be mentioned that in text 2 Subject Y's allotted time ran out before he had finished; it is likely therefore that the number of strategies shown here would have increased had he finished.

From the table we can infer that X has a tendency to rely on intuitive feel more than Y when faced with lack of L2 knowledge. In contrast, Y is more reflective, tending to use explicit knowledge of which he feels sure and think aloud monitoring for grammatical correctness more frequently than X. Moreover he seems to be more consciously aware than X of the pragmatic aspects of translation, pausing to monitor for the semantic appropriacy of his translation equivalent. In the second text he spends time restructuring the L1 message to make it more manageable as a basis for his L2 version. On the other hand X tends to translate literally word for word, a process not shown in the table.

In general, X allowed little time for metalinguistic reflection - her longest pauses were filled by recitation of rules (for example, "der die das den die das") rather than by conscious reflection on how to apply the rule or feature. In general she did not stand back from her performance and evaluate it, even though she had time to do so. She finished both texts with plenty of time to spare.

Linked to the time factor is the affective factor of attention capacity. There is the possibility that attention overload, exacerbated by the difficulty of the linguistic problems to be solved, caused subject X to direct her focal attention to lexical problems to such a degree that what she regarded as peripheral problems (for example, morpho-syntactic features) tended to be ignored. This possibility is borne out by observation made of the way she skipped over, or ignored, features on which subject Y focussed attention. Examples of features which X did not apparently regard as problematic to produce, (in that she did not hesitate but waded straight into them in her rendering) were adjectival agreements and case after certain prepositions. Later, she revealed that she found adjectival agreement and case were very problematic concepts. It was as though X defined her own agenda of acquisition of target language features. (Both students attended the same language classes for the two year period and were exposed to the same instructional input.)

A third, related point is the question of representation of rules in learners' minds. It is impossible to speculate on how the rules to which the students had been explicitly exposed were actually represented in their minds at the time when the tasks were performed. Moreover, it cannot be assumed that X's recitation of 'der die das' etc. meant that she knew how to apply these structures. There is also the possibility that the subjects may have previously "known", in the sense of possessing knowledge of a rule or feature, but had forgotten it. Or the interlanguage rule had been automatised so that it did not require careful, controlled processing. Alternatively the learners had not acquired sufficient cognitive control, a skill involving selection and retrieval of underlying knowledge (Bialystok and Ryan, 1985).

PERFORMANCE STRATEGIES AND LEARNING STRATEGIES

To turn to the possible link between the problem-solving behaviour of these two learners and their approach to the language learning process; McLaughlin et al (1983) suggest that learners select different strategies as a function of their learning style.

In the series of informal, semi-structured interviews held with X and Y during their first two years of learning German, it appeared at first that they were remarkably similar learner types. First, both were highly aware of, and able to articulate, aspects of their own language learning and language use. Secondly, previous academic results indicated that they were highly successful language learners. In the language aptitude test which they took on entry to their degree programme, both displayed a high level of grammatical sensitivity. Thirdly, both seemed well motivated and said they were consistently anxious to perform well. Fourthly, when asked about their priorities in learning and performing in German, both stated the belief that language use is all about communicating; getting the message across should be a priority. When asked about any specific strategies they used for learning grammar and lexis outside class, both said they tended to leave conscious effort for learning grammatical rules and vocabulary lists until a few weeks before the end of year examination. Finally, both expressed a dislike for German grammar; calling it a "chore" and a "bore".

However, two differences of approach were expressed, one relating to the degree of attention they paid to grammatical accuracy in written German, and the other relating to their concept of the language learning process and of their own role in it.

In spite of his dislike for German grammar, Y's comment after the second translation was: "I'd like to do it properly, I'd need much longer to go through it all again and look at the ins and outs of the grammar". This remark summarised his approach to writing German, which was, according to him, based on the specific training he had received in producing accurate written Latin while at school. Y also expressed a belief that grammar had to be formally learned, again drawing on experience with learning Latin.

In contrast, X did not appear to make a distinction between oral and written performance. With reference to her knowledge and use of French grammar she said she had always performed on the basis of what felt right; as she put it: "it either sounded right or it didn't". When asked about her progress in learning how to produce German she said she really enjoyed making up words on the basis of what felt right, or what sounded German. Early on she gave an account of her habit of putting the prefix "ge" at the start of every verb because it sounded so German.

With regard to her learning strategies, X believed that she just "picked up" languages and language rules, which did not have to be formally learned. She said, for example: "the things you use in conversation are the things you remember". For X language learning took place through language use. She was a very successful performer in French, and because she prided herself in picking up languages easily, X was annoyed at the thought of "having to sit down and learn German" as she put it. Her hypothesis-testing approach to language learning and language use was carried over into her three month stay in Germany, after which she reported that she had often made up and practised new phrases in her head which she then tried out on her employer, even at the risk of annoying him. X clearly thrived on feedback.

CONCLUSION

There seems to be a loose link between both learners' style of problem-solving and their general approach to learning German, and this approach is bound up with some of their past language learning experience. Their different styles of writing German can be described as impulsive and reflective. From the interviews X presented herself as an all round impulsive language learner and language user. Y on the other hand was reflective only when writing; his strategy style when speaking German was as risk-taking as that of X. Y seemed to have the ability to stand back from his performance behaviour and exercise conscious cognitive control over his output according to the type of discourse.

The nature of a translation task is such that it requires an ability to consciously reflect on and manipulate two language systems, therefore it can be described as a metalinguistic task (Bialystok, 1991). Whereas implicit feel is an invaluable source on which to operate, its use it the expense of more conscious monitoring in such a task, particularly in the beginning stage of learning the language is risky to say the least. It can be inferred from the linguistic behaviour of subject X that she had not yet discovered how to fully exploit her explicit knowledge, either as a basis for problem-solving, or in order to meet the task's demands.

Flexibility in strategy use, in accordance with the demands of the task and text type is a hallmark of a successful language learner (Rubin 1981). The study raises an issue relevant to learners with knowledge of other languages who start to learn a new one; the question of transfer of already established, preferred performance and learning behaviour patterns to the new learning situation. Strategies which have been successfully used in a previous language learning context, for example while at school, may not be the most suitable in the context of a different type of learning programme such as a university level, literature and language-oriented degree programme.

The issue is raised, what, if anything, might learners do in a situation where their performance and learning strategy styles do not seem to match the behavioural objectives of the new learning programme or its type of instructional input. There is evidence to suggest that successful learners develop metacognitive strategies; conscious attention to the learning task and an ability to review and monitor their own progress (O'Malley et al, 1985, Rubin 1987). Self appraisal usually cannot be achieved without some kind of consciousness raising exercise on the part of the teacher. Reappraisal of oneself as a language learner in a new context is even harder. However, of all learners, cognitively mature adults are possibly in the best position to achieve this, provided they understand the course's objectives, the kinds of demands which different types of tasks impose on them, and the rationale of the use of those performance strategies which are most likely to be effective.

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Bilingualism and revitalisation in a Newfoundland French-speaking community: An ethnographic approach

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Today, bilingualism is much at the centre of the Canadian political and cultural debate. New Brunswick/Nouveau Brunswick is the only one of ten provinces which has an officially recognised bilingual status; that is, its citizens are legally entitled any and all services in either or both French and English. Québec's official language is French and the other eight provinces operate in English. At the federal level, however, namely for all services offered or under the jurisdiction of the federal government, the option exists for one or the other language.

This situation is evidently the result of patterns of settlement rooted in historical conflicts between the former British and French empires. Yet nowadays, recent political debates centring on issues of cultural identity within the confederation context are relevant to the existing conflictual dynamics separating the two main linguistic communities. Not unsimilar to the debate surrounding the ratification of the Maastricht treaty in Europe, the principle of the "Meech Lake" accord in Canada was an attempt to unify the country under one constitution ratified by all ten provinces. The complexity and length of the debate which lasted well over a year resulted in the "accord" being eventually defeated as it did not recognise or attribute equal constitutional rights to native people and other members of Canadian society. The main issue at stake had a sociocultural dimension and was referred to in terms of the constitutional recognition of distinct societies which initially was to apply to the sole province of Québec which would then qualify as a "linguistically" distinct society.[1] Problems of definition emerged however when notions of ethnicity and their political and economical dimensions entered the parameters of the debate.[2]

Newfoundland, whose premier Clyde Wells was seen as one of the main perpetrators of the failure of the Meech Lake accord was indeed in a singular position. The last province to enter confederation in 1949, as the result of yet another controversial political twist, is divided into two sections: the island of Newfoundland and the mainland portion of Labrador.[3] Economic realities, such as the declining fishery and the sale of electricity from the installations at Churchill Falls in Labrador were at the centre of the Newfoundlanders concerns when it

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came to the non-ratification of the Meech Lake accord in 1991. Most Newfoundlanders then were opposed to the said accord.

French Newfoundlanders on the other hand were of a different opinion. The saw the accord as a potential guaranty to their retaining the benefits obtained from the federal government for the validation of their cultural and linguistic identity in this particular political context.

Nowadays, French Newfoundlanders who constitute less than two percent of the total population of the province are settled in three communities or villages, on the Port-au-Port Peninsula on the West coast of the island. Linguistically they find themselves in a conflictual situation where their first language has gradually become alienated from their culture and ethnic identity. To understand the background and reasons for this situation it is necessary to refer to the historical context of the French-Newfoundland settlement.

John Cabot "discovered" Newfoundland in 1497.[4] Soon after, Breton and Norman fishermen began to organise fishing expeditions to the Grand Banks. Real trade started to flourish when Norman fishermen established trade with England for cod caught on the Newfoundland banks.[5] However, it was the Bretons who were among the first to really exploit this new discovery. St. Malo was then the main port of departure for many fishing expeditions to the Newfoundland Banks.

French settlement in Newfoundland began at a much later date. The exact date of arrival of the first Acadians in Newfoundland is not known. Charles de la Morandière reported the presence of eighteen families in the area of St. George's in 1821, two of which had apparently been there since 1780.[6] The author, quoting a letter from a French officer to the governor of St. Pierre, mentions the presence of over a thousand Acadians around St. George's Bay in 1830. The presence of 400 English-speaking people and 400 Indians and Metropolitan French was also mentioned.[7] The context was already fertile for linguistic exchange between members of the different groups. As can be deducted from the family names around that time, the Acadian were firmly settled in the area. Such names as Aucoin, Benoit and Bourgeois to name but a few examples are still common in the area nowadays.[8]

Long term French-speaking settlers also came from Normandy and Brittany via St. Pierre et Miquelon. Thus a good number of young Breton men enrolled as shore workers in the fishing expeditions. Some of these young men stayed in Newfoundland rather than return to an economically deprived Brittany or join the Royal navy with the risk of embarking on the Napoleonic wars, a prior condition to their enrolment in the fishery. Family names such as Cornic, now spelt Cornect, Lagatdu, Kerfont etc. reflect the Breton origins of these people and are also still common nowadays.[9] Spelling changes in family names are partly due to contact with the English-speaking settlers, and the Catholic Church in charge of administrative registers but also due to reasons associated with illegal settlement.

Following the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, France lost control of the Newfoundland coastline also known as the French Shore, only to retain fishing and drying rights.[10] After the Anglo-French agreements of 1783, St. Pierre-based companies were allocated the harbours of Codroy, Red Island, St George's Bay and Port-au-Port, all situated on the West coast of the island. Part of the manpower consisted of Breton and Norman fishermen. The political and economic situation at the time resulted in a state of affairs whereby many of the French settlers on the Port-au-Port Peninsula were deserters who had "jumped ship" to avoid military conscription on their return. Eventually following agreements signed between England and France in 1884-85, whole families were allowed to winter at the French fishing stations.[11] They finally became permanent settlers. English-speaking settlers coming from the Eastern part of the island also established themselves on the Port-au-Port Peninsula. Intermarriages between members of the two linguistic communities contributed to the erosion of the French language in the area. However, although economic and social factors encouraged linguistic assimilation to the anglophone majority in Newfoundland, the French on the Port-au-Port Peninsula have retained and revived their ethnic and linguistic identity.

Because of isolation and the irregular patterns of settlement referred to above, the use of French in the area has been maintained despite precarious conditions consequent on social and economic structures. English domination in these domains has led the community into a situation of effective bilingualism.[12] Although a majority of the population knows and occasionally uses French, interaction in mixed linguistic social contexts predominantly occurs in English.

The contemporary form of French spoken on the Port-au-Port Peninsula is the result of an amalgamation of different types of French.[13] Due to the various origins of the first settlers, it is reasonable to assume that their dialects influenced each other. Thus, despite the minor differences identifiable in the three communities or villages, the variety of French spoken on the Port-au-Port Peninsula is not readily identifiable with any other specific dialect. Rather, the language that developed in the area is unique, considering its combined phonetic, morphological, syntactical and lexical levels. Moreover, the dialect is constantly in process as interference and influences from Québec and France affect it through the media and more importantly the school system. Newfoundland French exists and is used in a purely oral form at the moment. There is no standard written literary form of the dialect available or in use, except for academic transcriptions of verbal art such as folktales. However, French-Newfoundlander Geraldine Barter is currently working on a dictionary of the dialect. This tool will undoubtedly form a written standard for the dialect for its users and other interested parties.

Until now I have referred to the French dialect spoken on the Port-au-Port Peninsula as Newfoundland French. Its speakers simply call it French, although the dialect is also heavily loaded with Newfoundland-English influences at all levels. It has been described by some as a macaronic language.[14] The same can be said about the English dialect spoken in the area.[15] Gallicisms and/or anglicisms are common characteristics of either language. Yet to understand the problems posed by the situation of bilingualism in the area, one must know that French is no longer the sole language spoken on the Port-au-Port Peninsula. In fact it has become secondary to the English language which everyone is now able to use and actually uses to a greater or lesser extent according to context and ability. While some people may express a preference for French in everyday life situations, all are able to communicate in English. The reverse however is not true. A rather large number of people and especially women are not able to hold a conversation in French.[16] Yet the two languages coexist in the area.

Conversations during previous fieldwork led me to perceive that, according to the inhabitants, the bilingual situation in the area, is not to be regarded as the result of the coexistence of two cultures. Rather, we are dealing with one culture wherein a unique mode of expression has emerged from an initial process of cultural assimilation conflictingly combined with a factor of cultural resistance which because of its political significance prevented total integration of the two cultures.
The major influence of the English language on the original French population has been the Catholic Church, which also dispensed education beginning as early as the turn of the century. Later, in 1935-36, a relatively large group of English and Irish fishermen and their families were transplanted from the South East coast of Newfoundland to the community of Lourdes.[17] The major process of assimilation however did not start until 1940 when an American base was constructed in the nearby town of Stephenville. The base provided non-military employment and many people from the Port-au-Port Peninsula saw a chance to alleviate the harsh economic situation they had found themselves in during and after the Depression.

The newly gained economic wealth had a cultural cost. Traditional occupations were partly abandoned and for the next twenty years, the new and different cultural environment readily available in Stephenville pushed French speakers to learn and value the English language as an essential means to achieve prosperity. The French language was neglected. Many of the people born between 1940 and 1965 were discouraged from using, if not denied access to their parents' first language. A feeling of shame and inferiority was emerging among French Newfoundlanders as their contacts with the English-speaking world increased. Many of the men and women who are now in their forties and fifties recognise and attribute these feelings to the doings of the Church still in control of the schoolboards. Many tell of incidents in which they were physically punished by their educators for speaking French at school. Because they were told at school that French was a shameful language associated with backwardness, the children grew up confused about their own identity as they were coming home to their French-speaking parents in the evening. Some of my informants remember being terrorised about speaking altogether. Thus, although it is difficult to provide precise dates, the fact remains that Anglicisation became more and more prominent. Eventually, parents and especially mothers communicated exclusively in English with their younger children, hoping they would not encounter the same problems as their elders by the time they reached school age.

Some families however, have continued to function in French first by tradition and now also by political choice. They are aware of its value as a vehicle for realising a distinct identity and for validating the status of the community as an ethnic minority in the eyes of the political superstructure. In order to make this conscious language choice and achieve socio-political aims, French-Newfoundlanders involved in the revival movement in the early seventies, recognised the need to get academic recognition and university degrees. It is not surprising that the first residents to become involved in the revival movement advocating ethnic and linguistic awareness were teachers and their families.

In 1971, the Canadian government legislated on bilingualism and as a result funding became available to various social and cultural organisations in French communities all over the country. One of the major programmes was an educational scheme designed to equip students with knowledge of both official languages as most services were now to be provided in French and English. The programme was called "immersion" and in Newfoundland, aimed at the intensive teaching of French as a second language. This was an opportunity for a revival of the French Newfoundland culture and the revitalisation of the French language. The latter issue of course was not without problems as Newfoundland French is radically different from the French used in the textbooks printed in Québec and in France.

In the early seventies, a meeting was organised in Stephenville in the presence among others, of the then chancellor of Memorial University, himself a French speaker native of St. Pierre, Father Kelly the local priest, Gerald Thomas of the French department at the University, a representative of the School board and one teacher from the French-Newfoundland community of Cape St. George. The purpose of the meeting was to set up the immersion school in Cape St. George The immersion school where all classes are taught in French was not really the answer to the needs of the people in the area. Ethnically it made no sense as the variety of French taught in no way reflected the reality and culture of the pupils. If anything it probably revived the feelings of shame people had about their own language, as now there was insistence on the "correct" way to speak French. Teachers who had to be "imported" from Québec and sometimes France were alien to the local dialect. Even local teachers had to cast out or renege on their own dialect to the benefit of standardisation of the language which they had been exposed to during their university years. But the immersion school was in place and French was indeed taught as a second language. Thus initially there was revitalisation of the language but certainly not revival as the cultural dimension was totally left out. Taken to the extreme, the immersion school, aside from providing limited local employment, was a failure as far as acknowledgement and validation of local French culture went.

Native French-Newfoundlander and linguist Geraldine Barter realised the cultural implications of the immersion school programme in Cape St. George in that it was far from enhancing local values and identity, and was in fact undermining whatever claim French Newfoundlanders had to their own variety of French.

In the early eighties, Geraldine Barter who had been involved in the Folklore department and the Linguistics department at Memorial University, went back to her community of La Grand' Terre as co-editor with Cecil Kerfont from Cape St. George, of the newly formed Francophone newspaper *Le Gaboteur*, published with federal funding. Ms Barter organised the people of her community into an association called "L'Héritage de l'Ile Rouge" whose mandate was to promote French Newfoundland culture. A similar organisation, "Les Terreneuviens Français" had already been in place in Cape St. George for approximately the same time as the immersion school. "Les Terreneuviens Français" was the cultural wing of the school and organised such events as carnivals and the most important folk festivals of francophone folk art, traditional music and songs in Newfoundland and the maritime provinces.

"L' Héritage de l'Ile Rouge" was totally independent of the immersion school. The main achievement of the organisation was the implementation of a French school in the community of La Grand' Terre. The political problems raised by the issue were most interesting and somehow confusing to the school board and other authorities who did not see the point in having a French school when there already was an immersion school twenty miles away. It was a long and strenuous battle for Geraldine Barter and her peers to get the school board authorities to accept that French was the local people's first language and that most of all it was time that the local dialect was validated by the educational authorities. Thus the French school, now teaching children up to grade eight in La Grand' Terre, is an integral part of the community's cultural and ethnic endeavour. The situation has evolved in the immersion school in Cape St. George where the number of local teachers has increased and cultural and ethnic awareness has been such that efforts are being made to expose students to both standard and the local variety of the French language.

In conclusion and in view of the historical and cultural developments of the French Newfoundlanders, we are still dealing with a situation of effective bilingualism. That is both French and English are still tools of communication in the everyday life of the inhabitants. The situation however has evolved into one where the local French dialect is no longer automatically associated with feelings of shame and backwardness and is the course of being integrated into the school curriculum. However, Newfoundland French remains solely an orally transmitted language as are many other aspects of French Newfoundland tradition and culture. The French school in La Grand' Terre has played an important role in validating the local dialect and reviving positive feelings of ethnic identity. A similar school has started in L'Anse-à-Canards, the third French community on the Peninsula. La Grand' Terre also has its own local community television station where programmes are aired in the local dialect.

Finally and with regard to the broader Canadian political context alluded to in the introduction, one still wonders what would have happened to the French Newfoundlanders had the Meech Lake accord been signed. The optimists say that their ethnic identity would have been encouraged and reinforced. Others, also French Newfoundlanders, are of the opinion that there might have been a pull back towards standardisation and the "Québec way". Most agree that very little is to be obtained at the moment from the Newfoundland provincial government towards the practical realisation of a Franco-Newfoundland identity.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See: Michel Plourde, *La Politique Linguistique du Québec, 1977-1987* (Québec: Institut Québecois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1988) 107-118; Le Devoir, *Le Québec et le Lac Meech: Un Dossier du Devoir* (Montréal: Guérin Littérature, 1987)

[2] See: Bruce Clark, *Native Liberty, Crown Sovereignty. The Existing Aboriginal Right to Self Government in Canada* (Montreal: McGill UP, 1990)

[3] See: S. J. R. Noel, *The Politics of Newfoundland*, (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1971); Richard Gwyn, *Smallwood: The Unlikely Revolutionary* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972).

[4] Archaeological digs in L'Anse aux Meadows on the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland have indicated the presence of Vikings there as early as the tenth century. Our interest here is restricted to the continuum established by the more recent European discovery.

[5] See: Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of North America: The Northern Voyages* (New York: Oxford UP, 1971) 270-73.

[6] Charles de la Morandière, *Histoire de la Pêche Française de la Morue dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 3 vols. (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1962-66) 3:1175.

[7] Ibid 3:1179

[8] See: Gerald Thomas, "Some Acadian Family Names in Western Newfoundland," *Onomastica Canadiana* 62.4 (1982):23-34.

[9] See: Gerald Thomas, *Les Deux Traditions: Le Conte Populaire chez les Franco-terreneuviens* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1983) 33-34.

[10] See: Frank Cramm and Garfield Fizzard, *The Atlantic Edge* (St. John's: Breakwater, 1986) 66.

[11] See: De la Morandière, 3: 1201-04.

[12] English here refers to the language and not specifically to the origin of the people who speak it.

[13] See: John T. Stocker, "Spoken French in Newfoundland," *Culture* 5 (1964): 349-59; Ruth King, "Variation and Change in Newfoundland French: A Sociolinguistic Study of Clitic Pronouns," Ph.D. Diss., Memorial U of Newfoundland, 1983; Geraldine Barter, "A Linguistic Description of the French Spoken on the Port-au-Port Peninsula of Western Newfoundland," M.A Thesis, Memorial U of Newfoundland, 1986.

[14] See: Gerald Thomas, *Les Deux Traditions*, 85.

[15] See: Ruth King and Harold Paddock, "Etude de Certains Traits Communs au Français et à l'Anglais Terreneuviens," *Si Que* 5 (1982): 99-116.

[16] See: Marie-Annick Desplanques, "Women Folklore and Communication: Informal Social Gatherings in a Franco-Newfoundland Context, "Ph.D. Diss. Memorial U of Newfoundland, 1991. 18-52.

[17] See: Thomas, *Les Deux Traditions* 46.

Language maintenance, loss, and ethnicity in the United States: Perspectives on Irish

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INTRODUCTION

Any theory of ethnicity must consider at least three interlocked aspects: 'peoplehood', territory, and political organisation (see Eastman 1983 and Fasold 1984 for reviews). Peoplehood involves biological elements (such as common descent, kinship, and physical characteristics) as well as selected elements of value and behaviour which form an ethnic worldview. These two sets of elements are labelled by Fishman (1977) as 'paternity' and 'patrimony', respectively. Geertz (1973, p. 259) suggests that ethnicity involves a sense of 'primordial' attachment which 'stems from the "givens" ... of social existence', transcending the practical demands of economic and political life to yield what he terms (p. 260) a 'natural — some would say spiritual — affinity' within the group (cf. Shils 1957). Though primordiality may be defined on the basis of a mixture of Fishman's 'paternity' and 'patrimony' dimensions, there is no single criterion for primordial attachment: one group may place more emphasis on physical characteristics, another on religion, and so forth. Geertz's (1973) discussion of primordiality leaves language in a somewhat undefined position, citing ethnic divisions which exist despite a common language and other situations in which different languages appear not to create ethnic conflict. Yet in Eastman's (1983) demonstration of the complexity of primordial attachments, it becomes clear that it is often just this attachment to language, sometimes in opposition to the instrumental use of language, which forms the key to ethnic definition.

Peoplehood itself does not imply a demand for territorial nationhood. Nahirny and Fishman (1965) point out that early immigrants to the United States frequently understood their ethnicity not in terms of national-type categories such as 'Polish' or 'Hungarian', but in terms of local village affiliations or more directly affective domains such as religion. It is another step, they suggest, from this kind of closely felt ethnicity to a broader concept of nation. Ben-Rafael and Sharot (1991, pp. 4-5) distinguish between 'ethnonationalism', which links ethnicity to 'a demand for an independent state or at least considerable autonomy' and 'non-nationalist forms of ethnicity' which call for a different mode of understanding. Fishman, Mayerfeld, and Fishman (1985) likewise discuss the Western historical separation (well entrenched in the semantic fields of Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and English) between ethnicity as 'peoplehood' versus the 'organizational or concrete aspects of a people' which include land, government, and statehood (p. 20). In rough terms, we may take it that a nation is the territorial embodiment of an extended sense of peoplehood, though there is no necessity for a people to require the status of nationhood.

An ethnic category in one setting may not be one in another. The category 'Jewish' in the United States is frequently, though not always, seen both by Jews and non-Jews as an *ethnic* one, yet it does not give rise to separatist ethnonationalism. In Israel, however, Jewishness is the dominant defining category for the *nation* itself. There are, nevertheless, many significant ethnic subgroupings within the Jewish nationhood, based largely on a combination of cultural and historical/geographical features (see Ben-Rafael and Sharot 1991). Mac Gréil's (1977) study of attitudes in Ireland shows 'Jewishness' typically perceived as a *religious* , rather than an ethnic or national category: among respondents who displayed social distance towards Jews, for example, 79.3% explained their feelings on the basis of religion, while only 10.9% saw ethnicity as the significant factor (p. 236).

The political element in sociolinguistic relations is best seen in the category of *state*. This construct is non-committal as to the presence of one or many nations within it. Some states are composed of ethnonational units and are thus avowedly multinational. Great Britain, leaving aside Northern Ireland, is a relatively stable example of one such state, while instability can be seen in past or present multinational states such as Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the disputed position of Cyprus. Alternatively, states such as Iceland, Finland, or Japan are basically derived from a single ethnicity and nationhood, though this derivation does not suggest the absence of ethnic minorities. The United States fits into neither of these two models, since it is a multiethnic state with few ethnonational units and is not derived from any single primordial ethnicity. A crucial question, then, is whether the American model of *state* can be translated into the development of a new *nation*. If not, it may be that the existence of many separate ethnicities, often linked to social class, housing and economic patterns, and other aspects of access to power, at times lead to territorial conflicts (racial segregation, gang fighting, urban riots, etc.) which are essentially, though covertly, ethnonational. (Cf. Horowitz 1983.)

Consider now the questions of *language maintenance and loss*. Sociolinguists assume that the determination of language status rests on many non-linguistic variables. Political recognition, existence and distinctiveness of a writing system, a tradition of literacy and literature, religious association, linkage to a visible ethnic group, and the establishment of a 'standard' for use in education and official functions frequently outweigh structural factors or the question of 'mutual intelligibility' in determining the question of whether two linguistic codes are to be seen as different languages or dialects of the same language. The belief in a 'standard' variety of a language also frequently asserts the superiority of the standard to any number of other dialects. Attitudes towards 'non-standard' dialects or languages may range from the outright disavowal of the existence of a variety (frequently reported in creole situations) to the evaluation of non-standard speech as defective and aberrant and to the use of non-standard codes as indicative of 'stupidity, ignorance, perversity, moral degeneracy' and so forth (Milroy and Milroy 1985, p. 40).

This basic point takes on special significance in the immigrant setting. Linguistic codes do not come with equal footing to their host countries. Denial of the existence of a language variety in the home country may not be a problem for intergenerational language continuity as long as there is a community of speakers which gives the variety functional status as a means of communication. In the environment of the United States, however, where the dominance of English immediately puts the intergenerational maintenance of any non-English language under threat, a 'nonexistent' code will have few mechanisms available to it for language maintenance. The demographic and economic factors which affect the development or loss of *immigrant* languages should thus be seen in relationship to the 'old country' linguistic hierarchies which precede *emigration*.

We may be tempted to think of language maintenance and loss in unitary terms: a language is lost, or it is maintained. Recognition of diglossia, the stratification of linguistic codes according to domains of usage (Ferguson 1959, Fasold 1984, Fishman 1985), however, shows that language maintenance cannot be seen in this way. The language of 'everyday, ordinary public communication' need not be the language of religion, of the home, of private education, the press, radio and television, mother tongue identification, or other domains. Rather than take a value-laden stand that any one domain of language use is more 'real' or 'legitimate' than any other, I suggest that each domain be understood in its own terms. There may be qualitative and quantitative differences among different types of language use, yet each represents a contextually appropriate response to the demands of the different speech domains in the immigrant environment.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN MODEL

The foregoing outline of relationships between language maintenance, loss, and ethnicity could serve as a point of departure for many nationally-specific investigations. Yet an overly general model obscures important typological differences in these relationships. A broad distinction can be made between 'old world' dynamics which seek to conserve an equation of land, peoplehood, and language versus 'new world' relationships which cannot rely on primordial links between land and peoplehood and which therefore render the position of language more open to change. In the United States, the dominant culture is clearly of the 'new world' type, distinguished in particular by an expectation of change, non-territoriality, and a resistance to centralised language planning. Each of these features is discussed below.

The assumption of change . Though theories of ethnicity inevitably invoke questions of nation and territory, a more compelling dimension to American ethnic studies is that of change. Postiglione (1983) identifies five major theoretical and ideological interpretations of change in American ethnicity: 'Anglo-conformity'; the 'melting pot', in which the juxtaposition of two cultures yields a third one which is not that of either pre-existing group; 'cultural pluralism', which envisages the side-by-side co-existence of traditional ethnicities; 'emerging culture', in which two groups enter into new relationships which are partly traditional and partly changed by interaction with the other; and an 'impact-integration' approach which resembles 'emerging culture' but sees a greater degree of synthesis between juxtaposed ethnicities. Each of these interpretations runs the risk of overgeneralisation, in that no single model may hold for all ethnic groups, and in so far as the locally dominant 'other' is not uniform across the United States. Whatever their relative merits, though, there is within all these approaches a crucial distinction between those which focus on the continuity between old world realities and post-immigration ethnicity and others which stress the importance of new ways of defining an old world ethnicity.

For Nahirny and Fishman (1965), following the first type of approach, the loss of ethnicity is seen as a natural outcome of the immigration process. While the first generation of immigrants is seen to be guided by the way of life and worldview shaped in the old country, these ways for the second generation cannot be 'realities' but stand '(at best) for ideals to be appreciated and cherished' (pp. 316-17). This second generation, shaped by the experience of the first, may react against the immigrant's experience and become highly assimilated, but even in so doing demonstrates an emotional involvement with this experience. For the third generation, no such personal involvement is possible: such individuals 'become outsiders to their ancestral heritage' (p. 323), and their relationship to it becomes increasingly limited.

Arguing from a different understanding, however, Novak (1979, p. 17) defines 'new ethnicity' in the United States as one which 'does *not* entail (a) speaking a foreign language; (b) living in a subculture; (c) living in a "tight-knit" ethnic neighborhood; (d) belonging to fraternal organizations; (e) responding to "ethnic" appeals; (f) exalting one's own nationality or culture'. Rather, Novak views this new ethnicity as a reaction against American universalism, 'a growing appreciation for the potential wisdom of one's own gut reactions ... and their historical roots', and a sense of 'injustice' in conflicts over ' "legitimate" minorities and "illegitimate" ones' within the United States. The position of Nahirny and Fishman (1965) thus contrasts with that of Novak (1979) in that the former rests on an essentially 'old world' concept of ethnic continuity, while the latter assumes a concept peculiar to the new setting. What unites the two, however, is an underlying assumption of large-scale change in language usage over a relatively short period of time.

Non-territoriality. Few groups in the United States can lay claim to a primordial tie between land and ethnicity. Amerindians have the most obvious primordial claims, though native Hawaiians and residents of American overseas possessions such as Guam and Puerto Rico should also be considered (see Kloss 1977). The relative lack of ethnonationalist separatism in the United States today, however, does not mean that territory has been irrelevant in American language diversity. The acquisition of what is now New Mexico, as Marshall (1986, pp. 40ff) documents, suddenly gave the United States a large population of Spanish-speakers whose citizenship rights were immediately recognised rather than made subject to language or other requirements. Marshall traces the development of a relatively pro-Spanish language policy in New Mexico back to this early time. Even more recognition has been given to Hawaiian in Hawaii (Marshall 1986, pp. 46ff). French in both Louisiana and Maine has been helped by the link between language and territory: in the former case particularly by French-speaking settlement prior to the Louisiana Purchase, in the latter by, among other things, close proximity to French-speaking Canada. Though Leap (1981, p. 134) points out the 'full-scale destruction of many Indian tribes either through deliberate genocide or through more subtle processes such as the removal of Indian people into "Indian country" ' and the establishment of the reservation system, he also notes (p. 116) that some 206 Amerindian languages are now in use, both in and out of the reservation system.

While the strongest tie between language and territory in the United States is seen with indigenous groups or those which had arrived prior to the area becoming part of the United States, some such ties can be seen in later immigration. The work of Fishman *et al.* (1985b) suggests that the strength of these ties depends on many variables, including (1) large population concentrations to the exclusion of other language groups (including English speakers), (2) economic self-sufficiency, and (3) diglossia which gives a definite role (often a liturgical one) to the non-English language, combined with (4) bilingualism which allows for interaction and accommodation with the dominant society. Pennsylvania German among the Old Order Amish and Yiddish in Chasidic neighbourhoods in New York are two examples which Fishman (1985) sees as particularly indicative.

An anti-planning ideology. Heath (1981, p. 19) identifies three major themes in the 'language heritage' of the United States: 'legal tolerance of other languages, a consensual value placed on the ability to use English, and general recognition of Standard American English as a means and mark of socio-economic advancement'. Rather than merely neglecting to legislate for language use, says Marshall (1986, p. 11), the founders of the United States held that free choice in language matters would be 'more conducive to the democratic spirit of the early republic than those [ideas] which argued for linguistic unity imposed from the top down'. At least since the case of Meyer vs. Nebraska in 1923, the legal system has upheld minority language rights not out of a specific legislative provision for them, but as an extension of the more general rights of citizenship. As Marshall (1986, pp. 56ff) also notes, the existence of a state language in Illinois ('American' in 1923, changed to 'English' in 1969) has had little or no visible effect in any domain of language use. The tolerance of American linguistic policy (cf. Kloss 1977), arising as it does out of more general principles, has not been changed by the recent 'pro-English' movement (see Nunberg 1989 and Baron 1990) and there is no concrete reason to predict a radical change at this time.

A CASE STUDY

Within a general model of American ethnicity and language maintenance as outlined above, each language has a distinctive history. To give an indication of the dynamics of one such history, the case study which follows concentrates on the Irish language in the United States.

The Status of Irish. There are many problems of language status which Irish has not had to face. Within Irish society, there is no question as to whether or not Irish is a language. Irish has had a Roman-based writing system since at least the 6th century, and an extensive written and oral literature had been developed in Irish well before the European colonisation of America. Irish retained numerical superiority over other languages such as Old Norse, Norman French, and, until the 19th century, English as the language of the 'peoplehood' which defined Ireland as a nation. On a naive account, it would appear that Irish had many of the prerequisites for maintenance as an American immigrant language. The naive account, of course, ignores the profound changes in Irish society which coincided with the growth of the United States. These changes and their effects on the Irish language have been documented by O Cuív (1951), De Fréine (1965), Hindley (1990), and others; any understanding of Irish language maintenance and loss in the United States must be seen in the context of concurrent language loss in the home country.

Irish as an immigrant language. The position of Irish as an immigrant language in the United States has frequently been ignored or discounted (see also Kallen 1983, [to appear] and Nilsen 1990). Fishman (1966) makes no reference to Irish in colonial times or as an immigrant language, while Kloss (1977) excludes the Irish from the listing of 'foreign language minorities' (p. 17) and follows the U.S. Census in incorporating 'English plus Celtic' immigration, despite their obvious linguistic differences. Until fairly recently (see Doyle 1981 and Miller 1985), Irish-American social commentators and historians have been either silent on the subject (Willigan 1934, Walsh 1968) or generally dismissive (Adams 1932, Hutson 1947, McAvoy 1969, Glazer and Moynihan 1970). Even a partisan commentator such as O'Brien (1919), who sought to redress what he saw as the underestimation of the role of Irish people in American colonial history, had little to say about the Irish language itself.

The discounting of Irish as an immigrant language is puzzling in view of the considerable Irish immigration during the colonial period and the first half of the 19th century. Doyle's (1981, p. 75) state-by-state analysis of the percentages of Irish immigrants at the time of the first United States Census shows an Irish population of up to 26.3% in Georgia, though the general average was considerably lower and the proportion of Ulster Scots Irish quite high. Later figures (Census 1960, p. 57) show that Irish immigration to the United States was consistently close to 50% of total European immigration in nearly all years from 1820 to 1850. In 1825, for example, 4888 Irish people accounted for 48% of the European total, while 53% of total European migration in 1850 is accounted for by 164, 004 post-Famine Irish immigrants (see also Kallen 1983).

It is generally assumed that a large proportion of these early immigrants consisted of Irish speakers, especially Famine-era emigrants from depressed regions in the west and south of Ireland. Table I gives a quantitative view of this trend. The ten Irish counties with the highest rates of emigration account for 54.8% of total emigration during the 1851-1855 period. According to census reports, these counties also ranked among the highest in their proportion of the population speaking Irish. While not all emigrants left for the United States, the U.S. is the predominant destination during the years discussed here (Miller 1985, p. 569). These statistics lead Miller (1985, pp. 297, 618-19fn) to speculate that 500,000 Irish-speakers left Ireland during the Famine years, accounting for between one quarter and one third of all Irish emigration at the time.

Table I

Rates of emigration and percentages of Irish speakers

County	Total Emigration 1851-1855	% of Irish speakers 1851-1855	County Rank	Estimated Irish-speaking emigrants (1851 only)
Cork	90,552	47.2	6	42,470
Tipperary	59,597	18.9	12	11,264
Limerick	44,423	31.4	8	13,949
Kerry	39,520	61.5	3	24,305
Clare	37,368	59.8	4	22,346
Galway	37,609	69.1	1	25,988
Donegal	26,437	28.7	9	7,587
Kilkenny	25,000	15.0	13	3,750
Waterford	25,071	55.4	5	13,899
Antrim	24,039	1.2%	23	289
TOTAL	409,616			166,107
% of total emigration	54.8%			22.2%

Source: adapted from Miller (1985, pp. 570, 580).

Irish as an Ethnic Language. Irish emigration and immigration statistics show that Irish was certainly a potential presence in the United States from colonial times onwards. The model sketched out above offers a basis for understanding the apparent contradiction between the size of Irish-speaking immigration and the subsequent loss of Irish as an immigrant language.

Time has worked against the maintenance of Irish in the United States both in the old world and in the new. In the immigrant setting, the strong pressure of English put Irish under the constraint of the 'three generation' rule for language loss. The calculation of 'three generations' for Irish begins at an early date in American history, well before the Famine emigration. The privations and stigma of indentured servitude provided an incentive for at least one class of early Irish immigrant to shift to English as rapidly as possible (see Lockhart 1976 and Doyle 1981). Doyle (1981) and McWhiney (1988) depict a colonial American Irish population which de-ethnicised rapidly, changing names, speech patterns, and religion in the process. This settlement, continued by the development of urban Irish-American communities in the early 19th century (complete with social clubs such as the Sons of St. Tammany and the Ancient Order of Hibernians), provided just the sort of environment described by Fishman's principle (1985, p. 62) in which the existence of a group of 'old timers' who have already shifted to English may hasten language shift among new immigrants, even while strengthening ethnic ties.

The decline in the use of Irish in Ireland during the 18th and 19th centuries also had effects in the United States. Unlike most other immigrant languages, Irish could not assume vitality in the old world, but rather had to contend with language shift on its own territory. Literacy in Irish was at an extremely low level by this time, and the educational system, whether the national school system established in 1831 or the hedge school system of earlier years, only reinforced English as the primary language of literacy (see Akenson 1989). Thus the race against time for the maintenance of Irish in the United States had also to contend with a similar race against the same language which was being run at the same time in the old world.

Following the model of Fishman (1985b) cited earlier, it could be expected that religion would have provided a vital domain for the support of Irish in the United States. The close tie-in between Irish Catholicism and Irish American identity which is frequently assumed today, however, did not hold to a strong degree in the first formative period of Irish immigration. During the colonial period, the level of Irish Catholic religious observance, as measured by attendance at Mass, degree of religious knowledge, etc., was much lower than it became after the Famine (see Dolan 1975, Doyle 1981, Miller 1985, McWhiney 1988). Though there are accounts of the instrumental usage of Irish in places such as Pennsylvania (Rupp 1845, p. 18), Massachusetts (De Fréine 1965, pp. 126-27, Mac Aonghusa 1979, p. 17), and Virginia (Miller 1985, p. 298), the later 19th century Irish-American Catholic leadership generally supported the development of a single English-speaking American institution, rather than a linguistically fragmented, ethnically-based one (see McAvoy 1969, p. 138 and McCaffrey 1976, pp. 89-90, 97). The education of Irish priests in the seminaries established in Carlow in 1790 and Maynooth in 1795, both of which used English as the language of instruction, could only intensify the de-ethnicising stance of the Irish-American leadership. The lack of any religious necessity to use Irish (comparable to the favoured position of Latin, or to the position of Arabic in Islam and Hebrew in Judaism) also worked against maintenance in this domain.

Irish and Irish-American Ethnicity. Though early Irish immigrants and subsequent generations were quickly relinguified in favour of English, Irish has not disappeared from the American scene. A mixture of popular, antiquarian, literary, and political/nationalist interests has given rise to some publication in Irish since the time of the Irish language columns of the *Irish-American*, starting in 1857, to Irish-language organisations such as the Philo-Celtic Society founded in 1873, and to the establishment of a Chair of Celtic Studies in the Catholic University of America in 1895. Anecdotal evidence confirms the existence of early and contemporary Irish-speaking networks in New England, Chicago, and elsewhere, while today's commercial book-tape combinations published in the United States have enabled Irish Americans and others to study Irish without ever meeting a native speaker of the language. (For further reference to the use of Irish in the United States, see in particular Murray (1912-15), De Fréine (1965), O hAnnracháin (1979), Miller (1985, pp. 236, 274), Nilsen (1990), and Ihde [to appear].)

More systematically, we may note a survey of ethnic language resources compiled in 1982 (Fishman *et al.* 1985a, p. 198) that lists some 49 radio stations which use Irish for at least some programmes and 17 periodicals with regular Irish-language material. These domains account for 98.5% of total Irish maintenance units, as the survey cites only one religious unit and no schools in which Irish is used. Though this distribution is weighted towards bilingual environments and away from the domains of religion and education, which are often more effective in ensuring intergenerational continuity, it is still worth someone's while to carry on broadcasting and publishing at least partly in Irish. Following this kind of evidence, then, it would be wrong to suggest that Irish is not used in the United States, but, rather, appropriate to consider that it still maintains an identifying function, whether for recent immigrants or for later-generation Irish Americans.

The existence and strength of Irish-American ethnicity needs no exhaustive proof. Leaving aside the well-known 19th century urban immigrations, if McWhiney's (1988) Celtic culture hypothesis is correct, Irish people who had given up many of the outward signs of ethnicity in colonial times have nevertheless maintained an ethnic sense of difference from their Anglo-Saxon neighbours. This difference, which translates today into an ostensibly North-South regional division, still springs, on McWhiney's account, from an ethnic divide, albeit within a 'new world' perspective on ethnic definition.

In the industrial centres of the North, later immigrations have meant that Irish Americans have become increasingly powerful politically, both at home and in being able to contribute to unmet nationalist aspirations in Ireland (see Brown 1966). This degree of involvement with old country politics, one which continues in different form to the present day, has been seen by some commentators as itself indicative of an unintegrated ethnicity (Postiglione 1983, p. 22). Irish-American ethnicity is highly visible in St. Patrick's Day parades and parties, Irish-American 'Irish pubs', the popularity of traditional Irish music and dance, voting patterns and blocs, and other ways. At the surface level, we may conclude that Irish-Americans have become relinguified but not de-ethnicised. At a deeper level, largely ignored in Kallen (1983), the various Irish revival movements in the United States, the use of

Irish in the electronic media, and the opportunities for Americans to learn Irish in classes and from books should not be discounted as 'merely symbolic': they are significant just *because* they are symbolic. They ultimately suggest that the Irish language continues to play a role in ethnicity definition.

CONCLUSION

The trend against ethnonationalism and centralised language planning in the United States has left each language to its own fate within an overall environment in which English is the dominant language. Where circumstances permit, an immigrant language may be preserved as an ethnic American one. In the vast majority of cases, though, English will become increasingly dominant and the ethnic language will recede from many or all of the domains which it occupied in the old country. Considering the ease with which immigrant groups such as Irish-Americans have been able to abandon ethnic languages in favour of English, we may be tempted to understand language not as a primordial characteristic of ethnicity, one inherent in the category itself, but as one that is contingent and dispensable. This view may find some support in 'new ethnicity' theories.

The challenge for ethnolinguistics, however, is to understand the subtle relationships between language and ethnicity in changing environments. Ethnicity redefinition may entail a redefinition of the role of particular languages, but it does not determine that language becomes irrelevant. Eastman's discussion (1983, p. 48) of language among the Haida Indians gives evidence that 'even though a language is no longer used as a means of communication, it can still function as a factor of ethnic identity' through the use of lexical items and other structural features carried over from the ethnic language. Similarly, Gold's (1981) discussion of 'Jewish English' in the United States demonstrates the continuity of an ethnic speech style, relevant to culturally significant discourse, which is capable of transcending the loss of, especially, Yiddish by later descendants of immigrants.

An ethnographic view of Irish-American ethnicity could reveal a range of relationships between ethnicity and communicative behaviour. Differences within the Irish-American community should not, of course, be ignored. Social class, age, education, length of time since first generation immigration, religious background, geographical location and density of the local Irish-American community, inter-ethnic marriage, and other factors may all determine subgroupings, as yet unstudied, which would take different approaches to questions of language and Irish-American identity.[1] Within this complex community, many areas could be suggested for further study.

The existence of an Irish-American discourse or speech style has not, to my knowledge, been examined. Yet it would be a plausible development in view of

Irish-American relations with the dominant (i.e., Anglo-Saxon Protestant) culture, and it would be a vital component of ethnicity as modelled and reflected through language (see Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1981). Ethnolinguistics could also take account of culturally significant behaviours which tie in with language but usually fall outside the sociolinguist's net: foodways (Camp 1989), in which attitudes and beliefs about food, its preparation and consumption, form a part of ethnicity definition; literature (Sollors 1986 and Bedrosian 1987); urban folklore and childlore (considering, especially, the separate pools of socialisation which are established in denominational schools in the United States); and parades (Schneider 1990), to name but a few. With such work done for a broad range of American ethnicities, it should become possible to understand not only each ethnicity, but to develop a more powerful theory of ethnolinguistic development in general.

FOOTNOTE

[1] I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for suggestions in this area.

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Review of Jonathan West, **Progressive Grammar of German. 1: Authentic Texts and their Structures and 2: Sentences and their Realization**. Authentik Language Learning Resources Ltd, Trinity College, Dublin, 1992. Pp. v + 78 and v + 100. ISBN 1 871730 07 4 and ISBN 1 871730 08 2.

Eithne M. T. O'Connell, Dublin City University.

Volumes 1 and 2 of Jonathan West's **Progressive Grammar of German** are the first two of a total of six books in this series. Volumes 3-6 have not yet been published. They are to deal with the following topics:

Vol. 3: Categories and their Exponents
Vol. 4: Particles and their Use
Vol. 5: Words and their Constituents
Vol. 6: The Lexicon and its Organisation

Many who have learned or half-learned a language the hard way might feel there is something of a paradox in the series title "Progressive Grammar". So it is not surprising that West explains on page 1 that he does not wish to use "grammar" in the traditional sense of a prescriptive reference grammar. He aims, rather, to present teacher and learner with "ways of eliciting systematic information about German" through the use of discovery procedures on a variety of texts. Not surprisingly, all examples used are taken from "Authentisch auf Deutsch" and the idea is that the user will gradually become familiar with the way in which German works as a communicative system as a result of performing "authentic operations on authentic texts".

As West points out in his introductory remarks in both Vols 1 and 2: "There is a profound difference between *simply copying* the speech habits of native speakers in an *unreflective way* and *analyzing their production* in order *to reveal its inner structure*. The analytical process reveals text elements which can be put together, using the patterns which the analytical process has also revealed, to achieve a new synthesis". (my italics).

So far, this just sounds like good "communicative" common sense. But West does not stop here. He has studied the output of German grammarians and linguists over the last twenty years and uses their findings to good advantage. In this genuinely progressive grammar we have an unpretentious work which combines the practical methodology of notional-functional language teaching with relevant theoretical concepts from the field of (mainly German) text linguistics.

In emphatic response to those who still do not fully appreciate the central importance of grammar to language learning, he states:

> *Teachers are called on to be theorists and not simply to introduce and use grammatical terms for their own sake. For it is the theory underlying the grammatical terms which is the key to their successful application with new material. Likewise, learners are called upon to be theorists, so that they may become truly autonomous in their learning.*

Vol. 1 deals with the idea of a text grammar, the general structure of German and the various possible lexical, grammatical and rhetorical permutations and combinations. It also looks at typical sentence structure and aspects of style and text type before concluding with a short section on text-based teaching. Here the importance of the development and use of analytical skills in language learning is stressed as is the view that the primary medium of instruction should be German.

In Vol. 2, West bases his analysis on the premise that sentences must be seen as pragmatic rather than grammatical entities, in which phrases rather than individual words should be the focus of attention. According to West's dependency model, the verb is the central constituent of the sentence and "a single sentence is nothing other than a verb phrase and complex sentences sentences are nothing other than sequences of verb phrases". Such an approach is clearly more appropriate to German than the sort of subject-predicate double Dutch that English-speaking learners may be familiar with from their school days.

However, there is a chance that abandoning the admittedly inappropriate terminology of traditional English grammar for the modish and more appropriate vocabulary of valency grammar and text linguistics may terrify would-be learners of German even more than the unfamiliar (authentic!) German compound nouns used in some of West's examples e.g. "Verielfältigungseffekt" or "Schußwaffengebrauch".

West himself recommends caution in relation to new terms for grammatical description and suggests that a well-informed teacher at ease with the concepts and terminology of the Progressive Grammar, should be able to guide the learner through exercises without the student actually needing/trying to describe what is being done.

Vols 1 and 2 suggest to me that this series is likely to be of tremendous use to anyone who wants a practical general introduction to the state of text linguistics with particular references to German language teaching research. In his first chapter, West says he is aiming the book (based to a large extent on first year undergraduate work) at teachers, hoping that it will end up "eventually in learners' hands". Yet the publisher's blurb on the back does not mention teachers but rather claims the grammar is "ideally suited to learners working with authentic texts and pursuing communicative aims". That description fits any secondary school pupil. I feel this sales pitch is rather misleading and could result in the books being purchased by pupils who actually wanted something quite different, more traditional and basic. Since West states the books are aimed in the first instance at teachers and then at learners (and this appears to mean learners at third level), this really ought to be clear from the text on the cover. There are a number of misprints and many strings of English text are printed without gaps between words giving a strangely German effect e.g. "producingauthentic German" but otherwise the format and layout of the books are extremely clear and attractive.

Review of Dónall Ó Baoill, eag./ed., **Insealbhú na Gaeilge mar Chéad Teanga / Acquisition of Irish as a First Language.** Cumann na Teangeolaíochta Feidhmí/Irish Association for Applied Linguistics, Baile Átha Cliath/Dublin, 1992. Pp. iv + 96. ISBN 0 95091 32 5 1.

Máire Owens

This collection of articles consists of four papers delivered at a seminar held on 27th April 1991 to discuss some of the findings from research in progress into the acquisition of Irish as a first language and a fifth article commissioned specially for the volume from J. F. Kallen and M. Smith on **Speech and Language Therapy for Learners of Irish as a First Language.** Four of the articles are in English with examples from data in Irish; most of the data is translated and in the case of D. Ó Baoill's **Developmental Stages in the Acquisition of Irish Phonology and Initial Mutations**, a phonetic version is also given for each attempted utterance. Despite writing in English, G. Maguire makes little allowance for the reader who does not understand Irish or who may have an imperfect grasp of irregular verbs, dependent forms, complex use of numerals etc.

Tá alt amháin as Gaeilge, is é sin **Lán Béil** le D. Ó Donnchadha, liosta focal a bhailigh sé óna mhac, sé bliana d'aois. Laistigh de mhí, bhí breis is daichead míle focal cainte uaidh, idir Ghaeilge agus Bhéarla, agus tá cuntas tugtha anseo ar an gcéad mhíle focal Gaeilge agus ar an gcéad mhíle focal Béarla. Tugann Ó Donnchadha, faoi deara gurb ionann cuid mhór de na focail is minicí ar a liosta féin agus "Liosta Minicíochta na nIlfhocal is Coitianta" ag Ó Huallacháin (1966) a bunaíodh ar chuasach a bhí céad uair níos mó ná an ceann a bhí faoi chaibidil aige féin agus gurb "i dtosach an tsealbhaithe is ea is líonmhaire líon na bhfocal a sealbhaítear." Is é an cumas sealbhaithe sin, ní hamháin sa Ghaeilge ach sa dátheangachas, a spreagann suim léitheoirí; is trua nach fiú leis an údar comparáid a dhéanamh idir foiremacha sa dá theanga. Roinneadh suas abairtí an pháiste idir abairtí ráiteasacha dearfacha (92), abairtí cónasctha (9), abairtí claochlaithe (6) agus "brathaithe" (91). Deirtear gur 'tharla a laghad sin ceisteanna sa mhíle focal gur fearr iad a thabhairt seachas bheith ag déanamh cur síos orthu". Mar sin féin, ar na samplaí tá ceisteanna de shaghsanna difriúla a thabharfadh le fios go bhfuil réimse fairsing ceisteanna ag an bpáiste. Is léir go bhfuil saibhreas teanga bailithe ag Ó Donnchadha, saibhreas nach féidir a mheas ar liosta focal.

The article specially commissioned from Kallen and Smith sets down some of the problems and issues facing those who have a need for language therapy in Irish (many of which are equally relevant to those involved with Irish in the education system). While some of the issues must be shared by speakers of English as a first language, in particular those relating to selection of language goals and targets, where regional dialect and standardisation must be taken into consideration, many problems are caused by the socio-linguistic status of Irish itself - attitudes to Irish, bilingualism, lack of assessment methodologies, lack of trained personnel and absence of structures for training such personnel. Although the authors point to the absence of a centralised policy with regard to language and speech/language therapy services, education and public service policies indicate that citizens have a right to such services and efforts should be made to provide them.

Among the personal variables which have to be taken into consideration, are language attitudes. Status and prestige are not easily defined in relation to language in Ireland. The low prestige and status attached to Irish in the 19th century seems to have shifted and successive studies have shown that there is a positive attitude towards the language throughout the country.

Irish is nonetheless a minority language and many would argue that those already suffering language problems would be better served if they were introduced directly to English, which would allow them access to a wider circle of contact and for which assessment methods and materials already exist. Kallen and Smith recommend that individual circumstances be taken into account; there will be times when it is in a child's best interest to receive therapy through Irish, e.g. where it is the language of the home, the neighbourhood, and others when switching to the "dominant" language may appear most beneficial.

As well as the common problem of which variant to choose to teach to a child, it must be considered that Irish speakers today are bilingual and that code-switching is an integral part of their linguistic repertoire. Should a therapist seek to help a client separate the languages or try to enhance communication possibilities in a way which is perfectly normal for the majority? The authors make the point that the "one person, one language" principle is a simplification strategy which facilitates bilingual language learning (Romaine 1989) and that the therapist might be better to stick to it. Conversely one might argue that it is the child who makes sense of the complexity of language(s) by developing his own strategies; reduced and impoverished input may not allow the same scope. If anything the child suffering from language deficiency may require a richer input and more dedicated interest from more speakers and if bilingualism and code-switching form a natural part of the environment, then that richness must be included. While the authors acknowledge that for some children "whose learning potential is reduced", learning Irish may be important, (e.g. a learning disabled child from a primarily Irish-speaking home or district), they point out the practical difficulties (not least of which is the fact that Irish is not a requirement for entry to the only professional S/LT course in the Republic of Ireland) rather too persuasively.

Other difficulties mentioned concern the lack of research on

- *normal development in Irish - both phonological and syntactical*
- *the early stages as well as later more complex sentences*
- *pragmatic development*
- *development of courses, terminology and materials for therapists.*

T. Hickey's article and the ongoing research which she summarises here makes a major contribution of filling that research gap. Hickey has developed an Irish language version of LARSP (Language, Assessment, Remediation and Screening Procedure) developed by Crystal, Fletcher and Garman (1976, 1981) which provides a means of assessing both normal and abnormal language development. LARSP can show development at word, phrase and clause level in relation to different types of utterance (question, command, statement) and age norms have been developed (for English-speaking children). Hickey has collected data in Irish from a longitudinal study of 4 children and analysed the data according to ILARSP, but obviously a much larger number of children must be analysed before similar age norms can be established for ILARSP.

As well as the emerging picture of the build-up of grammatical competence for the acquisition of Irish, Hickey highlights certain features which are language specific, such as initial mutations and word order. In relation to word order her subjects offer some indication that the so-called "natural order" - agent, action, object (Brown 1973:157) is an anglo-centric myth in that the children acquired VSO order first which they later differentiated from (V)S Vn. More information is clearly required on what must be of major interest to therapists and teachers alike. Other topics mentioned are emergence of pronouns and negation and other work by the same author is cited in the bibliography.

D. Ó Baoill describes in his paper, the phonological development of two children acquiring Irish, in particular their development of the palatalised/velarised contrast (broad and slender consonants) and initial mutation. He indicates that work is in preparation on sematic, pragmatic and syntactic issues. The data was collected by recordings and also in a diary. While he is careful to describe his findings in relation to phonology as "possible developmental stages", he has at least made a start and provided a basis for comparison for other data collectors.

In relation to initial mutations, whereas Hickey cited examples where mutated forms were sometimes treated as the root e.g. *an gcathaoir, an mbord* (a common feature of child language acquisition as in English where for example, some children pick the plural for *mice* as the root form), Ó Baoill seems not to have found any such examples. He discusses the usage of séimhiú in three stages, (a) 18-21 months where there were no examples, (b) a period where the mutations were observed but not applied consistently and (c) a period from 24-26 months where the mutations began to stabilise. He talks, though, only of use of the rule or non-use of the rule. With something as variable as initial mutation one would expect to find some instances of over-generalisation. The children at one point used séimhiú instead of urú e.g. *an fheiceann tú an milseán?* which he interprets as a grammatical strategy, i.e. that the child has realised the need for a mutation following certain words. More data, more comparisons are obviously needed.

In terms of chronological acquisition, the final article in the collection is by G. Maguire and is drawn from her study of the urban Gaeltacht in Belfast. Her book **Our Own Language - an Irish Initiative** gives a fascinating picture of the impossible being achieved in a place many people would think the most unlikely for such an undertaking. The present article describes the vibrancy of the language of that community and points to ways in which the language is developing within the context. The variation she describes will not be liked by purists but it is a fact of life which must be considered, particularly in relation to the issues raised by Kallen and Smith and also in relation to the teaching of Irish in schools and the promotion of the language as a mediium of education in the Scoileanna lánGhaeilge.

Overall, this collection gives a tantalising introduction to language research which promises invaluable insights for speakers and teachers of Irish on the one hand, and those interested in language, language acquisition, bilingualism and child psychology on the other.

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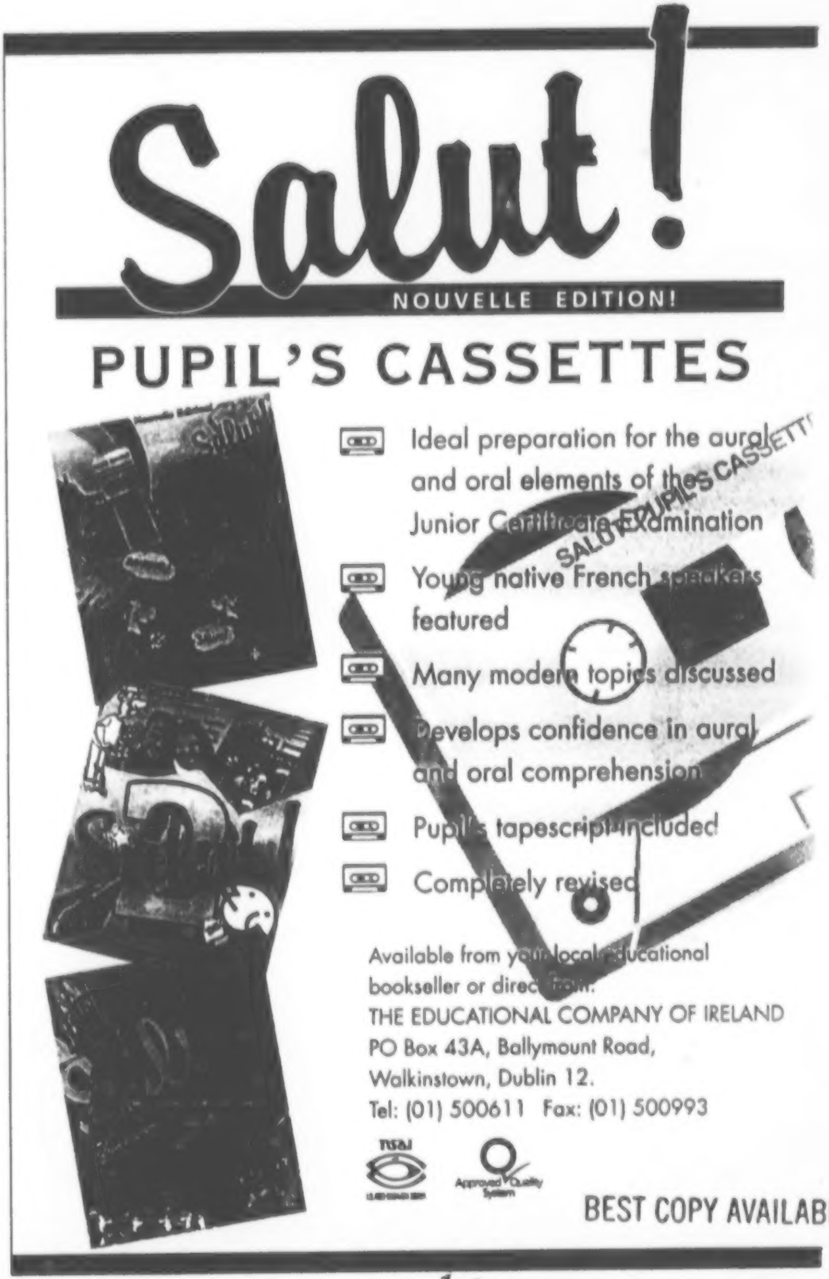

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